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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1880.

ART. I.—WESLEYAN SYNERGISM AN ESSENTIAL OF ORTHODOX CATHOLICITY.

LUTHARDT: *Die Lehre vom Freien Willen und seinem Verhältnis zur Gnade.*
SCHAFF: *Creeds of Christendom.*
DORNER: *Die Geschichte der Protestantischen Theologie.*
STANLEY: *History of the Eastern Church.*
Ἡ Καινη Διαθηκη.
SHEDD: *History of Doctrine.*
NEANDER: *Church History.*
HERZOG: *Encyklopädie.*
LICHTENBERGER: *Encyc. des Sciences Rel.*

How does man recover from sin? Is he active, or passive, in the process? Is his conversion a something that is simply done to him? or does he himself co-work in it? Does the responsibility for his conversion or his non-conversion rest exclusively upon himself? or does it rest upon God? Does the grace of God visit all men equally? or is it given in more abundant measure to a select few? Did the fall entirely annihilate the image of God in man? or does there still linger in depraved man *some* vitality of the God-consciousness, which may serve as a basis for his moral reconstruction?

The answer of Wesleyan Arminianism to these varied forms of a single question is thus: The fall of Adam introduced such disorder into human nature as to render it morally certain that all men, if left without gracious help, would freely fall into sin, and incur personal guilt. But this disorder, or de-

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pravity, with which all men are born, is not to them personal sin, and hence is not punishable. It is of the nature of an inherited misfortune. Hence, if the propagation of the fallen human race is permitted at all, divine justice (not simply divine goodness, but divine *justice*) will feel bound to impart to all men a complete remedy for their hereditary misfortune. This remedy *is* furnished by the general presence of the Spirit of God, and furnished alike to every soul that is born into the world. This presence of the Spirit so counteracts the bondage of hereditary depravity as to raise every child of Adam into the conditions of a just probation, so that he is now abundantly able freely to elect between sin and righteousness, and thus to save or ruin his own soul. This impartation of the Spirit to all who are born into the world may, in an uncritical way, be called a *grace*, but only in the same loose way in which the original gift of conscience or of freedom of will might be likewise so called. *That, the non-giving of which would violate divine justice, is not properly a grace, but a simple justice.* The result is that every descendant of Adam, on first awaking to rational moral life, finds his hereditary depravity so far paralyzed as to constitute no longer a fatal bondage unto sin. He *can*, by the powers with which he finds himself already possessed, resist this bondage. It is only by the non-using of these powers that he incurs personal guilt, and thus transforms his hereditary misfortunes into a fatalistic bondage to sin—fatalistic until counteracted, upon repentance, by special *grace* properly so called. The question, What is the moral ability of the natural man? cannot, therefore, be answered without some defining of terms. The purely natural man, as he would have descended from Adam without the general gift of the Spirit, is a pure *abstractum*, a mere theological bugbear. He does not, and never did, exist. Divine justice forbade it. The only *real* man with whom theology has any thing to do is the empirical man of history. Now, with this man, the only real man, the influence of the Spirit of God is *congenital*. It is a part of the moral endowment with which he finds himself furnished on first awaking to moral self-consciousness. In virtue of this endowment he is able to choose, obey, and love God at the outset, and to ask for gracious help in the further progress of his life. Should he, however, fail to profit by his original

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moral endowment, and thus fall into bondage to sin, he *may* even yet recover from his guilt and enslavement (if not persisted in too far) by accepting the special visitations of *grace*, repenting of his sins, and seconding the regenerating influence of the Spirit. He is, therefore, in either case a *synergist*, (from σύν ἔργον,) a *co-worker* with God, throughout his moral life. Such is the answer of Wesleyan Arminianism to the question or questions before us, as to the relation of man's freedom to God's grace.

Is this answer in harmony with the general consciousness of the Church catholic? Is it a heresy, a sectarian individualism? or is it an essential element of orthodox catholicity?

What says the history of theology? Let us consult the records. The results will not be without interest.

Passing over at once the testimony of the Scriptures, and simply assuming that this testimony is either synergistic or monergistic, either for or against the above-given synopsis of Wesleyan Arminianism, we come directly to the earliest Christian theology, that of the Greek fathers, and ask, How did they understand the Scriptures to teach on the subject before us?

We preface our examination by this general statement of Hagenbach, (*Hist. Doct.*, i, 155:) "Freedom and immortality are those traits of the human mind in which is manifested the image of God. Such was the doctrine of the primitive Church, confirmed by the general Christian consciousness. All the Greek fathers, as well as the apologists, Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and the Latin author, Minutius Felix, also the theologians of the Alexandrian school, Clement and Origen, exalt the *αὐτεξούσιον* (the *autonomy*, self-determination) of the human soul.... They know nothing of any imputation of sin except as a voluntary and moral self-determination is presupposed.... None but heretics ventured to maintain that man is subject to another influence than himself." With this statement Luthardt perfectly harmonizes. He says, (*Lehre vom Fr. Will.*, p. 13:) "The idea of man's ability to choose between good and evil is a fundamental article with all the Greek theologians. It inspires their entire system of thought." In general, the Greek fathers excluded every thing of a magical character from their conception of sin and grace. Christianity was to them not the exclusive possession of the favored few

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who stood in material contact with the written word or the organized Church, but it *virtually* belonged to the whole human family, to all who at any time or in any place honestly sought the truth. The self-revelation of God is universal. Where the specific revelation, through written words or living prophets, is wanting, there the λογός σπερματικός (the germinal word or revelation) is given. And all who humbly heed this general self-revelation of God are blessed and accepted of the Father. It is only a later and narrower age which presumed to confine God's pardoning graciousness to the material limits of the visible Church and sacraments.

As to the *modus* of conversion, the Greek fathers as a body, and in fact the entire theology of the Orthodox Eastern Church, are very positively synergistic. The key-note of their whole system is thus well expressed by Justin (born A. D. 89; *ob.* 176) in his *Apology*, i, 10: "Though we had no choice in our creation, yet in our regeneration we have; for God persuades only, and draws us gently, in our regeneration, by co-operating freely with those rational powers he has bestowed upon us." And with this thought Clement of Alexandria (*ob. cir.* 212) fully harmonizes. "God," says he, "co-operates with those souls that are willing." "As the physician furnishes health to that body which synergizes toward health, so God furnishes eternal salvation to those who synergize toward the knowledge and obedience of the truth."—*Strom.*, viii. Clement knows nothing of a *gratia irresistibilis*.—*Strom.*, viii, p. 855.

So teaches also Origen, *ob.* 254. His central view is thus stated by Shedd, (ii, 34:) "The faculty by which to will the right man has from God; but the decision itself is his own act. God's part is, therefore, greater than man's, as the creation of a faculty is greater than the use of it. Moreover, every right beginning of action on the side of man requires a special succor and assistance from God. Through the Holy Spirit this succor is granted, according to the worthiness of the individual; and thus every right act of man is a mixture of self-choice and divine aid, (μικτόν ἐστιν ἔκ τε τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συμπνεούσης θείας δυνάμεως.—*Opp.*, ii, p. 571.)" In the same sense spoke also Theophilus of Antioch, *ob.* 181. He strongly emphasizes man's moral autonomy: Ἐλεύθερον γὰρ καὶ αὐτεξούσιον ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἄνθρωπον.—*Ad Autol.*, ii, 27.

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In regard to depravity, or original sin, the Greek fathers agree in teaching that it is an inherited corruption or disorder of human nature, but not of the nature of sin proper, or guilt. Says Justin, (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, c. 124:) "All men deserve to die, because they have sinned *as Adam*," (ὁμοίως τῷ Ἀδὰμ.) Of the imputation of Adam's guilt he has no thought. Clement rejects the idea of imputing Adam's sin to his children. *Strom.*, iii, 16. Origen teaches that guilt arises only when we freely yield to the temptations to which our depravity exposes us. *De Princ.*, iii, 2. So teach also Tertullian (*De Bapt.*, 18) and Cyprian. *Ep.*, 64. The latter calls original sin *contagio mortis antiquae*, (*Ep.*, 59,) but says that it does not annul freedom. *De Grat.*, c. 2. Cyril of Jerusalem (*ob.* 386) says, "When we come into the world we are sinless, (ἀναμάρτητοι,) but now we sin from choice." He has the highest ethical notion of virtue: "There is no kind of souls that are either sinful or righteous *by nature*, but that we are either the one or the other proceeds only from free choice." Shedd, ii, 38. And with Cyril agree the other eminent Greek fathers—the two Gregories, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and the rest. Gregory Nazianzen declares (*Orat.*, xl) children to be ἀπονήρους, (innocent.) Gregory Nyssa denies that depravity in infants is sin. *Opp.*, iii, p. 317. Chrysostom held that, though mortal Adam could beget mortal descendants, yet sinful Adam could not beget sinful descendants. "No one owes any thing to justice until he first becomes a sinner for himself," (δίκοθεν.)

Evidently the idea of imputing the guilt of Adam to all of his descendants, and then of damning a large part of them because of that imputation, is an unorthodox invention of a later age.

As to the process of conversion, the Greek fathers of the fourth century are well represented by Gregory Nyssa, *ob. cir.* 395. "With him," says Schaff, "human freedom plays a great part." He lays far more stress upon heart-purity than upon a mere forensic justification. The path to deliverance from sin is the path of ethical endeavor, of humiliation, and self-mastery. When the soul in obedience to conscience heeds the voice of God, divine grace meets the soul and leads it into self-mastery. His general view (see Luthardt, p. 18) is as follows: "In consequence of the fall the divine image in us is

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marred and affected with imperfection, (ἀῤῥώστημα.) We have from birth a tendency to sin, (πρὸς κακιάν ὁρμή.) But this tendency does not break down our moral freedom. Freedom is of the essence of man; it is lost only when man ceases to be man. Moral freedom conditions the possibility of virtue. Take it away, and we cease to be moral agents; we could be neither praiseworthy or blameworthy. Now, freedom of will involves freedom to good as well as freedom to bad. Man is no longer a moral agent if he is unable to shun sin. But when a man has once fallen into sin, how is he to recover himself? First, under the experience of life and the guidance of the Spirit he is awakened to serious thought; he *comes to himself.* Then, when thus brought to see his real moral condition, he opens his eyes and welcomes the light, as a mortally sick man welcomes the physicians. His soul is thus filled with new light and life. The germ, the basis, of this new life lies hidden in every human being. It was not forfeited or annihilated by the fall. It is the ethical conscience, the God-consciousness. Were this lost there would be nothing of the human being left, and the regeneration of such an un-man would be a pure creation out of nothing. But does man regenerate himself? No! he *becomes* regenerate by accepting the chastenings of Providence, welcoming the visitations of the Spirit, and co-operating with divine grace."

These views of Gregory are fully shared by Basil the Great, *ob.* 379. "He teaches the co-operation of human liberty with divine grace, as the Greek Church has always taught."—Lichtenberger, *Encycl.*, ii, p. 104.

So also taught Gregory Nazianzen, *ob.* 390. He holds that the sinner is not to wait until some visitation of overpowering grace *drives* him to repentance, but rather that the grace necessary to his regeneration is congenital with him, and is ever ready to co-operate with him, whensoever he will.

Such is, also, the opinion of the great Chrysostom, *ob.* 407. "Chrysostom's theory of regeneration was firmly synergistic." —Shedd, ii, 40. "His synergism is that of the whole Greek Church."—Schaff, ii, 937. His general position is thus summed up by Neander, (ii, 659–661:) "Gregory's deep feeling of the need of redemption led him to appreciate the necessity of divine grace, while his correct ethical conception induced him to

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set a high value on the free-will of man as a necessary condition of all the operations of grace." In explaining Rom. v, 19, he says: "This passage is not to be so understood, as if by the sin of one all became actual sinners; it teaches, rather, simply that the condition of human nature, which to the first man was a punishment, was thus transmitted to all his posterity. But this misfortune only redounds to man's benefit if he is not remiss in the use of his will." "If we but *will*, not only death, but even Satan himself, shall never harm us." There is no such thing as irresistible grace. Grace is effectual in proportion to our co-operation with it. God draws us to him not by force, but by our own free-will.

The next great theologian of the East, Theodore of Mopsuestia, (*ob.* 428,) stood upon the border of the great Augustinian controversy. He endeavored to keep the true synergistic mean between the fatalistic divine monergism of Augustine and the merely human monergism of Pelagius. He distinctly rejected the imputation of Adam's sin to his descendants. Man's inherited nature is not sinful, but corrupt. New-born children are not guilty of sin; hence they do not need baptism and the eucharist in order to their forgiveness. On the subject of grace Theodore held the orthodox view. Redemption extends to the whole human race. We are saved by faith in Christ, and by an obedient life. See Herzog, xv, 718. That Theodore was utterly opposed to all moral determinism is clear from the mere title of the work which he wrote against Augustinianism. It was entitled, "Against Those who say that Man Sins not by Free-will, but by Nature," (*φύσει.*) That this system was, on the other hand, not Pelagian, is thus stated by Neander, (ii, 656:) With the Pelagians he insisted on "man's inalienable freedom, as opposed to the doctrine of a constraining grace and of predestination. But *the great difference* between the two systems was *this*—that in the Pelagian the doctrine of a redemption and a Redeemer had no foothold whatever, while in Theodore's system it had a thoroughly essential one, and, indeed, constituted the central point of the system."

Kindred to the position of Theodore was that of Theodoret, *ob. cir.* 457. He co-ordinated the operations of grace and freedom in the manner of Chrysostom, making the efficaciousness of grace dependent upon its reception and use by human freedom.

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Great and original thinkers in the Greek Church appeared occasionally throughout the Dark Ages. Their theology uniformly follows strictly in the wake of the orthodox synergism of Chrysostom and the Gregories.

Maximus Confessor, of the seventh century, (*ob.* 622,) produced profound works in the spirit of Gregory of Nyssa. On the subject of grace and free-will he says: "The faculty of seeking after the godlike has been implanted in human nature by the Creator. In consequence of sin this original faculty is overwhelmed by sense. But the Holy Spirit restores it to its pristine freedom and purity. Grace alone, however, does not operate independently of the natural faculties. Nor do the natural faculties work independently of grace. The Holy Spirit guides the spiritual striving of those who are seeking after the godlike to its desired end. The Spirit works not wisdom without a mind which is susceptible of it; nor knowledge without a recipient reason; nor faith without a rational conviction in the receiver; in a word, it produces no charisma whatever without the recipient faculty of each. The grace of the Spirit destroys not in the least the natural faculty, but much rather makes that faculty which has become inapt by unnatural use once more efficient by employing it conformably to its nature, when it leads it to the contemplation of the godlike."—Neander, iii, 172–3. From Palmer's account of Maximus (Herzog, xx, 136–7) we further cite: "In regard to depravity, Maximus is true to the orthodox Greek view. Moral freedom, (*τὸ αὐτεξούσιον,*) as a constituent element of spiritual rationality, was not forfeited by the fall. This freedom is the principle of sin on the one hand, and the basis of redeemableness on the other. It is the element which receives and cooperates with regenerating grace."

Greatest among the later Greek theologians was John of Damascus, *ob.* 754. His *Ἔκδοσις τῆς πίστεως* is one of the ablest and most systematic dogmatics which the Church had yet produced. In his soteriology he lays great stress on the *rôle* of human freedom. God made man innocent by nature, and autonomous (free) as to his will: *Ἐποίησε δὲ ἀυτὸν φύσει ἀναμάρτητον καὶ θελήσει ἀυτεξούσιον.*—ii, c. 12. The source of sin is not in man's nature, but in his volition: *Οὐκ ὡς ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν ἔχοντα, ἐν τῇ προαιρέσει δὲ μᾶλλον.* Man has the power

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to continue and to advance in the good, co-operating with God's grace; as, also, to turn away from the right, and to become involved in evil, God permitting it in the interest of human freedom: *Ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα μένειν καὶ προκόπτειν ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ, τῇ θείᾳ συνεργούμενον χάριτι; ὡςαύτως καὶ τρέπεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ κακῷ γινέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ παραχωροῦντος θιὰ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον.* For virtue is not a something that can be externally compelled: *Οὐκ ἀρετὴ γὰρ τὸ Βίᾳ γινόμενον.* Man, being a rational being, rules over his nature rather than being ruled by it: *Ὁ θὲ ἄνθρωπος, λογικὸς ὢν, ἄγει μᾶλλον τὴν φύσιν ἥπερ ἄγεται.* It is God's will neither that sin should exist, nor that human holiness should be the fruit of a merely divine efficiency: *Οὐ γὰρ θέλει τὴν κακίαν γινεσθαι, οὐθὲ βιάζεται τὴν ἀρετήν.* Thus is amply confirmed the statement of Hagenbach, as to this great theologian, (ii, 13:) "He every-where retained the principal definitions of the earlier Greek theologians concerning human *liberty*."

The views of John of Damascus were fully shared by all the eminent Greek theologians of the later Middle Ages: by Theodore Studita, (*ob.* 826,) Theophylact, (*ob. cir.* 1107,) Euthymius Zigabanus, (*ob. cir.* 1118,) Nicetas Choniates, (*ob. cir.* 1206,) and Nicolas of Methone. Euthymius, one of the best minds of the twelfth century, thus expresses the inefficaciousness of human effort without divine grace, and also the fruitlessness of grace without the co-operation of man's will: *Μέγα δόγμα μανθάνομεν, ὡς ὅυτε ἀνθρωπίνη προθυμία κατορθοῖ τι χωρὶς τῆς θείας ῥοπῆς, ὅυτε θεία ῥοπὴ κέρδος φερει χωρὶς ἀνθωπίνης προθυμιας.*— Herzog, iv, 250. Nicolas of Methone had even more eminent abilities than Euthymius. "He laid great stress on the freedom of the will."—Hagenbach, ii, 26.

As to the formal symbols of the Greek Church, they uniformly reflect the views of the above-mentioned great orthodox theologians: the Gregories, Chrysostom, John of Damascus, etc. These symbols embrace, 1. The decisions of the first seven Œcumenical Councils, (from A. D. 325 to 787;) 2. Certain extended confessions of modern times, framed in antagonism to Romanism and Protestantism. The decisions of the first seven councils are held in common with the Romish Church. They relate chiefly to the doctrines concerning God. So far as they are anthropological they reflect the Greek view. Of the later confessions we mention the following:

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1. "The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church." Drawn up by Mogilas, (*ob.* 1647,) in 1640 it was sanctioned by a synod of the Greek and Russian clergy in 1643. It was then signed by the four Eastern Patriarchs. It is the fundamental creed of the whole Greek and Russian Church. On the subject of depravity and regeneration this confession teaches thus, (Schaff, *Creeds*, ii, 304–8:) God co-operates with our good acts, yet in such a manner as not to force our free-will. Though all are born with a depraved nature, yet each one can, by his will and choice, (*θέλησιν και προαίρεσιν*,) through the use of grace, become a holy seed, or the contrary. Whether we are actually the children of God or of the devil depends upon ourselves; yet in this sense, that in our spiritual life divine grace co-operates with us, (*ἡ θεία χαρὶς συμβοηθεῖ*,) though without forcing our wills.

2. The so-called "Confession of Dositheus" was sanctioned in 1672 by the most important Eastern synod of modern times. It was signed by the Patriarch Dositheus and sixty-eight Oriental Bishops and ecclesiastics. We cite from it the following affirmations: "God has predestinated to glory those who he foresaw would make good use of their free-will in accepting salvation, and has condemned those who would reject it, (*Καλῶς* [or *κακῶς*] *τῷ ἀντεξουσίῳ χρησαμένους.*) [See Schaff, ii, 403.] But our free-will needs always the assistance of grace, which is amply given to all men. Those who oppose this view, and teach an unconditional predestination, are impious and blasphemous heretics. They insult God, and make him the author of monstrous cruelty. We lay upon them an eternal anathema, and declare them worse than infidels. God foresees and permits (but does not foreordain) evil, and he overrules it for good. The fall did not destroy man's free-will, (*τὸ ἀντεξούσιον.*) Good works done without faith cannot contribute to our salvation; only the works of the regenerate, done *under* grace and *with* grace, are perfect."

3. The "Larger Catechism of the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church." This is the most authoritative standard of the Russian Church. It was adopted in 1839, and is very comprehensive. We cite as follows: "God has predestined to give to all men, and has actually given to them, preparatory grace and means sufficient for the attainment of happiness." "As

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God foresaw that some would use well their free-will, but others ill, he accordingly predestined the former to glory, while the latter he condemned." "Was it for us all, strictly speaking, that Jesus Christ suffered? For his part he offered himself as a sacrifice strictly for all, and obtained for all grace and salvation; but this benefits only those of us who, for their parts, of their own free-will, have fellowship in his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death."

This brings us to the close of the stream of Greek orthodoxy. As to the question before us, the result is unmistakably clear: The great Oriental Church has taught from the beginning that in the process of regeneration, it is necessary that the human spirit and divine grace shall co-operate; and it has understood this co-operation, this synergism, substantially in the sense in which Arminius and John Wesley afterward taught it. Arminius and Wesley's view of the *rôle* of human freedom is no theological novelty, but is a correct reflection of the orthodox catholic consciousness as represented by the entire stream of Greek dogmatic thought. The Orthodox Oriental Church (embracing at least eight millions of the Christian population of the world) is *synergistic*.

How will it result with our examination of the other, the Western, stream of theological development? Is the Latin Church (with its modern offshoot, Protestantism) *synergistic* or *monergistic*? Is its general theological drift better reflected by John Calvin or by James Arminius?

Let us examine the records. We have already seen that the earliest Christian writers of the one common Church are very distinct in their recognition of the moral autonomy of man, and that this recognition was equally positive throughout the history of Greek Christian orthodoxy. Turning now to the beginnings of a distinctive Latin Christianity, we meet, first, with Irenæus, *ob.* 202. "Irenæus," says Dr. Schaff, "cannot conceive of man without the two separate predicates of intelligence and freedom." He insists that souls cannot be good or bad by mere nature, (*φύσει ἀγαθαί καὶ πονηραὶ ψυχαί.*) Man is free, and is himself the cause of the good or the ill outcome of his life: "Liber in arbitrio factus et suae potestatis ipse sibi causa est, ut aliquando quidem frumentum, aliquando autem palea fiat." At the same time he insists that in fallen man

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grace must co-operate with man's freedom. See Luthardt, 16: Hagenbach, i, 157.

Next we come to Tertullian, *ob. cir.* 220. His conception of regeneration is strictly ethical: "Fiant, non nascuntur Christiani." The image of God is not destroyed by the fall. Christianity meets a response from man's innate God-consciousness, ("anima naturaliter Christiana.") Even fallen man retains his moral freedom, (τὸ ἀυτεξούσιον.) Moral freedom is not so much extinguished as hampered: "Quod a Deo est, non tam extinguitur quam obumbratur."—*De Anima*, 41. Grace transforms man only in co-operation with his freedom. Moral freedom, rightly used, constitutes a receptivity for grace, a possibility of faith.

Cyprian (*ob.* 258) was no less a synergist than Tertullian. The reception of grace presupposes faith: "Quantum fidei capacis afferimus, tantum gratiæ inundantis haurimus." And faith is not God's act, but man's: "Credendi vel non credendi libertas in arbitrio forita."—*Testim.*, iii, 54.

So taught also Hilary, *ob.* 268. The incipiency of the new life lies in ourselves: "Incipiendi a nobis origo est." It is of the essence of freedom that it acts of itself: "Voluntas nostra hoc proprium ex se habere debet, ut velit." God cooperates with our efforts: "Incipienti incrementum dabit." This moral significance or value of regeneration lies in the fact that it is not simply a thing done *to* us, like our creation, but one in which *we* have a part from the very start: "Meritum adipiscendæ consummationis est ex initio voluntatis." God helps us on condition of our being willing: "Volentes adjuvet, incipiendes confirmet, adeuntes recipiat; ex nobis autem initium est." See Luthardt, 24.

Ambrose (*ob.* 398) laid greater stress than Hilary on prevenient grace, but was very positively synergistic. "We begin," says he, "our return to God, but we do not begin without God. The Sun of Righteousness wills that we turn toward it; and it is *ready* upon our turning." "Both Ambrose and Hilary teach the synergistic theory." Shedd, ii, 49.

Jerome (*ob.* 419) was synergistic. Man has the ability of good or of evil; which he actually does depends on his free choice. He stands between the two: "Inter hoc jurgium media anima constitit, habens in sua potestate bonum et malum

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velle et nolle."—*Ad Gal.*, iii. Original sin is not guilt, but inherited disorder. From this disorder springs the necessity of prevenient grace. In order to salvation grace and freedom must co-operate: "Quamvis enim propria voluntate ad Deum revertamus, tamen nisi ille nos traxerit et cupiditatem nostram suo roboraverit praesidio, salvi esse non poterimus."—*In Jerem.*, i, 3. Predestination is conditioned on foreknowledge of man's free conduct.

We now come to the first noteworthy dissent from the catholic orthodox view of the relations of grace and freedom. Augustinianism is an innovation of the fifth century. But for more than half of his lifetime Augustine himself (*ob.* 430) held the orthodox catholic synergistic view. In 387 (at the age of 33) he held that it is by our free act of faith that we are cleansed from sin: "Peccatores credere jubentur, ut a peccatis credendo purgentur." A moral act of the will constitutes the reason why God justifies the one and not the other: "Praecedit aliquid in peccatoribus, quo, quamais nondum sint justificati, digni efficiantur justificatione." A divine call (*vocatio*) turns man's attention to his need of salvation; but this *vocatio* becomes effectual only through the mediation of the will.

In his work on the will (A. D. 390) Augustine teaches thus: Despite all the weakness of the sinner, he has got the ability to pray, to ask, to strive. God opens to those who knock. Man is honored with the ability to seek rightly after salvation: "Tantum illi praestitit dignitatis, ut in ejus etiam potestate poneret, si vellet ad beatitudinem tendere." In commenting on Romans he says: "It is nowhere said that *God* believes all things in us. Our faith, therefore, is our own." "God gives his Spirit to one who he foreknows will believe."

About the time of his episcopal consecration (396) Augustine (at the age of 42) is thrown out of accord with catholic doctrine by the reaction of his opposition to Pelagianism. In combating undue freedomism he is led to extinguish moral freedom altogether. Two other factors helped to drive him to this extreme; namely, the remnants of his previous Manicheism and a physical conception of the action of grace. These influences were seen in his tractate, *Ad Simplicianum*. He here abandons the ethical character of the *vocatio* which God sends to sinners. The *vocatio* is now not the *occasion* of our

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faith, but the *efficient cause* of it, ("vocatio est effectrix bonae voluntatis.") This physical conception of grace landed Augustine necessarily in the non-catholic, unorthodox view of a particularistic predestination. If the *vocatio* is *per se* effective of faith, and if the mass of men do not have faith, then, of course, the *vocatio* is given only to particular individuals—the elect.

Pelagius, ignoring the deep significance of the fall, had taught not only that our freedom enables us to initiate a holy life, ("possibilitas bonae actionis a Deo creatore insita,") but also that all the grace we need consists in simple instruction. Augustine did not correct this by holding that the downward force of universal depravity needs to be counteracted—and *is* counteracted—by an equally universal prevenient grace, (a grace which is only by accommodation termed *grace* at all, inasmuch as it is called for by the mere *justice* of God,) so that by this prevenient owed grace all men are now in fact able to co-work with the calling Spirit, and thus inaugurate holy lives; but he went to the opposite error, denied that the counteraction of depravity is a debt of divine justice, and held that this counteraction, wherever wrought, gives to us not only the ability to initiate a holy life, but also actually produces that life. Thus Augustinianism and Pelagianism are simply two equal heresies, each equally distant from the catholic doctrine, and each containing that half of the whole truth which the other suppressed. The true half of Pelagianism is its defense of the moral autonomy of man; its false half is its suppression of grace. It is a monergism of *man*. The true half of Augustinianism is its emphasizing the necessity of grace; its false half is its suppressing the moral autonomy of man. It is a monergism of *God*. The catholic view rejects the two errors and embraces the two truths. The catholic doctrine is not monergism but synergism. Neither God nor man, grace nor freedom, is to be suppressed; but grace *and* freedom *co*-operate.

The error of Pelagius tends to an insipid deism, that of Augustine to pantheism.

Another error which Augustine introduced into theology was that of a double, namely, a secret and revealed, will in God, the one not always harmonizing with the other. It came about thus: The Gospel is full of invitations to all men to come to God. But the grace of coming *to* God is not given to all.

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Hence the expressed will of God is not identical with his real will. Some are called effectually: these God intended to save. Some are not so called: these God intended not to save. This monstrous dualistic self-contradiction in God the catholic orthodox Church has constantly condemned and rejected.

Anti-catholic consequences of Augustinianism are: 1. The damnation of unbaptized infants. They are damned in virtue of the imputation of Adam's guilt to all of his descendants. See Shedd, ii, 88. But this damnation is of a mitigated character: "Potest recte dici, parvulos sine baptismo de corpore exeuntes in damnatione omnium mitissima futuros." "Quis dubitaverit parvulos non baptizatos, qui solum habent originale peccatum, nec ullis propriis aggravantur, in damnatione omnium levissima futuros." See Schaff, ii, 836. 2. Another consequence is the damnation of the whole mass of the Gentile world. Even the virtues of a Socrates or a Lucretia are but masked sins, *splendida vitia*, and they can only serve to mitigate their damnation—"ut mitius puniantur."

During the lifetime of Augustine the potency of his personality made a profound impression in favor of his system. Soon after his death, however, the orthodox consciousness discarded more or less positively the uncatholic notions which he had taught. The predominant drift of catholic theology after Augustine assumed a mediate position between Augustine and Pelagius, sometimes inclining rather toward the one, and then toward the other.

Predestinarian writers are fond of stigmatizing this tendency as semi-Pelagian. It would be equally correct, however, to call it semi-Augustinian. And neither term can justly be regarded as a stigma. The fact is, the post-Augustinian orthodoxy is simply the catholic synergism which had been catholic from the beginning.

Among those who reasserted the Greek anthropology against Augustine was Cassian, (*ob.* 440.) Said Cassian: Man's depravity is not an extinction of all desire for the good. Man is conscious of his moral bondage, and he can and should seek after salvation—"velle sanari, quaerere medicum." The seeds of all holiness are sown by God in the souls of all men; but without the help of grace we cannot develop them: "Dubitari non potest, inesse quidem omnia animae naturaliter virtutum semina

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beneficio Creatoris inserta, sed nisi haec opitulatione Dei fuerint excitata, ad incrementum perfectionis non poterunt pervenire." So taught Cassian. His neglect to refer very emphatically to universal prevenient grace as counteractive of depravity has given pretext for accusing him with leaning toward Pelagianism. But in fact he taught in the same way as Chrysostom and the Gregories.

Cassian was warmly opposed by Prosper, (*ob. cir.* 455,) who endeavored to induce Pope Cœlestin to condemn Cassian. But the papal brief was quite unsatisfactory. It entirely omitted Augustine's irresistible grace.

Much less Augustinian than Prosper was the author (perhaps Pope Leo the Great) of the work *De Vocatione Gentium.* This work teaches thus: There is no particularistic predestination; God wills the salvation of all; grace is universal, but not dynamic (*violenta*) in action; human freedom has some co-operative influence in conversion. These views are insisted on without giving up some of the harsh features of Augustine.

Faustus of Rhegium (*ob. cir.* 493) stood between Cassian and Leo. He taught the universality of grace, the co-operation of freedom with grace, and the possibility of Gentile salvation—"lege naturae, quam Deus in omnium cordibus scriprit in spe adventus Christi." "The efficaciousness of grace," said Faustus, "depends upon the free-will of man."

The provincial synod of Orange, A. D. 529, gave its sanction to a very mild Augustinianism. It decreed as follows: "Grace is not merely bestowed when we pray for it, but grace itself causes us to pray for it; the disposition to believe is effected by grace; the free-will, weakened in Adam, can only be restored through the grace of baptism; when man sins, he does his own will; when he does good he executes the will of God, yet voluntarily; through the grace of God all may save their souls; none are predestinated to sin; without prevenient grace none can love God."

These articles of Orange, though so mildly expressed, are intended to antagonize the orthodox synergism of the Eastern Church, and of the whole Church before Augustine. Their fatal unorthodox point is the dynamic character of grace: prevenient grace is the *cause* of faith.

It was but a momentary victory. The milder views of Cas-

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sian and Faustus—the same as those of Chrysostom—maintained their position, and were, in fact, the faith of the subsequent centuries. Let us now follow the course of catholic thought down to the next Augustinian disturbance in the Gottschalk controversy of the ninth century.

Under the influence of Faustus the innovations of Augustine had been condemned at two provincial synods—at Arles, in 472, and at Lyons, in 475. In the wake of these synods followed a succession of able theologians—Arnobius, Gennadius, Ennodius, Vincent of Lerinum—who maintained the orthodox synergism of the earlier Church.

The most prominent name in the following century is Gregory the Great, *ob.* 604. His system is partially Augustinian, but it contains elements which imply synergism. Among his positions are these: The good which we do is a joint product of grace and of the freed will: "Bonum quod agimus et Dei est, et nostrum: Dei, per praevenientem gratiam; nostrum, per obsequentem liberam voluntatem." Grace can be lost. There is no absolute decree. Grace is prevenient and also subsequent. Prevenient grace operates, but also co-operates. Subsequent grace *helps* us to succeed—"ne inaniter velimus, sed possimus implese." Wesleyan synergism is but a repetition of these sentiments.

In the path of Gregory followed Isidore of Seville, *ob.* 636. He holds thus: Prevenient grace makes the new life possible. "Before the gift of grace there is in man a free-will, but not a will efficient to good." But Isidore's system is not self-consistent.

How little the Latin Church held to the Augustinian innovations upon the old orthodoxy is evident from the suddenness with which the fatalistic predestinarian views of Gottschalk disappeared after his death. Gottschalk (*ob.* 868) taught as follows: There is a twofold predestination: "Gemina est praedestinatio, sive electorum ad requiem, sive reproborum ad mortem." Christ did not die for all. Baptism washes out depravity; but only the elect among the baptized will really be saved. The fall of man did not come about by man's free-will, but was a part of God's absolute decree, by which the whole drama of hi tory was arranged beforehand.

These views of Gottschalk raised a storm of opposition.

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They violated the catholic Christian consciousness. They were at once opposed by Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mayence, (*ob.* 856,) who affirmed that predestination was based on foreknowledge, that Christ died for all men, and that God would that all should be saved. How repulsive to the Christian public the views of Gottschalk were is plain from this statement of Rabanus to Hincmar, (see Hagenbach, ii, 57:) "Notum sit dilectioni vestrae, quod quidem gyrovagus monachus; nomine Gotescale, qui se asserit sacerdotem in nostra parochia ordinatum, de Italia venit ad nos Moguntiam, novas superstitiones et noxiam doctrinam de praedestinatione Dei introducens et populos in errorem mitteus; dicens quod praedestinatio Dei, sicut in bono, sic ita et in malo, at tales sint in hoc mundo quidam, qui propter praedestinationem Dei, quae eos cogat in mortem ire, non possint ab errore et peccato se corrigere, quasi Deus eos fecisset ab initio incorrigibilis esse, et poenae obnoxios in interitum ire."

Gottschalk's views were condemned by the Synod of Mayence in 848, and by that of Quiercy in 849. By the influence of Hincmar a second synod of Quiercy in 853 affirmed that election is conditioned upon foreknowledge, that the freedom of will lost in Adam is restored in Christ, that Christ died for all, and that God willed the salvation of all.

A few dissident bishops in vain opposed these positions in synods at Valence and at Langres, (859.) The revival of Augustinianism was but of spasmodic duration. The catholic consciousness would not, and never did, give up these sentiments, (affirmed at Quiercy in 853,) to wit: "Homo libero arbitrio male utens peccavit et cecidit. Deus elegit secundum praescientiam suam. Perituros non praedestinavit ut perirent. Libertatem arbitrii quam in primo homine perdidimus, per Christum recepimus. Et habemus liberum arbitrium ad bonum, praeventum et adjutum gratia; et habemus liberum arbitrius ad malum, desertum gratia. Deus omnes homines sine exceptione vult salvos fieri, licet non omnes salventur."

From Hincmar we pass now to the next great exponent of catholicity, Peter Lombard, *ob. cir.* 1160. Lombard is an earnest defender of the *ethical* nature of the religious life. He holds that faith, though assisted by prevenient grace, is an act not of God but of man, and that this act is pleasing to

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God, and is rewarded by God by richer gifts of grace. He says, (*Sent.*, *lib.* ii, *d.* 27:) "Actus nostri sunt meritorii in quantum procedunt ex libero arbitrio moto a Deo per gratiam. Unde omnis actus humanus, qui subjicitur libero arbitrio, si sit relatus in Deum, potest meritorius esse. Ipsum autem credere est actus intellectus assentientis veritati divinae ex imperio voluntatis a Deo motae per gratiam: et sic subjacet libero arbitrio in ordine ad Deum: unde actus fidei potest esse meritorius—si tamen adsit caritas."

In Anselm (*ob.* 1109) there is a partial leaning toward Augustine. Nevertheless, he held it as absurd to say that man is free to evil but not free to good, ("non esse liberum arbitrium nisi ad mala.") He endeavored to maintain freedom of will without giving up predestination. The beginning of a holy life presupposes *prevenient* grace; its continuance, *attending* grace. Anselm makes no use of merely formal freedom, therein agreeing with Augustine.

Bernard (*ob.* 1153) taught that freedom of will remains after the fall. It is real, though feeble—"etsi miserum, tamen integrum." To will (*velle*) is present, but to accomplish (*posse*) is lacking. Here is the need of grace. In this Bernard agrees with Lombard, who says: "Dei gratiam non advocat hominis voluntas vel operatio, sed ipsa gratia voluntatem praevenit praeparando ut velit bonum, et praeparatam adjuvat ut perficiat." Thus, though man is free, yet without grace he cannot free himself from the bondage of depravity. This brings us back to the true catholic view, which has prevailed, on the whole, from the beginning.

The slightly wavering course of Anselm was followed by Hugo, St. Victor, Alexander Hales, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and some others. These all insist, however, on the moral autonomy of man, and thus defend the original and permanent catholic view in a manner which Augustine would have condemned; but yet they retained the use of the Augustinian phraseology on the subject of foreknowledge and predestination, and vainly endeavored to explain the latter into consistency with the former.

St. Victor (*ob.* 1141) says: "We must distinguish from each other the act of willing in itself and the direction of the will to a particular object. Willing in itself is purely the act of

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man; but as soon as it directs itself to particular objects it finds itself limited by the divine order of the world, so that it can take only the direction where the way has been left open for it by the latter." Before his fall man was equally able to sin or not to sin, "posse peccare et posse non peccare." After the fall, and without grace, he can only sin, "posse peccare et non posse non peccare." By the aid of prevenient grace he can sin or not sin, "posse peccare et posse non peccare." In the state of Christian sanctification he has risen above the liability to sin, "posse non peccare et non posse peccare." With such essentially catholic synergistic views the retention of predestination could manifestly be but an empty phraseology.

Alexander Hales (*ob.* 1245) says: "God's foreknowledge is all-embracing, and yet man's acts are truly free and contingent. Free-will and destination stand in no contradiction to each other: Ipsum liberum nostrum arbitrium est una causarum secundum cujus ordinationem ad suos effectus currit series fati." With these views of Hales Albertus Magnus fully coincides. He distinctly holds that human volition is a true *cause.*

Thomas Aquinas, (*ob.* 1274,) though seriously entangled in the innovations of Augustine, yet constantly repels the unethical consequences of that system. He assigns a positive value to the free-will of man. Says Shedd, (ii, 312:) Aquinas "teaches that the remission of sin depends *to a certain extent* upon the character and conduct of the individual." Thus Aquinas is a synergist.

Bonaventura (*ob.* 1274) speaks of predestination, but bases it in God's foreknowledge of the free conduct of man: "Praescientia includit in cognitione liberum arbitrium et ejus cooperationem et vertibilitatem." This is the uniform catholic view.

Duns Scotus (*ob.* 1308) is no longer hampered by the novelties of Augustine. He thoroughly safeguards man's moral autonomy. In the will we are to distinguish between *potentia* and *habitus*, between formal freedom and determined freedom. The latter is generated by the action of the former, and not the converse, as Augustine taught; otherwise, freedom would be compromised. Conformity to the will of God, as effected by man in co-operation with grace, constitutes a fitness for

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heavenly reward. Predestination is contingent. It in no way binds the freedom of man.

The tendency of Duns Scotus in respect to man's moral autonomy was the prevailing one in the following centuries.

We pass at once to the last of the scholastics, Gabriel Biel, *ob.* 1495. Biel taught that inherited depravity is not *per se* positive, damnable sin. It is a defect, ("carentia justitiae originalis.") Man, though free, is yet unable without assisting grace ("gratia gratum faciens") to lead a God-pleasing life. It is only by the co-operation of grace and our own moral nature that rewardable virtue ("bonum meritorium") is possible. Biel went so far as to hold that as man possesses real, not seeming, moral freedom, hence he is abstractly able to avoid sin; but that, nevertheless, in the concrete reality of life this abstract possibility is never realized. A holy life is never realized without grace. Such is the extent of Biel's much-decried Pelagianism.

But the uncatholic fatalism of Augustine was not entirely lost sight of. Occasionally an isolated mind, charmed with its seeming high appreciation of grace, raised a feeble voice in its behalf. Thus Thomas Bradwardine (*ob.* 1349) proclaimed the most absolute fatalism. In order to exalt God and abase man he held that God is the sole, direct, absolute cause of all that takes place in time. Hence there is no ground for a distinction between foreordination and foreknowledge. Predestination does not depend on foreknowledge — "quod nulla scientia Dei causatur a posterioribus rebus scitis." Even sin is, in a certain sense, willed by God. Man's will is a mere form in which God's will operates. God's will and grace are irresistible and unconditioned.

It was only by such uncatholic, unscriptural, fatalistic, and pantheistic errors that earnest though narrow men like Gottschalk and Bradwardine undertook to counteract the over-emphasizing of human ability which had practically, not theoretically, been occasionally exhibited by official orthodoxy. It is but the uniform phenomenon of human weakness. "Similia similibus curantur." One error is thought to be cured by another. But the matter is worse than that in this case. For a merely practical error is thought to be cured by committing a grave theological one. Human autonomy, moral liberty, is

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thought to be kept within due limits by suppressing it altogether. Divine co-operating grace is thought to be honored by making it all-operative, and by changing it from an ethical to a magico-dynamic character.

The earnest Wiclif (*ob.* 1384) fell into this fatalistic departure from catholicity. In the footsteps of Bradwardine he held that God's causative action is the sole cause of all that *is*. And he avoided making God the direct cause of sin only by denying all positive character to sin. Sin is not an actuality, but simply a *non ens*. So far as sin exists, it is willed by God: "Deus necessitat creaturas singulas activas ad quemlibet actum suum." This manifestly annihilates all possibility of human freedom. And yet Wiclif stands aghast at this consequence, and endeavors by subtleties to avoid it. Thus his moral consciousness is synergistic and catholic, while his speculations are Augustinian and Gottschalkian.

It is by a curious though entirely unessential connection of things that the Reformation of the sixteenth century—that intense virtualization of man's moral autonomy, (*αὐτεξούσιον*,) that highest proof of the reality of man's individual initiative power—becoming outwardly associated with an unorthodox form of doctrine, theoretically annihilated that very autonomy of which it was itself the intensest exemplification. That this association of a revived Christian life in Luther, Zwinglius, and Calvin with uncatholic and unorthodox notions of an unconditional predestination and of the irresistibility of grace, was not essential but simply incidental, is evident (to cite but a single reason) from the entire absence of these notions from the great Wesleyan revival of the eighteenth century. What more thorough, spiritual, and lasting reformation than this can be cited in the whole history of the Church? And who denies its thoroughly synergistic character?

But the alliance of the Reformation with an uncatholic speculative theology is readily accounted for on historical grounds. By the time of the Reformation it had become a long-standing tradition that opposition to the official orthodoxy should assume the form of an exaggerated Augustinianism. In the first place the predestinarian innovations of Augustine himself had been officially condemned. Then, in the ninth century, when the wandering monk, Gottschalk, put himself

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into antagonism to the Church of the age, it was in the name of an extreme supralapsarian predestination that he appeared. Gottschalk was rewarded for his zeal by being harassed and vexed to death. Thus his earnest, persecuted life and his high predestinarianism became historically closely associated. Four centuries later Bradwardine revived the fatalistic views of Gottschalk. He escaped persecution only by dying before official attention became fixed upon him. Wiclif took up the views of Bradwardine, and was condemned and persecuted. Huss, whose theology was but an echo of that of Wiclif, was condemned, and his followers were put down by fire and sword. Thus it had become traditional that earnest protests against the practical irreligion of the priesthood were allied with an uncatholic theology. And thus it was *a priori* almost certain that any future assaults upon the religious abuses of the official Church would be associated with an unorthodox predestinationism. And this merely incidental historical association constituted in fact the mold by which, a century later, the theoretical systems of Luther and Calvin were actually shaped.

Before noticing the peculiar doctrines of Luther and Calvin, it will be well to trace the current of Latin orthodoxy down to its latest utterances on the question before us.

Wimpina (*ob.* 1531) charged Luther with teaching direct fatalism. To this he opposed the catholic doctrine thus: If even the heathen, (Rom. i, 14,) who have but the "lex naturae," can by preventing grace ("solo auxilio divino praeventi") do works "moraliter bona," how much more is this the case with those who have the "lex scripta" and the help of special grace! —"auxilium gratuito movens!" Grace is not irresistible— "hominem non cogit ad bene operandum." It simply works with the will—"assistat et juvet arbitrium." We are synergists with God: "Dei sumus adjutores, quod alii synergos, id est, cooperatores appellarunt." The "libertas arbitrii" is annulled neither by preventing grace ("generalis influentia") nor by the grace of special awakening, ("auxilium gratuito voluntatem movens;") but it is simply helped. The ground of predestination is the foreseen good or bad conduct of the subject. Without grace men cannot turn to God—"non possunt sese praeparare."

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The notorious Eck (*ob.* 1543) pleaded boldly for orthodoxy against the early fatalism of Melanchthon: "Quia omnia do necessitate absoluta eveniunt, nulla est arbitrii libertas." Against this he had but to exclaim: "What need, then, for *preces, consilia, praemia virtutum, poenae, leges, statuta!* Though we owe to God all that we have, yet this does not exclude the "activitas liberi arbitrii." Though without grace a holy life is impossible, yet the action of grace is not of a physico-dynamic character; it does not *force*, but it *co-operates with* the will."

Erasmus (*ob.* 1536) stood firm against the revival of the errors of Augustine. He held thus: Freedom of will in man in general still exists, otherwise sin would not be sin. Our good lives are the joint products of divine grace and human freedom. Awakening grace is universal; no one is without it.

The Council of Trent (1546) in its philosophy of regeneration formulated what had been essentially the voice of orthodoxy from the beginning. It held thus: By the fall of Adam all men have so become the servants of sin that they are unable ("non possunt") by the law of nature to be liberated ("liberari") therefrom. Nevertheless, free-will is not extinct. The beginning of the regenerated life is from the prevenient grace of God. This grace becomes effective by man's freely assenting to and co-operating with it, ("gratiae libere assentiendo et cooperando.") Though man is able to reject grace, yet he is unable by his own free-will ("libera sud voluntate") to turn to holiness. "If any one saith that man's free-will, moved and excited by God, by assenting to God exciting and calling, nowise co-operates toward disposing and preparing itself for obtaining the grace of justification, and that it cannot refuse its consent if it would, but that, as something inanimate, it does nothing whatever, and is merely passive: let him be anathema." So reads Canon IV, on Justification. And Canon V is equally explicit: "If any one saith that since Adam's sin the free-will of man is lost and extinguished; or, that it is a thing with only a name; yea, a name without a reality, a figment, in fine, introduced into the Church by Satan: let him be anathema." And the unorthodox notion of the physico-dynamic action of grace is thus condemned in Canon XXIII: "If any one saith that a man once justified can sin

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no more, nor lose grace, and that therefore he that falls and sins was never truly justified, . . . let him be anathema."

In these positions the Council of Trent did but re-affirm that which had been catholic doctrine from the beginning. Its voice on these points is the voice of the whole orthodox Church of the Orient. And, aside from the individualistic novelties of Augustine, it is essentially the voice of the whole series of great theologians of the West. And these definitions are final and authoritative in the whole Latin Church to this day.

Thus it appears that of the 370,000,000 of Christians in the world at the present time nearly three fourths (Schaff gives 190,000,000 of Latins, 80,000,000 of Greeks, and 100,000,000 of Protestants) teach essentially the synergism which has prevailed in the Church catholic from the beginning.

When we now turn to the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century we are confronted at once by the curious fact that the three great founders of Protestantism—Luther, Zwinglius, and Calvin—were decidedly uncatholic and unorthodox on the subject of the relation of divine grace to the action of the human will. They all became entangled in a physico-dynamic conception of the action of God on the souls of men. From this resulted necessarily the *irresistibility of grace:* grace being a dynamic, an efficient cause *per se*, it always produces its intended effect. This led to a *partial atonement:* Christ did not die for all, otherwise all would be saved; for grace can never be defeated. And this gives rise to the invention of two *unscriptural decrees* of election and of reprobation. But it was impossible to deny that the Bible proclaims a ready salvation for all men. How is the force of that to be evaded? By the monstrous invention of *a dualistic will in God*—a *revealed* will which offers salvation to *all* men, and a *secret* will which nullifies and defeats the revealed will!

Such was the immense ballast of uncatholic error with which Protestantism was hampered from its very infancy. Why did not the young Church sink under the burden? Simply because these errors are of such a nature that it is impossible *practically to believe them.* They imply that salvation is exclusively from God, that God saves just *whom*, and *when*, and *how* he pleases, and that all the efforts of man are incapable either of preparing, or hastening, or *in any way contributing one iota*

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thereto. Now, the logical tendency of such a belief would be to paralyze all human effort and concern about our ultimate salvation. But the dogma is so contradictory to our moral consciousness that it cannot be fully believed and acted upon. Its reflex, its *indirect*, effect is to awaken in us a very strong, trembling desire that "we individually might also be among the happy number of God's elect." Now, *this desire itself* is already *essentially* a humble petition for salvation. It is a thirsting for salvation. It is really a very strong virtualization of man's moral autonomy or ethical freedom of will. It is an actual co-operating with that grace which is the congenital heritage of every child of Adam. And this right use of present ability conditions, sooner or later, a richer presence of God in the heart—the normal result of all which is a true, orthodox, catholic, synergistic conversion, such as had been taking place in the Church from the beginning.

Thus the erroneous theories of the young Protestant Church were of such a nature as to be simply hinderances, but not entire barriers, to spiritual reformation. They only retarded, but could not defeat the efforts of good and holy men. Providence uses imperfect instruments. Essentially good movements are often enwrapped in very erroneous speculations. But our healthy intuitional subjectivism will not heed our speculative abstractions, and often arrives at its goal in spite of them.

But that the predestinarian fatalism of the early Reformers was an immense misfortune to the new Church is clearly manifest from two considerations: 1. The cause of God does not need the assistance of theological and anthropological error. And surely the unvarying testimony of orthodox catholicity against an unconditional predestination justifies us in regarding such predestination as an error until it proves itself to be true. 2. The whole history of Protestant theological thought for now three and a half centuries has consisted *partly* in a vain endeavor to explain unconditional predestination into consistency with our moral intuitions, but *chiefly* in the work of eliminating and casting it off. Bright names in this great movement of Protestant emancipation and of return to orthodox catholicity are Melanchthon, Arminius, Wesley. The essence of this movement has consisted in simply the self-reassertion of the healthy Christian consciousness.

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The final result is, that of the 100,000,000 of Protestants now existing the very large majority have long since found their way back to the simple synergistic doctrine of œcumenical orthodoxy, while with the remnant the Augustinian errors are held more as a matter of official symbolic thralldom than from hearty youthful conviction. They lurk rather in the scholastic seminaries than in the evangelical pulpit.

We conclude, therefore, by the emphatic re-assertion of our thesis, to wit, that the synergism which was taught by Mr. Wesley is an essential of orthodox catholicity, and, by consequence, that the monergism of Augustine, Luther, and Calvin is an individualistic innovation, destined ultimately to be entirely sloughed off.

Art. II.—IGNATIUS AND HIS EPISTLES.

I. Personal History.

Of the personal history of Ignatius, as of the personal history of the great majority of the Apostolical Fathers, little is known; and this little cannot be accepted with full faith in its trustworthiness. Tradition relates that he was the child whom Christ placed before his disciples as the model of humility, (Matt. xviii, 2–4; Mark ix, 36;) and as the Saviour took the child in his arms, Ignatius was consequently surnamed Theophorus, "Borne or carried by God."* The chief authority for his personal history is the *Martyrium Ignatii*, a brief narrative professing to be written by those who accompanied him on his voyage to Rome and witnessed his death. Though its genuineness has been questioned by Daillé (Dallæus) and others, it has been regarded by most scholars as the work of Philo, Agathopus, and perhaps Crocus, whom Ignatius mentions as his traveling companions.† Accepting the genuineness and authenticity of the narrative, we learn that Ignatius was bishop of the Church at Antioch at the close of the first and beginning of the

* In the "Martyrdom" (ii) this term is explained as meaning, "He who has Christ within his breast."

† Epist. to Smyr., x; to Phila., xi; to Rom., x.

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second century;* that he presented himself as a Christian before Trajan's tribunal on the occasion of that emperor's expedition against Armenia and the Parthians;† that he was condemned to suffer death at Rome; that he journeyed to that city and wrote letters to the Churches on the way; and that on his arrival he was consigned to the wild beasts in the Coliseum. These are the prominent facts in the life of Ignatius. But of his personal characteristics, accepting provisionally the genuineness of his seven epistles, a more full exhibit can be made. As from the footprints on the shore Cuvier or Agassiz determined the species and size of the animal, so from the epistles of Ignatius may be learned his character by means of the impressions which he stamped upon them.

The most prominent characteristic of the author of these letters is courage. Fear is unknown to him. He is bold to apparent rashness. He is eager for a martyr's crown. "I am," he writes, "the wheat of God, and let me be ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ."‡ "Entice the wild beasts," he begs his friends, "that they may become my tomb." "May I enjoy the wild beasts." "I am eager to die." Courage, bravery, fearlessness, is the conspicuous element in the character of Ignatius.

The examination of the cause of his courage reveals a second fundamental characteristic—his love of Christ. His affection for the incarnate Lord is burning and impulsive. It is as intense, to compare human things with divine, as the emotion of Abelard toward Heloise, or as self-sacrificing as the love of David for Absalom. Rejoicing in his sentence of death, he sings, "I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast vouchsafed to honor me with a perfect love toward thee, and hast made to be bound with iron chains like thy apostle Paul." "Let," he

* Traditions differ concerning the episcopal succession. He was probably either the first or second successor of Peter.

† It is uncertain whether this expedition occurred in 106–107 or in 114–115. Coins and documents represent that Trajan did not come to Antioch on his Parthian expedition till 114 or 115. The text of the "Martyrium" upon this point is doubtful. It is either "ninth" or "nineteenth." The supposition of Tillemont, of two expeditions, is untenable.

‡ The translations are taken from the "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," edited by Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., and James Donaldson, LL.D. Vol. i. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1867.

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exclaims, in the divine aspiration of his soul, "let fire and the cross, let the crowds of wild beasts, . . . let all the shatterings of the whole body, let all the torments of the devil, come upon me; only let me attain Jesus Christ." Why, he asks, does he surrender himself to death, to fire, to the sword, to wild beasts? Because he who is near to the sword is near to God, and he who is among the wild beasts is in company with God, provided only he be so in the name of Jesus Christ. Ignatius is, as Novalis says of Spinoza, "God-intoxicated;" but, unlike the great pantheist, his spirit is aflame with love for the personal, living, dying, and ever-living Christ. In the strength of the incarnate God he is strong. Of his faith in the God-man is born his Pauline courage.

Flowing from his courage and Christian faith is a third element in the author's character—enthusiasm. His beliefs, his thoughts, glow with the white heat of the intensest emotions. They are not cold intellections; they flash with the furnace-fire of the feelings. The strongest metaphors quiver with the agitation which he throws into them. "It is better for me to die in behalf of Jesus Christ than to reign over all the ends of the earth," he confesses. "Suffer me to obtain pure light," he begs. "Permit me to be an imitator of the passion of my God," he commands. His enthusiasm impels to Trajan's tribunal; it hurries him across the seas to his martyrdom.

But through the warp and woof of this courage, Godward love, and enthusiasm, runs a thread of spiritual pride. In the whirl of his emotions, in the sportings of his imagination, in the extravagance of his exclamations, is discernible a hauteur neither Christ-like nor Pauline. The excesses of his wild metaphors are very unlike the calm assurance of "I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course. I have kept the faith." Their intensity breathes not only a sublime faith in the incarnate God, but also a consciousness of nobler experiences than those to which Roman or Ephesian Christian has attained. "I have," he writes, "great knowledge in God," and lest he perish through boasting a constant restraint curbs his words. His Epistle to Polycarp is colored with emotions which hardly deserve a milder term than spiritual conceit. He addresses the disciple of St. John not as an equal, but as a pupil. He implores him to give himself to prayer without ceasing. He

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beseeches him to stand firm as an anvil when it is beaten. He exhorts him to be wise and to flee the arts of the devil. He commands him to be watchful and possess a sleepless spirit. A consciousness of his superiority to his brother bishop and other Christians flows through his letters. The heir of a salvation toward which he so rapidly journeys, he forgets that others are pressing toward the mark for the prize of the same high calling.

Allied with his pride in his Christian virtues is his respect for the authority and institutions of the Church. On his pages first appears the term the "Catholic Church"—*καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*, (*Smyrnius*, chap. viii.) His pen is the first and the ablest of the early Fathers to advocate the most comprehensive unity of its organization and purity of its doctrine. To the bishop respect should be paid, he argues, as to Christ, since the one whom the master sends to be over his household should be respected as the master himself. With a similar sacredness he invests the presbyter. The presbyter is made the disciple of the bishop, as John and Peter were of Christ. In his pages not only have "the glorious company of the apostles" and "the goodly fellowship of the prophets" been endowed with divine rights, but also the holy Church throughout all the world has become the vicegerent of the King of kings.

The sixth and last element in the character of the author of the Ignatian letters which we shall examine is his tenderness toward others, or his courtesy. Occasionally this tenderness is manifested in a propensity to flatter. He tells the members of the Magnesian Church that they are "full of God," and that his Christian experience is not worthy to be compared with that of any of their number.

This courtesy of disposition is also exhibited in his treatment of those whom he deems heretics. Though pleading with earnestness for the unity of the Church, the shafts of his arguments directed against schismatics are poisoned with neither bitterness nor hate. A kindly charity breathes in his words. "Evil offshoots will produce death-bearing fruits," are the harshest terms which he discovers for the errors of the Docetæ. His severest denunciation of heretics is the plain statement that they are of this world, and shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But at the same time he urges prayer for their re-

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pentance. His opponents in Christian doctrine and Church organization he treats with a civility which indicates the courtesy of his nature. This courtesy, however, is more frequently manifested in care and anxiety for the welfare of his fellow-Christians. He is a most diligent pastor. He constantly warns his flock of the wolves who would carry captive the sheep of the divine Shepherd.

II. Epistles.

No less than fifteen epistles are extant bearing the name of Ignatius. Two are addressed to the apostle John, and one each to the Virgin Mary, to Mary of Cassobolis, to the Tarsians, to the Antiochians, to Hero, (a deacon of the Church at Antioch,) and to the Philippians; also to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians, the Romans, the Philadelphians, the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp, a single letter each is inscribed. These epistles are represented by several MSS. written in several languages. (1) Two Greek MSS. contain all the letters with the exception of the two to John and the one to the Virgin. MSS. in Latin corresponding to the text of the Greek are also extant. (2) A Greek MS. ascribed to the eleventh century contains at least nine epistles:* the epistle to the Smyrnæans, to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, to the Magnesians, to the Philadelphians, to the Trallians, Mary of Cassobolis to Ignatius, Ignatius to Mary of Cassobolis, and a part of the epistle to the Tarsians.† To this MS. also corresponds a Latin version which is supposed to belong to the fourteenth century. An Armenian version, said to be as early as the fifth century, contains thirteen epistles. (3) Three MSS. in Syriac contain the epistle to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans. The discovery of these MSS. forms an era in the discussion of the Ignatian literature. In the years 1838, 1839, and 1842, Archdeacon Tattam, of England, visited the monastery of St. Mary Deipara, in the desert of Nisria, in Egypt. From that monastery he obtained a large number of ancient Syriac MSS. They were deposited in the British Museum, and, on an examination by the distinguished Oriental scholar, the late Dr. William

* It is mutilated at the end, and, therefore, the exact number originally contained in it cannot be ascertained.

† See "Quarterly Review" for 1851, "Ignatian Epistles," for excellent summaries, pp. 73 *seq.*

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Cureton, were found to contain the three epistles just named. The principal question discussed since the discovery of these Syriac MSS. respecting this literature is, Does the Greek or the Syriac version more exactly represent the original Ignatius? It is, of course, granted that the MSS. now existing were not themselves written by the martyr. Dr. Cureton even considers that the Syriac MS. of the epistle to Polycarp belongs to the middle of the sixth century.

Before entering upon the consideration of the genuineness of these different versions we believe we cannot be of greater aid to the reader than by placing before him the translation of the Epistle to the Romans as found in the Syriac. This epistle fairly represents the author's style and method of thought, and conveys an accurate idea of the discussion as conducted in the other letters.

EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

Ignatius, who is [also called] Theophorus, to the Church which has received grace through the greatness of the Father Most High; to her who presideth in the place of the region of the Romans, who is worthy of God, and worthy of life, and happiness, and praise, and remembrance, and is worthy of prosperity, and presideth in love, and is perfected in the law of Christ unblamable: [wishes] abundance of peace.

I. From of old have I prayed to God that I might be counted worthy to behold your faces which are worthy of God; now, therefore, being bound in Jesus Christ, I hope to meet you and salute you, if it be the will [of God] that I should be accounted worthy to the end. For the beginning is well arranged, if I be counted worthy to attain unto the end, that I may receive my portion without hinderance, through suffering. For I am in fear of your love, lest it should injure me. As to you, indeed, it is easy for you to do whatsoever ye wish; but as for me, it is difficult for me to be accounted worthy of God, if indeed ye spare me not.

II. For there is no other time such as this that I should be accounted worthy of God; neither will ye, if ye be silent, [ever] be found in a better work than this. If ye let me alone, I shall be the word of God; but if ye love my flesh, again am I [only] to myself a voice. Ye cannot give me any thing more precious than this, that I should be sacrificed to God while the altar is ready; that ye may be in one concord in love, and may praise God the Father through Jesus Christ our Lord, because he has deemed a bishop worthy to be God's, having called him from the East to the West. It is good that I should set from the world in God, that I may rise in him to life.

III. Ye have never envied any man. Ye have taught others.

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Only pray ye for strength to be given to me from within and from without, that I may not only speak, but also may be willing, and that I may not merely be called a Christian, but also may be found to be [one]; for if I am found to be [so], I may then also be called [so]. Then [indeed] shall I be faithful, when I am no longer seen in the world. For there is nothing visible that is good. The work is not [a matter] of persuasion; but Christianity is great when the world hateth it.

IV. I write to all the Churches, and declare to all men, that I willingly die for the sake of God, if so be that ye hinder me not. I entreat of you not to be [affected] toward me with a love which is unseasonable. Leave me to become [the prey of] the wild beasts, that by their means I may be accounted worthy of God. I am the wheat of God, and by the teeth of the beasts shall I be ground, that I may be found the pure bread of God. Provoke ye greatly the wild beasts, that they may be for me a grave, and may leave nothing of my body, in order that when I have fallen asleep I may not be a burden to any one. Then shall I be a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world seeth not even my body. Entreat of our Lord in my behalf, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I do not, like Peter and Paul, issue orders unto you. They are apostles, but I am one condemned; they indeed are free, but I am a slave, even until now. But if I suffer I shall be the freedman of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise in him from the dead, free. And now, being in bonds, I learn to desire nothing.

V. From Syria, and even unto Rome, I am cast among wild beasts, by sea and by land, by night and by day, being bound between ten leopards, which are the bonds of soldiers, who, even when I do good to them, all the more do evil unto me. I, however, am the rather instructed by their injurious treatment; but not on this account am I justified to myself. I rejoice in the beasts which are prepared for me, and I pray that they may in haste be found for me; and I will provoke them speedily to devour me, and not be as those which are afraid of some other men, and I will not approach them; even should they not be willing to approach me, I will go with violence against them. Know me from myself what is expedient for me. Let no one envy me of those things which are seen and which are not seen, that I should be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ. Fire, and the cross, and the beasts that are prepared, cutting off of the limbs, and scattering of the bones, and crushing of the whole body, harsh torments of the devil—let these come upon me, but only let me be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ.

VI. The pains of the birth stand over against me.

VII. And my love is crucified, and there is no fire in me for another love. I do not desire the food of corruption, neither the lusts of this world. I seek the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ; and I seek his blood, a drink which is love incorruptible.

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IX.* My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the Churches which received me as the name of Jesus Christ; for those also who were near to [my] way in the flesh preceded me in every city. Now,† therefore, being about to arrive shortly in Rome, I know many things in God; but I keep myself within measure, that I may not perish through boasting, for now it is needful for me to bear the more, and not to pay regard to those who puff me up. For they who say such things to me scourge me; for I desire to suffer, but I do not know if I am worthy. For zeal is not visible to many, but with me it has war. I have need, therefore, of meekness, by which the prince of this world is destroyed. I am able to write to you of heavenly things, but I fear lest I should do you an injury. Know me from myself. For I am cautious lest ye should not be able to receive [such knowledge,] and should be perplexed. For even I, not because I am in bonds, and am able to know heavenly things, and the places of angels and the stations of the powers that are seen and that are not seen, am on this account a disciple; for I am far short of the perfection which is worthy of God. Be ye perfectly strong in the patience of Jesus Christ our God.‡

Although few in number, some scholars regard the whole body of the Ignatian literature as spurious. Baur, following out the principles of the Tübingen school in relation to the earliest patristic writings, considers it a fiction of the later half of the second century. Dr. W. D. Killen, too, declares them to be forgeries.§ The principal reasons, based upon internal evidence, which Dr. Killen applies specially to the Syriac epistles, are applicable to all the letters. If the Syriac version is spurious, *a fortiori* is the Greek.

"1. The way in which the word of God is ignored in these epistles argues strongly for their spuriousness. Every one acquainted with the early Fathers must have observed their frequent use of the sacred records. A considerable portion of a chapter is sometimes introduced in a quotation. Hence it has been remarked that were all the copies of the Bible lost, and the writings of these Fathers preserved, a large share of the holy volume might thus be recovered. But Ignatius would contribute nothing to the work of restoration; as, in the whole

* Chap. viii of the Greek is not contained in the Syriac version.

† The remainder is also found substantially in Trallians iv, v.

‡ "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," vol. i, pp. 281–285.

§ See "The Ancient Church: Its History, Doctrine, Worship, and Constitution Traced for the First Three Hundred Years," by W. D. Killen, D.D. London. 1859. Pp. 414–428.

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of the three letters, not a single verse of Scripture is given at length.

"2. The chronological blunders prove their spurious character.

"3. Various words are employed in a meaning which they did not acquire till a time long after the death of Ignatius. 'Purity' or 'chastity' and 'bishop' are such terms.

"4. The puerilities, vaporing, and mysticism of these letters proclaim their forgery.

"5. The unhallowed and insane desire and anxiety for martyrdom which appears throughout these letters is another decisive proof of fabrication."

But in favor of the genuineness of at least a certain part of the Ignatian literature several arguments are presented, the evidence of which, controverting the points just cited, amounts to hardly less than positive proof. It may here be remarked that the most strenuous defenders of this literatnre do not at the present day claim genuineness for other than the seven epistles to the Ephesians, to the Magnesians, to the Trallians, to the Romans, to the Philadelphians, to the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp. The following arguments are limited in their application to these seven letters.

1. The testimony of the Fathers. In the epistle of Polycarp to the Church at Philippi, written probably in the first quarter of the second century, the author remarks: "The epistles of Ignatius which he wrote unto us, together with his other letters which have come to our hands, we have sent to you according to your order, subjoined to this epistle; and ye may be greatly profited by them, for they treat of faith and patience, and of all things that pertain to edification in the Lord Jesus." Eusebius, in his "Ecclesiastical History," informs us that these letters of Ignatius, alluded to by Polycarp, were quoted by Irenæus. In the third century, Origen twice cites Ignatius by name. But the most important testimony is that of Eusebius, which is remarkably full and exact:—

Ignatius, who is celebrated among many, even to the present time, had obtained the episcopate, being secured in the succession from Peter at Antioch. Of whom it is related that being sent from Syria to the city of Rome, he was devoured by wild beasts on account of his confession of Christ. And passing through Asia under the vigilant guard of his keepers, confirming the dioceses, as he stayed at each city, by verbal discourses and exhorta-

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tions, he charged them most especially to beware of the heresies then springing up and beginning to abound, and exhorted them to maintain resolutely the tradition of the apostles, which for the more security he thought it necessary to set forth in writing also, thus confirming it by his own testimony. Having, therefore, arrived at Smyrna, where Polycarp was, he writes one epistle to the Church at Ephesus, mentioning its pastor, Onesimus; another to that at Magnesia on the Mæander, in which again he makes mention of their bishop, Damus; and another to that in Tralles, mentioning Polybius as then being its ruler. Besides these, he writes to the Church of the Romans; to whom he addresses an entreaty that they would not disappoint him of his hope and desire by interceding for the remission of his sentence. [Here follows the narrative found in Romans v, as quoted.] After he had set forth from Smyrna he wrote again from Troas to the Philadelphians and to the Church of the Smyrnæans, and particularly to Polycarp, its president, to whom—forasmuch as he well knew him to be an apostolical man—like a true and good shepherd he committed his flock at Antioch, entreating him diligently to take the charge of it. Moreover, in his epistle to the Smyrnæans he reports a saying, I know not whence derived, speaking in this manner concerning Christ: But I know and believe him to have been in the flesh, even after his resurrection. And when he came to Peter and the rest, he said unto them: Take hold, handle me, and see that I am not a spirit without body.

2. The vigor and freshness of their style also indicate the genuineness of these letters. These qualities are exemplified in the liberal quotations we have made, and are not such as a forger could easily counterfeit.

3. The quotations from the New Testament are very few. This proves that they were written at a time when the MSS. of the New Testament were difficult to obtain; that is, in the sub-apostolic age.

4. The directness and simplicity of its method of opposing the principal heresies of the early Church, particularly Gnosticism, show that these errors were in the first stage of development.

5. Though episcopacy is lauded,* the primacy of Rome is not recognized even in the epistle to the Romans.† This fact, though allowing no inference as to a definite date, indicates that the letters were composed not later than the third century.

The question, however, still remains for consideration, Does the Syriac or the shorter Greek recension more accurately represent the original Ignatius? That the longer Greek recension

* See Tral., vii, *et alias.* † Schaff's "History," i, 470.

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was formed by interpolations in the shorter is now granted by the common consent of scholarship. Respecting the genuineness of the Syriac or of the shorter Greek version, we incline toward the belief that the Greek more correctly represents the epistles as they were written by the martyr. The following reasons appear to us conclusive:—

1. The testimony of Eusebius, of the fourth century, proves the existence of the seven epistles which we now have in Greek. But, according to Dr. Cureton, the MS. of the Syriac version is not earlier than the sixth or seventh century, two or three centuries later than the date of Eusebius' "History," when the Greek version was circulating through the East.

2. The Greek version agrees with the citations made by the Fathers, not only of the first three centuries, but also with those of the fourth, fifth, and sixth, with an accuracy similar to that which is observed in the patristic quotations of the Scriptures.

3. The Syriac version is in places obscure for the lack of words which the Greek text supplies.

4. The translation and abridgment of Greek MSS. into Syriac was not uncommon in the first centuries of the Christian era.

5. A careful scrutiny and comparison of the Syriac and the Greek text indicates that the former is an abridgment of the latter. Baur, Hilgenfeld, and Uhlhorn, after a most minute examination of the two versions, arrived at this conclusion.*

6. The sixth and last argument that we present for the genuineness of the Greek text is derived from the personal characteristics of the author which are impressed upon the writings. These characteristics, it will be remembered, we found to be in the first division of the paper, courage, spirituality, enthusiasm, spiritual pride, extreme loyalty to the Church, and courtesy. These personal qualities, it must be observed, could not be inferred from the Syriac version.

The introduction of those personal elements into the problem of the genuineness of the Ignatian epistles materially aids its solution. The first question to be considered in relation to them is, Are these the characteristics which would be demanded in the bishop of the Church at Antioch, and which would be disciplined by the duties of that office. If they are, a strong argument follows for the genuineness of the letters; if they

* See "Quarterly Review" for 1851, pp. 97, 98; Schaff's "History," i, p. 471.

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are not, a corresponding presumption is established in behalf of their forged character.

Antioch was the metropolis of Syria. It had been the residence of the Syrian kings. It was, under the early emperors, the capital city of the East. Art and architecture had made it a Syrian Athens. Wealth had been so profusely lavished in its adornment that it was known as "the golden." In its cypress groves the Daphnean pleasures were celebrated with more than oriental luxuriance and exquisiteness. This city of architectural magnificence, profuse wealth, and pagan wickedness, was for the first centuries the center of Gentile Christianity. Here the disciples were first called Christians. Here Paul labored, and from the city's gates he set forth on his first missionary journey. Its bishops, headed, tradition relates, by Peter, ranked *in ordine dignitatis* after those of Rome and Alexandria. Its Christians numbered, in Chrysostom's day, 100,000, and its Church ministered to the needs of 3,000 of its poor. Antioch was, therefore, the Syrian Jerusalem. What, then, were the qualities needed in a bishop of such a Church of such a city in the last years of the first and the first years of the second century? Courage, that persecution may be endured without disruption of membership. Spirituality, love to Christ, that doctrine may be kept pure, that the allurements of pleasure may not beguile. Pride, that the consciousness of divine duties may repel the Christian from the degradations of heathenism. A loyalty to the Church, that neither imperial edict may cause dismay nor internal jealousies create disunion. And courtesy, that the charity of which the apostles who abode in the city wrote may blossom in all its life. The qualities which are demanded in the Antiochan bishop, and which were disciplined by the episcopal office, are precisely the qualities which are impressed upon the Ignatian epistles. The agreement is obvious. Ignatius was bishop of the Church at Antioch, and the characteristics of his reputed letters are the characteristics which were needed in and disciplined by that office.

The second consideration in the solution of the problem relates to the consistency of these characteristics. Do they contradict each other? Are they natural, or, to use Dr. Whateley's word, are they plausible? If they are, the inference is strongly in favor of the genuineness of the letters from whose contents

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they are deduced. The courage manifested in the Ignatian literature is of a most impulsive type. It bursts into hyperbole. It riots in extravagance of simile. It should not, however, for this reason be condemned as unreal. It is no more peculiar than the bravery of the Scottish Wishart, who, as he is bound to the stake, exclaims, "You shall not see me change my countenance. I fear not the fire." The courage of the martyr described in the letters is of that intense type befitting a follower of Stephen. Of the same strong cast, too, are his love to Christ and his enthusiasm. His spiritual pride, moreover, is the natural result of his courage, combined with a consciousness of the responsibilities with which he is clothed. His loyalty to the Church flows from his loyalty to his God, whose visible body is in peril of being torn asunder by schismatics. And his tenderness toward others is the obedience to his Master's command of loving his neighbor as himself. These characteristics are natural, plausible, consistent. They are colored with the intensest reality. The inference is, therefore, allowable that the writings whence they are drawn are neither forgeries nor the patch-work of fabricators, but that they are the genuine productions of the pen of him whose name they bear.

The conclusion, therefore, which this protracted examination necessitates favors the genuineness of the shorter Greek recension. This is the conclusion now generally adopted by the best scholars, and one that has recently been fortified by the work of Zahn. Until, therefore, more light is shed upon the question in consequence of new comparisons of the text or by the discovery of new MSS., critical opinion must incline toward the position that the Greek version more accurately represents the original Ignatius than the Syriac.

The teaching of these epistles, whose genuineness we have endeavored to prove, should be exhibited more fully than the previous drift of our discussion has permitted. Two points deserve consideration.

1. *Christology.* The representations of the letters respecting the divinity and humanity of Christ are remarkably full and positive. God was manifested by Jesus Christ his Son, who is the Word, not spoken, but essential.* Of himself he can do nothing.† He was begotten by the Father before the beginning

* Mag., viii. † Ibid., vii; John v, 30.

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of time; the only-begotten Son, he remains the same forever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.* The prophets foresaw him by the Spirit, and waited for him as their teacher, and expected him as their Lord and Saviour, saying, "He will come and save us."† But he was truly man as well as truly God. He possessed all the faculties of a human being. He ate, and drank, and slept.‡ He was born of a virgin, baptized by John, and crucified by Pilate. He lived a

Holy life, and healed every kind of sickness and disease among the people, and wrought signs and wonders for the benefit of men; and to those who had fallen into the error of polytheism he made known the one and only true God, his Father, and underwent the passion, and endured the cross at the hands of the Christ-killing Jews, under Pontius Pilate the governor and Herod the king. He also died, and rose again, and ascended into the heavens to him that sent him, and is sat down at his right hand, and shall come at the end of the world, with his Father's glory, to judge the living and the dead, and to render to every one according to his works.§

2. *The Church.* The teaching of the letters regarding the Church, the bishop, and the sacraments, is exhibited in the following extract:—

See that ye all follow the bishop, even as Christ does the Father, and the presbytery as ye would the apostles. Do ye also reverence the deacons, as those that carry out [through their office] the appointment of God. Let no man do any thing connected with the Church without the bishop. Let that be deemed a proper Eucharist which is [administered] either by the bishop or by one to whom he has intrusted it. Wherever the bishop shall appear there let the multitude [of the people] also be; even as where Christ is, there does all the heavenly host stand by, waiting upon him as the chief captain of the Lord's might, and the governor of every intelligent nature. It is not lawful without the bishop either to baptize or to offer, or to present sacrifice, or to celebrate a love-feast.‖ But that which seems good to him is also well-pleasing to God, that every thing ye do may be secure and valid.¶

In conclusion, it only remains to present a brief review of the Ignatian controversy. Since the publication of the longer Greek recension by Pacæus in 1557 and by Gessner in 1559, and of the shorter Greek by Archbishop Usher in 1644, down

* Mag., vi; Dan. ii, 44; vii, 14, 27.
† Mag., ix; Isa. xxxv, 4.
‡ Tral., x.
§ Mag., xi.
‖ Some refer this to the Lord's Supper.
¶ Smyr., viii.

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to the discovery of the Syriac version, criticism vacillated in its adherence to these two texts. The longer Greek was defended by Whiston (1710–11) and by C. Meier, (1836.) Daillé (Dallæus) (1666) refused to acknowledge the authenticity of either version; but the *Vindiciæ* of Bishop Pearson, (1672,) in reply to Daillé, inclined critical opinion toward the acceptance of the shorter Greek. In 1743 Lardner, ("Credibility of Gospel History,") though favoring the views of Pearson, acknowledged that, "whatever positiveness some may have shown on either side," he had "found it a very difficult question." Similar expressions of doubt were made by Justin, (1751,) Mosheim, (1765,) Griesbach, (1768,) Rosenmüller, (1795,) Neander, (1826,) and by other scholars. The discovery of the Syriac MSS. reopened the discussion. In 1846 Dr. Cureton published his *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, and three years later his *Corpus Ignatianum*, defending the Syriac version. His view was accepted by Lee, (1846,) Chev. Bunsen, (1847,) Ritschl, (1851, and later in 1857,) Weiss, (1852,) and by Lipsius, (1856;) and rejected by Jacobson, by Hefele in his third edition of the "Apostolic Fathers," by Dewzinger, (1849,) Petermann, (1849,) Uhlhorn, (1851 and 1856,) Rothe, (1837,) Huther, (1841,) and by Düsterdieck, (1843.) Dorner, (1845,) before the publication of the Syriac MSS., accepted the shorter Greek recension.

Art. III.—ISAIAH'S VISION OF THE CROSS.

Pre-eminent among all Messianic prophecies, unsurpassed in the grandeur and solemnity of its poetic diction, profound in its divine teachings beyond most other Scriptures, and full of inimitable pathos, stands the inexhaustible Fifty-third of Isaiah. It is the ancient *Ecce Homo* of an inspired man of God, an Old Testament Psalm of the Cross, setting forth in rhythmic form a prophetic picture of Vicarious Atonement. To be appreciated by the English reader it should be presented to his eye in poetic form, and our language affords no better measure than that of the heroic blank verse in which to set this matchless jewel of Hebrew poetry.

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RHYTHMIC VERSION OF ISAIAH LII, 13—LIII, 12.

13 Behold, with wisdom shall my servant act;
He shall rise, and be lifted and become
Exceeding high. (14) As wonderstruck on thee
Multitudes gazed, (so marred from man his form,
And his appearance from the sons of men,)
15 So shall he sprinkle nations, multitudes.
O'er him shut kings their mouths; for what was not
Told them they saw, and what they had not heard
(LIII.) They have been meditating. (1) Who believed
What we heard? And Jehovah's arm, on whom
Was it uncovered? (2) And he shall grow up
Like a young shoot before him; like a root
From the dry earth. No graceful form was his,
Nor ornamental splendor; and we looked,
And not a sight that we could wish for him!
3 Dishonored and forsaken of mankind,
A man of sorrows, knowing sickness well,
He was like one who hides the face from us,
Dishonored, and we valued not his worth.
4 Surely, our sicknesses he lifted up;
Our sorrows, he bore them; and we supposed
That he was stricken with a penal curse,
Smitten of God, and pained! (5) And he was pierced
For our transgressions; crushed down for our sins;
The chastisement of our peace upon him,
And by his stripes came healing unto us!
6 All we like sheep have gone astray; each man
To his own way we turned us, and Jehovah
Mediated in him the sin of all of us.
7 Harassed was he, and he was sunken low
In anguish, but he opened not his mouth.
As a sheep to the slaughter he was led,
And as a ewe before her shearers, dumb
With silence, and he opened not his mouth.
8 From suffering and from judgment he was seized,
And in his generation who will tell
That he was cut off from the land of life
Because of the transgression of my people,—
A curse for them? (9) And he shall give the unjust
His sepulcher, and the rich man in his death,

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Although no act of violence wrought he,
And there was no deception in his mouth.
10 Thus was Jehovah pleased to crush him down;
He made him sick. If thou set forth his soul
An offering for sin, he shall see seed;
He shall prolong his days, and in his hand
The pleasure of Jehovah shall prevail.
11 Of the laborious travail of his soul
Shall he see; he shall be well satisfied.
In his superior knowledge will he bring,
The righteous one, my servant, righteousness
To multitudes, and their sins he will bear.
12 Therefore will I apportion him a lot
With many, and among the mighty ones
Will he divide the spoil. Because he bared
To death his soul, and was with sinners numbered.
And he the sin of many took away,
And for the sinners ever intercedes.

Critical Notes.

Chap. lii, 13. In harmony with all the ancient versions, (Chaldee excepted,) we translate יַשְׂכִּיל, *shall act with wisdom.* Deut. xxix, 8; Josh. i, 7, 8; Prov. xvii, 8; and Jer. x, 21, are cited by some scholars as instances where the word is equivalent to הִצְלִיחַ, *to prosper*, which is the reading of the Chaldee; but in all these cases the primary and acknowledged meaning, *to act wisely*, suits the context as well, if not better. Nor does Hebrew parallelism require, as some critics have assumed, that the several members must closely correspond in thought. It is the wise action of Jehovah's servant that contributes as a means to his great exaltation. *And be lifted*—Not *extolled*, as the common version here renders וְנִשָּׂא. It is doubtful if נשׂא ever has that meaning. The literal and common signification of the passive form, (Niphal,) *to be lifted*, best conveys the thought, which Jesus also utters in John xii, 32; and Paul in Phil. ii, 9. See a thorough and exhaustive discussion of this word, especially in its relation to the doctrine of Atonement, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1873; pp. 422–464.

Verse 14. *Wonderstruck*—The word שָׁמְמוּ includes in its signification mingled surprise, horror, astonishment, and awe.

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It often requires several English words to present the full force of a single Oriental term. *To gaze in wondering astonishment* is all implied in the single Hebrew word here used. *Marred*—The word מִשְׁחָת is really a noun meaning *defacement* or *deformity;* from שָׁחַת, *to destroy.* But in this construction it is best rendered as a passive participle. *Marred from man*—מִן here has the meaning and force of *separation and distinction from;* which makes it more specific than a mere comparative, "more than any man." His form was so marred as to be different from the ordinary appearance of a man.

Verse 15. *Sprinkle*—Such is elsewhere the only meaning of the word נָזָה. But it is usually construed with עַל, or אֶל, and with mention of that which was sprinkled. Hence several eminent scholars have suspected a corruption of the text, and proposed other readings. The Septuagint has θαυμάσονται, *wonder at;* and Le Clerc, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Hitzig and Knobel adopt in substance this meaning, though with various slight modifications. Gesenius (*Lex.*) renders, *So shall he cause many nations to rejoice in himself.* But we may safely dismiss the proposed emendations as far-fetched and needless, and the Septuagint version, with all its modifications by these later critics, as unsustained by any thing analogous in the language. The absence of the particle עַל or אֶל is no sufficient reason for giving the word נָזָה an entirely new and different meaning, and it is reasonable to assume that the prophet purposely avoided a direct and particular specification of the substance to be sprinkled. He uses an incomplete but pregnant expression, and leaves his readers to gather his meaning from the ordinary hallowed associations of the word. See an able exposition of this passage by Professor Tayler Lewis, *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1873. *O'er him kings shut their mouths*—עָלָיו, *over him;* that is, *on account of him;* or, more precisely, as they look *upon him* and ponder *over him.* Nägelsbach well observes, "On account of his surprisingly imposing appearance, they are dumb." Gesenius, after the Septuagint, construes עָלָיו with what precedes, but contrary to the Masoretic pointing and the better meaning of the passage.

Chap. liii, 1. *What we heard*—Heb., שָׁמוּעָתֵנוּ. Eng. ver., *our*

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report. Allusion to לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ, *what they had not heard*, in the preceding verse.

Verse 2. *Graceful form*—יֹאר, says Nâgelsbach, is like the Latin *forma*, with the special meaning of *beautiful* form. Comp. Jer. xi, 16; 1 Sam. xvi, 18. The word הוֹד is another one of those pregnant Hebrew expressions which mean more than any one English word fully conveys. It implies *glory, honor, beauty*, and *magnificence*, all blended into one splendid ideal, which the common version, *comeliness*, does not fully express. We render by the words *ornamental splendor.*

Verse 3. נִבְזֶה, *dishonored*, in the sense of being treated with contempt; despised. *Forsaken of mankind*—Hengstenberg and Nägelsbach take חָדַל in an active intransitive sense, as *ceasing* from among men, or *ceasing to be regarded* as a man. The Septuagint reads: *his form was* despised and ἐκλεῖπον παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, *defective above all men.* Symmachus: ἐλάχιστος ανδρῶν, *least of men.* Vulgate: *novissimum virorum, newest* or *last of men;* or, as Hengstenberg explains, "most abject of men." This variety shows what uncertainty as to the exact meaning prevails among interpreters. The passive sense, *forsaken of men*, which we have adopted as the simplest and most obvious, is sanctioned by many of the best critics, as Gesenius, Ewald, Hitzig and Alexander, and finds support in Job xix, 14. *Knowing sickness*—Thus the Septuagint, Syriac and Vulgate versions give יָדוּעַ, which is the passive participle, an active signification. Hence some suppose the true reading to have been originally יֹדֵעַ, *knowing*, and such is indeed the reading in eight MSS. But the passive participle is allowed by the best critics to signify *acquainted with*, and this sense our version gives, though expressed in the active form. The Septuagint has: *knowing how to bear* μαλακιαν, *weakness.* Symmachus: γνωστός νόσῳ, *known by disease.* Vulgate: *scientem infirmitatem, knowing infirmity.* There is no need of departing from the usual meaning of the word חֳלִי, *sickness; disease.* It occurs again in the plural in the next verse, and its root in verse 10. The Messiah was acquainted with sickness in all its forms. See the exposition below. *Like one who hides the face from us*—That is, like a leper, (Lev. xiii, 45,) or a mourn-

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er, (2 Sam. xv, 30.) מִסְתַּר may be taken as the shortened form of the Hiphil participle of סָתַר, *to hide.* Four MSS. read מַסְתִּיר. Some take מִסְתַּר as a noun, and render as the margin of the Eng. version: *as a hiding of faces.* Hence arose the explanation that others hid their faces from him. מִמֶּנּוּ may mean either *from us*, or *from him.* The English version adopts the latter sense, and renders the whole passage: "We hid as it were our faces from him." Hahn, however, understands that Jehovah's face was hidden from him. But in the absence of any new subject expressed, it seems far simpler and more natural to construe מסתר with the main subject of the entire verse. We thus preserve a natural order and harmony of thought and sentiment, and have a striking portraiture of the despised and rejected Messiah.

Verse 4. *He bore them*—סְבָלָם. Nearly all versions and interpreters neglect the pronominal suffix ם— in this word, which gives a noticeable emphasis to the thought: Not only did he lift our sicknesses, but our sorrows, he bore *them too.* The expression, *stricken with a penal curse*, is all involved and implied in the single word נְגוּעַ. The noun נֶגַע is the common term used for the plague of leprosy, considered as a judgment stroke.

Verse 5. *Crushed down*—מְרֻפָּא. Compare also this word in verse 10. It implies more than *bruised* of the English and most versions. It involves also the idea of being trampled down and broken to pieces. Compare chap. xix, 10; Job iv, 19; Psa. lxxii, 4; Lam. iii, 34. *Came healing*—Henderson regards נִרְפָּא as a noun, but it is better to take it as the Niphal form of רָפָא, used impersonally: *it was healed*, or, *there came healing.*

Verse 6. *Mediated in him*—הִפְגִּיעַ בּוֹ, *caused to meet in him.* Thus the profound thought of atoning satisfaction, or vicarious mediation, seems most fittingly expressed. The English version, *laid on him*, is too weak; the Septuagint, *The Lord delivered him for our sins*, is too general and vague, entirely missing the exact and peculiar expression of the Hebrew. The Vulgate, *The Lord placed in him the iniquity of us all*, is better, but still is defective. Symmachus is most

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exact: κύριος καταντῆσαι ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτὸν την ἀνομίαν πάντων ἡμῶν, *The Lord made to come into him the iniquity of all of us.* The Hiphil of פגע means *to cause any thing to meet or strike with violence;* and it was *in* the soul of Jesus that the violent vicarious stroke was felt, and met, and sustained. Let it be observed, also, how prominent is the thought of *mediation* and *intercession* conveyed by this word wherever it is used in the Hiphil form. See verse 12, and chap. lix, 16; Jer. xv, 11; xxxvi, 25; Job xxxvi, 32.

Verse 7. רחל is not properly *a lamb*, (as rendered in Septuagint, Vulgate, English versions, etc.,) for lambs are not wont to be shorn; but *a ewe*, a grown female sheep.

Verse 8. Many and various have been the expositions of the different parts of this verse. The Septuagint is quoted in Acts viii, 33, and is there properly rendered in the English version: "In his humiliation his judgment was taken away; and who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth." But of this translation there are several different interpretations, and its citation by the Evangelist is no evidence that the Septuagint gives the true sense of the Hebrew. Clearly the Septuagint is not an accurate translation of our present Hebrew text. The English version is, *He was taken from prison and from judgment;* margin, *He was taken away by distress and judgment;* Lowth translates, *By an oppressive judgment he was taken off;* Noyes, *By oppression and punishment he was taken away;* Barnes, *From confinement and a judicial sentence he was taken,* [to death.] Several of these interpretations are possible, and it seems bootless to argue *in extenso* in favor of one or against another. The calm and impartial judgment, after repeated examination and comparison of views, will incline to that which appears most faithful to the Hebrew text, and yields the clearest and most natural sense. But it is very possible that the critical taste will decide differently for different minds, and out of several allowable interpretations one will adopt one version, another a different one, according to subjective feelings and habits of thought. With the Vulgate, (*de angustia et de judicio sublatus est,*) most of the older expositors, and many moderns, we understand the first line of the taking of the Messiah from his suffering and judgment up to the throne of God, as the man-

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child of Rev. xii, 5. The מִשְׁפָּט, *judgment*, we understand of the mock judicial process through which Jesus was put, and all the suffering it involved. *His generation* (דּוֹר) is not his unending life, (Luther, Calvin,) nor his manner of life, (Le Clerc, Lowth,) nor his posterity, (Hengstenberg, Barnes, Nägelsbach,) but his contemporaneous generation, the primary and usual meaning of the word. So Gesenius, Ewald, Rosenmüller, and Alexander. The last named renders the whole verse thus: "From distress and from judgment he was taken; and in his generation who will think that he was cut off from the land of the living for the transgression of my people, (as) a curse for them?" The words נֻגַּע לָמוֹ mean literally *a stroke for them.* Compare the word נֻגַּע in verse 4, and our note there. We translate and construe the words here as epexegetical of the two lines immediately preceding. To take לָמוֹ as a singular is scarcely allowable, and the version, *a stroke was to him*, or *he was stricken*, (as English version,) is inexact. Nor does the plural, as we translate it, favor the views of those critics who urge that the suffering servant of Jehovah is not an individual, but the collective body, or people. On the contrary, for them, the many, he is made a curse. Gal. iii, 13.

Verse 9. The subject of the verb יִתֵּן is not easy to determine. Some understand עַמִּי, *my people*, from the preceding verse, and others make the verb indefinite and impersonal, *they gave*, or *there shall be given.* But as Jehovah is so uniformly represented through all this chapter as overruling and directing the sufferings and humiliation of his servant, it seems better here to understand Jehovah as the subject of the verb. The sense, then, is, that God gave or assigned him his grave with the wicked, and yet arranged that in his death (that is, while dead) his body should rest in the grave of a rich man. This he permitted, although there was no crime or falsehood in the sufferer. In accordance with this view, Jehovah is said, at the beginning of the next verse, to be pleased to crush him down and afflict him. We therefore render the וְ, *and*, at the beginning of verse 10, by *thus*, as best setting forth in English the continuity of thought.

Verse 10. *If thou set forth his soul*—אִם is generally taken here as a particle of time, as in the English version, *when thou*

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shalt make, etc. But its common and almost uniform meaning, *if*, suits the context as well, and better preserves the emotional element in the language. Most interpreters make נַפְשׁוֹ the subject of תָּשִׂים, *if his soul shall make an offering*; but such a mode of expression is unusual and awkward. Usage requires that שִׂים be followed by an object expressed. The sudden change of person is no more difficult to explain here than in chap. lii, 14, 15. After having said, in verse 6, that Jehovah mediated in him our sin, and having commenced this verse with the statement that Jehovah was pleased to crush him down and make him sick, he appropriately turns in direct address to Jehovah, and says with prophetic confidence, *If* THOU *set forth his soul*, etc.

Verse 11. *In his superior knowledge*—This rendering brings out the deep thought of בְּדַעְתּוֹ better than the weaker expression of the common version, *by his knowledge*. It is in the profound depth and power of divine wisdom that the Messiah finds wherewith to bring in righteousness to fallen, sinful man. So דעת is a counterpart of יִשְׂכִּיל in chap. lii, 13. The words *the righteous one, my servant*, are emphatic, and need to be placed in the order we have put them to exhibit the peculiarity and force of the Hebrew idiom. The verb יַצְדִּיק is the future Hiphil of צדק, and, followed by ל, properly means *will bring righteousness to*. There is a play on the Hebrew words which we have sought to retain in our translation.

Verse 12. *Among the mighty ones*—This seems to be the real meaning of the passage, and is the rather required by the use of ב in ברבים, in the first member of the parallelism. But the accusative sign in אֶת־עֲצוּמִים gives some warrant for Lowth's version:

> Therefore will I distribute to him the many for his portion,
> And the mighty people shall he share for his spoil.

The literal meaning of הֶעְרָה, Hiphil of ערה, *to make bare*, or *naked*, is better than the less frequent and doubtful meaning *poured out*, of the English version. We translate the future Hiphil form יַפְגִּיעַ by *ever intercedes*. The past tense of the same verb in verse 6 we translate *mediated*. There the past tense points rather to the sacrifice "*once* offered to bear the

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sins of many." Heb. vii, 27; ix, 12, 26, 28; x, 12. Here the future points rather to the everlasting intercession. Heb. vii, 25, 28.

Exposition.

These fifteen verses form a clearly defined section by themselves, but they must not be severed from their context, or treated as if they had not a vital connection with what precedes and what follows after. Alexander justly condemns "the radical error of supposing that the book is susceptible of distribution into detached and independent parts." It has its divisions more or less clearly defined, but they cling to each other, and are interwoven with each other, and form a living whole. It is beautifully observed by Nägelsbach that "chapters xlix–lvii are like a wreath of glorious flowers intertwined with black ribbon; or like a song of triumph, through whose muffled tone there courses the melody of a dirge, yet so that gradually the mournful chords merge into the melody of the song of triumph. And at the same time the discourse of the prophet is arranged with so much art that the mourning ribbon ties into a great bow exactly in the middle. For chapter liii forms the middle of the entire prophetic cycle of chapters xl–lxvi."

The immediate connection with what precedes may be thus seen: In lii, 1–12, the future salvation of Israel is glowingly depicted as a restoration more glorious than that from the bondage of Egypt or from Assyrian exile. Jerusalem awakes and rises from the dust of ruin; the captive is released from fetters; the feet of fleet messengers speed with good tidings, and the watchmen take up the glad report, and sound the cry of redemption. And then (verse 11) an exhortation is sounded to depart from all pollution and bondage, and the sublime exodus is contrasted (verse 12) with the hasty flight from Egypt, but with the assurance that, as of old, Jehovah would still be as the pillar of cloud and fire before them and behind them. At this our passage begins, and the thought naturally turns to the great Leader of this spiritual exodus—a greater than Moses, even though that ancient servant of Jehovah was faithful in all his house. Num. xii, 7. Our prophet proceeds to delineate Him whose sufferings and sorrows for the transgressions of his people far transcended those of Moses, and whose final triumph

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through the fruit of the travail of his soul shall be also infinitely greater.

Verse 13. In profound spiritual emotion, and in order to intensify in others the vivid conception he himself has of Messiah, the prophet writes, *Behold!* He himself sees, and he expects his readers to see, the wondrous personage who fills the vision of his soul. But his spirit is so seized and borne along (φερόμενος, 2 Pet. i, 21) by the Spirit of Jehovah that he speaks in the Divine Name, and says, *Behold* MY *servant!* (Compare chap. xlii, 1.) Though his goings forth have been from everlasting, (Mic. v, 2,) and he dwelt in the glory of the Father before the world was, (John xvii, 5;) though in the form of God, and holding an equality with God; he emptied himself of this glory, and took the form of a *servant.* Phil. ii, 6, 7. Thus he became the *sent* of God, (John v, 36, 37; Rom. viii, 3; 1 John iv, 9, 10;) the *apostle* of our profession. Heb. iii, 1. And like a faithful servant he says: "Lo, I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me, I delight to do thy will, O my God." Psalm xl, 7, 8; compare Heb. x, 5–10. "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work." John iv, 34. But the first thing to which our attention is called is the consummate wisdom with which this servant acts. The great wisdom of God's ancient servant Moses was honored and utilized in training Israel, in saving them from numerous enemies and calamities, and in giving them a code of laws the most ennobling ever given to man. And when Moses handed over his work to Joshua and the elders he repeatedly admonished them to *act wisely.* Deut. xxix, 9; Josh. i, 7, 8. But in this greater prophet are "hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." Col. ii, 3. He is the embodiment and representative of the wisdom of God, (1 Cor. i, 24;) and by this wisdom he rose through suffering and blood until he became *exceeding high.* Near the close of this section (liii, 11) we are again reminded that it is by his *superior knowledge* that he atones for sin, and brings righteousness to the guilty. So in the suffering Christ the redeemed will ever behold "the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God." Rom. xi, 33. Observe also the climax in the three verbs here used. First, *he shall rise,* appear among men and become eminent and famous; then he shall be *lifted up* even "as Moses lifted up the serpent in

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the wilderness." John iii, 14; viii, 28; xii, 32. The cross was a necessary part of this exaltation, "for it became Him, for whom are all things and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through suffering." Heb. ii, 10. But this lifting on the cross leads to a higher elevation. "We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honor." Heb. ii, 9. For God has highly exalted him, (Phil. ii, 9,) and set him at his own right hand, (Acts ii, 33,) and given him a name which is above every name. Wherefore he has *become exceeding high.*

Verses 14, 15. From the thought of his lofty elevation we are turned to his deep humiliation, and the one is compared and contrasted with the other. Verse 14 is the *protasis*, and the first part of verse 15 is the *apodosis* of one connected sentence. The words in parentheses give the reason why multitudes gazed on him in wonderstruck amazement. The comparison begins with a direct address to the sufferer, *on thee*, for the spectacle was intensely vivid in the prophet's eye; but as the words in parentheses go on in a double parallelism to explain the use of the strong expression, *gazed wonderstruck*, and naturally fall in the third person, verse 15 proceeds in the use of the same person, as by attraction. Then, too, the sufferer was vividly prominent, but the sprinkling of many nations was comparatively distant and far future. The shocking disfiguration of Jehovah's servant is to be understood of the effect on the appearance of Christ of the agony in the garden, the indignity and scourging of the mock trial, the fainting and sinking beneath the weight of the cross, and the tortures of crucifixion. But, having once risen from his humiliation, *he shall sprinkle many nations.* And with the word *sprinkle* we are to associate all the ideas of *purification*, *sanctification*, and *consecration* which the word holds in connection with the symbolic ceremonials of Israel. The prophet does not linger to particularize or define the process or methods of the sprinkling. Whether he shall sprinkle with blood, or water, or oil, with or without hyssop branch, he does not say. The variety and completeness of his purification and consecration we may elsewhere learn. In the *protasis*, *multitudes* may refer to individuals, but in the *apodosis* it qualifies *nations*. Multitudes of

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people (individuals) gazed wonderstruck on the suffering Christ, but they were mostly of one nation, the Jews; but the exalted Christ shall sprinkle *many nations*. So exalted and honored shall he become, that even kings, as they look upon and diligently consider him, shall show their self-humiliation and awe by the well-known sign of covering their mouths with their hands. Comp. Job xxix, 9; xl, 4; Micah vii, 16. These kings are the rulers of Gentile nations, who had not, like the chosen people, been *told* of Christ, nor *had heard* of him till he was preached to them as the divine Prince and Saviour. Compare the apostle's use of this text as denoting the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles. Rom. xv, 21. Many of the kings and potentates of the nations since the days of Constantine have seen the salvation of Christ, and meditated diligently on his power and work. And this shall be more and more the case as the nations become evangelized; for the Lord Christ will be seen to be mightier than the kings of the earth.

Chap. liii, 1. We have seen above (verse 13) how the inspired prophet speaks in Jehovah's name, as in some sense identified with him. But he is myriad-souled, and now, identifying himself with his own people, Israel, he speaks in their name, and asks abruptly: *Who believed what we heard?* Who of us Israelites comprehended the Messianic prophecies so as to accept and acknowledge their fulfillment? The heathen saw and duly considered the Christ, of whom they had not previously heard; but how unbelieving was favored Israel! The prophet proceeds in the next sentence to put the question in a still stronger form, which we may thus paraphrase: Who that saw Messiah's humble birth, and rise, and reproach, and suffering, and death, discerned in it all a revelation of Jehovah's saving power? The *arm* is representative or symbolic of strength, power; and the Gospel, including all the revelations and means of grace, is the power of God unto salvation to the believer. Rom. i, 16. *On whom* (not *to whom*) is emphatic, and denotes that Jehovah's power is revealed from on high, and in its working comes down *upon* the soul.

Verses 2, 3. Still speaking in the name of Israel, the prophet proceeds to give reasons why they would not believe. The outward appearance of this Servant of Jehovah would not conform to their ideas of Messianic grace and glory. He would

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grow up before Jehovah like a tender shoot, or sucker, of a plant or tree; or, to put the image more strikingly, like a root buried in the dry and barren earth, sending forth its sprout where there was little or no probability of its ever showing signs of life again; and, even if it did sprout, no probability of its ever attaining any considerable growth. Comp. Isa. xi, 10. Also, his personal appearance lacked the gracefulness and pompous grandeur which Israel expected to see in the coming Messiah. They looked, and, instead of a graceful and athletic David, adorned with all the magnificence of Solomon, behold, a sight far, very far, from their notion and desire! To this suggestive negative it is added, positively, (verse 3,) that this Servant of God was even *dishonored and forsaken of men;* so identified was he with what are regarded as the sorrows and woes and maladies of mankind that he is explicitly called *a man of sorrows*, and thoroughly familiar with *sickness.* Comp. next verse. Nay, more; his appearance suggests the conduct of a despised leper, or lonely and abandoned mourner, who covers his face and withdraws, as if desiring to hide away from those who show him no sympathy and treat him with dishonor. For his people, the prophet confesses, *we valued not his worth;* we did not properly esteem him, but misunderstood the nature of his sufferings.

Verses 4–6. The last statement, namely, that Israel did not properly estimate the Man of sorrows, leads the prophet at once to set forth the vicarious nature of his sufferings. And, first, he reverts to the idea of *sickness* just named, and, enlarging it into the conception of its manifold forms of misery, he uses the plural, and with the particle of strong affirmation says: *Surely our sicknesses he lifted.* We must guard against confounding *sicknesses* with *sorrows*, mentioned in the next line. This is a defect of our common English version, which here has the word *griefs.* But the two words should be taken together, as designed to denote both bodily and spiritual pains. It is no objection that Jesus was never sick in the ordinary sense. We have just been told that he *knew sickness*, (verse 3;) he was acquainted with disease in all its forms and power, and so knew how to lift it off of miserable men. To do this he must needs know something about sickness, and we are assured that he was "touched with the feeling of our infirmities."

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Heb. iv, 15. In Matt. viii, 17, our prophet's words are quoted and said to be fulfilled in Jesus' casting out demons and healing all that were sick; and there we have the peculiar reading: "Himself took our infirmities and bore our sicknesses." Let us beware how we dilute these words. In working his miracles of mercy there went out a conscious power from the Lord. Mark v, 30. When he stood face to face with the miseries of mortality, he sighed, (Mark vii, 34,) and at the grave of Lazarus his spirit surged with mingled grief and ire, (ἐμβριμάομαι.) John xi, 33, 38. His soul was intensely sensitive, and capable of sorrow, even unto death. Matt. xxvi, 38. He entered into the keenest emotion under a sense of other's woes, and he saw in all the forms of sickness so many various ebullitions of sin working wrath and death in human nature. And so healing of the sick was a part of his redeeming and mediating work. In all his miracles of mercy to the sick and the maimed and the blind he literally *lifted* their diseases, lifted them up and bore them away. At times, at least, it made him sick to do it, (verse 10;) and the culmination of all his anguish was in Gethsemane and on the cross. We are to think of him as consciously entering into and grasping a thousand forms of human woe in order to lift and bear away the fearful load. But while the suffering Christ bore all this load, Israel strangely misunderstood him. They looked upon him as they would look upon a leper, and supposed that he suffered under some fearful judgment-stroke of the Almighty. And there was a partial truth in this opinion. He was smitten of God, as verse 5 goes on to show, but not in the sense that Israel imagined. Not for his own sins was he smitten, but *he was pierced for our transgressions, crushed down for our sins.* Here the prophet utters his profoundest oracle, and we are furnished with the most explicit statement of the Messiah's vicarious suffering. The vivid picture may have been helped by the prophet's knowledge of David's crucial psalm. Psa. xxii; comp., especially, verse 16. It would almost seem that he descried afar the crushing violence of the assembly of the wicked that hurried the Christ away to the spot where they pierced his hands and feet and side. But the piercing and the crushing have also a profounder meaning. They are to be understood of all the bitter and unspeakable agonies of the

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passion hour. So, too, the words that follow. His sufferings are presented as the scourgings of a *chastisement* by which *our peace* with God is secured. Such chastisement was visited *upon him;* inflicted with many *stripes*, (comp. Matt. xxvii, 26; John xix, 1; Luke xxiii, 16,) and so he has become our peace. Eph. ii, 14–17. O blessed stripes, by which there comes divine healing to the sin-sick soul!

The sinner's waywardness and folly are well compared to the perverse wanderings of a silly sheep, (verse 6,) and here the prophet seems to look beyond any one race, or people, and utters words of universal application: ALL WE *like sheep.* All have sinned and come short of the glory of God, and there is imperative need that redemption be provided for all, without exception. And now comes that pregnant and profound expression, *Jehovah mediated in him the sin of all of us.* See on this the critical notes above. In him, in the living, spotless soul of Jesus, Jehovah caused to meet and strike with fearful violence the sin and guiltiness of a wicked world. What language can picture, what thinking spirit comprehend, the awful throes of that mediation! He who knew no sin by any personal transgression in thought, word, or deed, and who never made the slightest deflection from perfect righteousness, took upon himself our nature, and felt the violence of all our woes. As Elisha "stretched himself upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands," (2 Kings iv, 34,) so the Incarnate Word put himself in closest possible contact with all that is human; but, unlike Elisha, who felt not the agony of the child's death, the Lord Jesus seized (ἐπιλαμβάνω, Heb. ii, 16) guilty humanity with such a grasp that all its sinfulness and sorrow, like a baleful electric shock, sent nameless pangs of horror and amazement (Mark xiv, 33) through his soul, and prompted on the cross the bitter cry, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!"

Verse 7 informs us how Jehovah's servant demeaned himself under his sore oppression and trial. Twice over we are told with emphasis, *he opened not his mouth.* He made no struggle to resist his oppressors, though conscious of a power to call in the aid of twelve legions of angels. Matt. xxvi, 53. His inoffensive silence is touchingly set forth by the double

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simile of the sheep and the ewe. One has but to read the mockery and contemptuous treatment Jesus quietly received at the hands of the Jews, Herod, Pilate, and the soldiers, until he sank down under the weight of his cross, to have a most lively illustration of the several statements of this verse. Compare, especially, Matt. xxvii, 29–44; Luke xxiii, 11; Heb. xii, 3; 1 Pet. ii, 23.

Verse 8. Having now given the vivid picture of Messiah's sufferings and his meekness under them all, the prophet passes to speak of "the glory that shall follow." 1 Pet. i, 11. But with all his triumph and glory there is constantly associated the memory of his sore travail and sacrificial death. That thought finds expression in every succeeding verse. First, the seer seems to see him snatched away from the *suffering and judgment* which he had portrayed. He is lifted up on the cross, and thence to paradise, and afterward to the throne of God, by his resurrection and ascension. But what most affects the seer is the thought that the generation which should see the Messiah cut off (compare Dan. ix, 26) would not understand, nor be able to tell that he was cut off from the land of the living, not for himself, but for the transgression of Israel. As Balaam's vision penetrated the far future, and caused him in view of wonders to come to exclaim, "Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!" (Num. xxiv, 23,) so our prophet, but with deeper pathos, cries out, partly by question, partly by exclamation, "Who in Messiah's day will tell that he was cut off and made a curse for Israel's sin!" The phrase, *a curse for them*, is another pregnant expression peculiar to Isaiah, and sums up in itself all that has been said before of the vicarious nature of Messiah's sufferings. *The land of life*, or land of the living, is the earth, where dwell all in whom is "the breath of life." Gen. ii, 7. It is thus distinguished from Sheol, or Hades, the dwelling of the dead.

Verse 9. But while the personal and conscious spirit of Messiah is taken away from suffering and from judgment, God still permits his lifeless body to be left, in the eyes of the world, exposed to all the indignities to which crucified criminals were liable. Such were usually cast aside without the rites of decent burial, and left to be devoured by dogs and unclean birds. The Providence, however, that suffered not a

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bone of Jesus to be broken, caused his body to be given to a rich man, and deposited, during the period of his death, in a sepulcher hewn in the rock. Matt. xxvii, 57–60. Nevertheless, the death of Jesus and the disposal of his body would ever be associated with a malefactor's end. He was numbered with transgressors, (verse 12,) and the unjust Pilate and his soldiers had the control and disposition of his burial, and only by the Roman governor's consent could Joseph of Arimathea take the body away. All this was a part of the humiliation and indignity heaped upon one who was guilty of no violence or wrong. Compare 1 Pet. ii, 22. The rich man's obtaining the body from Pilate is not to be pressed as a triumph, and set forth as a deliverance of Jesus from the unjust; but only as a noticeable incident in connection with his death.

Verse 10. And now comes the wonderful announcement that *Jehovah was pleased to crush him down* like this. It was no accident; nor were Messiah's sorrows, and painful knowledge of the sicknesses of humanity, and the taking of them on himself, (verses 3, 4,) a penalty or consequence of his own sin, but *God made him sick.* He subjected him to all the humiliation that has been portrayed above, and such was his pleasure. For "thus it behooved Christ to suffer." Luke xxiv, 26, 46; Acts xvii, 3. There was a divine necessity that called for the sacrifice, and the sufferer was not an unwilling victim, but freely "bared his soul to death." Verse 12. And God set him forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, (Rom. iii, 25,) to manifest his glory, and wisdom, and power, and to bring many sons unto glory. Heb. ii, 10. In every stage and aspect of this atoning work the Eternal Father might well smile, and say, as when Jesus submitted himself to be identified with sinners in the baptism of repentance, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

Rising now in his emotion, the prophet addresses Jehovah, and, with an inspiration and revelation like that which once lifted Simon Peter beyond himself, (Matt. xvi, 17,) he says, *If thou set forth his soul* (that is, Messiah's soul) *an offering for sin, he* (Messiah) *shall see seed,* (that is, posterity.) If the All-wise Jehovah make his servant's soul a trespass-offering, (אשם,) what immeasurable results are likely to follow! Such expiatory sacrifice will doubtless insure the noblest gains, else would not

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the Omniscient make it. To see a numerous and powerful posterity was among the highest hopes of the pious Israelite, (compare Gen. xvii, 5, 6; l, 23; Job xlii, 16; Psalm cxxvii, 3–5; cxxviii, 6;) and the thought is here used as peculiarly fitted to impress upon the Israelitish mind an ideal of Messiah's after glory. In his spiritual seed would be fulfilled in its grandest form the ancient promise to Abraham, (Gen. xii, 3; xv, 5;) for the justified by faith are the true sons of Abraham, and also sons of him whose day of glory Abraham rejoiced to see. John viii, 39, 56; Rom. ii, 28, 29. In the next sentence we meet a kindred thought, *he shall prolong his days.* In a higher and grander sense than worldlings think, the Messiah has "the power of an endless life." Heb. vii, 16. Length of days in the temporal sense (Exod. xx, 12; Deut. iv, 40; Prov. iii, 2) was not for him who was cut off for Israel's transgression, (verse 8;) but by his voluntary sacrifice of himself, and obedience even unto the death of the cross, he obtained the keys of death and Hades, and is alive for evermore. Rev. i, 18. And so he attains "an unchangeable priesthood," (Heb. vii, 24, 25; compare Psalm xxi, 4;) and abides "the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever." Heb. xiii, 8. And also, having risen to the right hand of God, (Psalm cx, 1,) "he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet." 1 Cor. xv, 25. In view of all this it is absolutely certain that *the pleasure of Jehovah*, his desire and purpose in the whole plan of redemption, *in his hand* (his servant's hand) shall prosper and prevail. Jehovah was pleased to crush his servant down, (verse 10,) not because he delighted in his or any one's sufferings, but because it was only by his stripes that the leprosy of sin could be healed, (verse 5,) and those results reached in which Jehovah has everlasting delight.

Verse 11. And yet in another form will the rapt prophet set forth the glorious outcome of Messiah's toil. *Of the laborious travail of his soul shall he see;* that excruciating labor, previously described, shall yield rich harvests to his eye, such as will abundantly *satisfy* him. He will see that the "much fruit" resulting from the dying grain is ample recompense for all the sacrifice. John xii, 24, 32. And with this thought he returns to that of the divine wisdom with which he began his lofty strain, (lii, 13;) and as the vision glows before him, and he is

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conscious that Jehovah's own word is on his tongue, he again speaks in his name, and calls the wonderful Messiah *my servant*, and says of him: *in his superior knowledge will he bring righteousness to multitudes.* In his wisdom and knowledge are the infinite resources by which Messiah becomes "the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." Rom. x, 4. He suffers for sins, the just for the unjust, that he may bring us sinners to God. 1 Pet. iii, 18. Thus he maintains and honors divine justice, while at the same time he secures justification to every sinner that believes in Jesus. Rom. iii, 26. Thus is manifested "the righteousness of God by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe." Rom. iii, 22. In his exalted state his mediation ever continues, (verse 12,) and as truly as he bore our sorrows, (verse 4,) he will ever *bear* the sins of many.

Verse 12. And now comes the grand conclusion. *Therefore*, says Jehovah through his prophet, in view of all the humiliation and suffering of my servant, and the results that follow, *I will apportion him a lot with many.* I will see that he obtain a reward worthy of a princely conqueror. In leading many sons unto glory he shall share with them an incorruptible inheritance, and the *many*, having become the sons of God, are also heirs, "heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ." Rom. viii, 17. It takes nothing away from the glory of the Messiah that others share it with him. Rather, his glory attains perfection only when his own redeemed rise to be with him in his glory and behold its splendor. John xvii, 24. Nor will the glorified sons of God be unsuitable partners in Messiah's triumph. He himself will recognize them as fellow conquerors, and say: "To him that overcometh will I give to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down on my Father's throne." Rev. iii, 21. Among such will Messiah delight to *divide the spoil*, as a conqueror among many *mighty ones*, and they shall all be "kings and priests unto God." Rev. 1, 6; v, 10; xx, 6; xxii, 5. In that day will the great Spoil-divider say: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." Matt. xxv, 34. Thus the vision stretches far beyond the millennial age, even into the new heavens and new earth, in which the saints will reign forever with their immortal Lord.

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But the burden of this prophecy is the suffering and sacrifice that yield surpassing glory; and the inspired prophet will not close without once more reminding us that all this glory is possible *because he bared his soul to death.* "For the joy that was set before him he endured the cross, despising the shame." Heb. xii, 2. The words, *with sinners he was numbered*, are cited by Mark (xv, 28) and Luke, (xxii, 37,) as fulfilled in the fact that Jesus was crucified like a transgressor, and between two criminals. The last two lines express the two profoundest facts of Christ's redeeming work; namely, the one efficacious oblation for sin, once offered, and the everlasting intercession. The first "he did once, when he offered up himself." Heb. vii, 27. "Now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment; so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many." Heb. ix, 26–28. The second is seen in his unchangeable priesthood, whereby "he is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them." Heb. vii, 25. Compare also Rom. v, 10. So, in the exposition of these verses, we see Messiah set forth in the threefold character of Prophet, Priest, and King.

Disquisition.

In the foregoing exposition we have made little or no mention of interpretations differing from our own. If we have set forth the true exposition, all others are superseded, and it would be a needless labor to mention other views merely for the sake of refuting them, or saying that we differ from them. But there are three notable questions involved in this Scripture, which no interpreter has a right to ignore. They have been for centuries the subject of biblical and theological disquisition, and deserve our serious study. The first two are concerning the *Servant of Jehovah;* who he is, and what the *nature of his sufferings.* The other is the question of the *authorship* of this portion of the Book of Isaiah.

I. The first question was long ago put to Philip, the evangelist, by an Ethiopian: "Of whom speaketh the prophet this; of himself, or of some other man?" Acts viii, 34. And we are

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told that "Philip opened his mouth, and began at the same Scripture, and preached unto him Jesus." This we know to have been the exposition of the apostolic age, and universally maintained in the Christian Church for more than fifteen hundred years. This exposition we have set forth above, and shown how the prophet's words have a well-defined and accurate fulfillment in Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of men. The most ancient Jewish exposition, also, as Hengstenberg has abundantly shown in his Christology, referred the prophecy to the Messiah. And this exposition, we believe, would never have been abandoned by Judaism but for the fact that in controversy with the Christians it was seen to be otherwise impossible to resist the proof that Jesus was the Christ. Nor does the Messianic view meet opposition outside of Judaism except from those who deny the supernatural element in prophecy. But, having rejected the beautiful and self-consistent Messianic exposition, what do these opposers give us in its stead? There is, first, one class, who understand by Jehovah's servant, not an individual, but a collective body. But these represent at least five different expositions. The most popular is that of the Jewish rabbins Jarchi, Aben Ezra, and Kimchi, according to whom Jehovah's servant is the Jewish people, now scattered abroad among all nations, and exposed to insult and abuse. This view is adopted by many modern Germans, (Rosenmüller, Eichhorn, Hitzig,) who understand, however, the Babylonish exile of the Jews rather than their present dispersion. Besides the numerous difficulties with which this view is beset in explaining particular words and phrases, it is sufficiently refuted by an appeal to this one fact, which all the world knows, that the Jewish people, both in their present dispersion and former exile, suffered for their own, and not for others' sins. And so far from being led like an unresisting sheep to the slaughter, they have been notoriously obstinate and rebellious. Others, however, limit the reference to a portion or class of the Jewish people, as, for example, the pious and more spiritual, (Paulus, Maurer, Ewald, Knobel;) or the prophets, (De Wette, Winer;) or the priesthood. Eckermann understands the nation in the abstract, as distinguished from its individual members. And the Maccabees have also been adduced as meeting the description of the prophet. Each one of

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these descriptions is open to particular objections, and they will be seen to refute each other if we take them one by one, and go through the whole passage asking such questions as the following: Did the pious Jews suffer more than others in exile? Did their stripes bring healing to the rest? In what particular sense did the prophets or priests grow up before Jehovah like a root from the dry earth, or lift the sicknesses or bear the sorrows of others? How could the nation be guilty, and its individual members innocent? When were the Maccabees dishonored and despised, and act like lepers hiding their faces in shame? or when and how did they ever take away sin and make intercession for sinners? The attempt to answer these, and many other questions which might be urged, shows the utterly unsatisfactory and conjectural character of the several opinions named.

There is another class of opposers of the Messianic exposition, who seem to see the difficulty of making the striking personal portraiture of the Servant represent a class or collective body, and therefore seek for some other individual, other than Jesus, who may be made to answer the prophet's description. Accordingly, the prophet himself, Uzziah, Hezekiah, Josiah, and Jeremiah have all been taken, by one or another of these interpreters, to be the servant described. But in what sense any one of the persons named sprinkled many nations, or was led as a sheep to the slaughter, or set forth his soul an offering for sin, it is difficult to see. Their utter lack of harmony in fixing on any one individual, and the far-fetched and unnatural interpretation put upon the prophet's words, lead us to think that the only fixed canon of criticism uniformly followed by this class of exegetes is, *any body rather than Jesus!* The inherent difficulties and indefiniteness of these various views are in noticeable contrast with the clear and wonderful fulfillment of every word and phrase in the Messianic exposition. But alas! a veil is on Israel's heart to-day, (2 Cor. iii, 15,) and we may still ask with the prophet, "Jehovah's arm, on whom is it uncovered?" Only by turning to the Lord Christ is the veil taken away.

II. But having satisfied ourselves that the Messianic exposition is the only true one, another question arises as to the nature of Messiah's sufferings. The question leads to a discussion

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of one of the fundamental doctrines of Christian theology, the doctrine of *Vicarious Atonement.* But a scientific treatment of this Old Testament prophecy requires us to guard against introducing into it the refined definitions and distinctions of a later age. Let us not put into it what is not there, but let us be studious to draw from it what really is there. We will not forget that we are dealing with a lofty poem, in which we may not insist that every word and expression must have a special significance. But we will, also, bear in mind that all the intense passion of the poet is chastened with a solemn awe, and every strong word and metaphor and simile have been carefully selected; not revealed by flesh and blood. Matt. xvi, 17.

(1.) First, then, the sufferings here portrayed are *vicarious.* The just suffered for the unjust; the innocent for the guilty. No less than seven times is it said in one form or another that he suffered for the sake of others. Thus, he bore others' sorrows, (verse 4,) he was pierced for others' transgressions, crushed down for others' sins, chastised for others' peace, lacerated with stripes for the healing of others, (verse 5,) cut off for others' transgressions, (verse 8,) and made a curse for them. Manifestly, then, the suffering was vicarious, or substitutional, and verse 9 declares that the sufferer himself was guilty of no violence or wrong. His voluntary sufferings were accepted and reckoned as a substitute for penalty.

(2.) But, further, the sufferings and death were *expiatory.* They were, like the sin and trespass-offerings with which the Israelitish mind was familiar, piacular and propitiatory, and designed to atone for the guilt and transgressions of many. They appeased the divine wrath that burned against the sinners, and made satisfaction to the demands of righteousness. All this is clearly involved in such language as the following: "If thou set forth his soul an offering for sin," (verse 10,) "their sins he will bear," (verse 11,) "the sin of many he took away," (verse 12.) The only legitimate explanation of these forms of expression is that which finds abundant illustration in the expiatory sacrifices of the Mosaic system. And all this was strikingly fulfilled in Jesus Christ, who himself, as the Apostle Peter observes, "bore our sins in his own body on the tree." 1 Peter ii, 24.

(3.) To this it may be added, though the idea is really in-

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volved in the foregoing observations, these sufferings are *mediatorial and intercessory.* For proof of this we need only refer the reader to our exposition of verses 6 and 12: "Jehovah mediated in him the sin of all of us," and "he for the sinners ever intercedes." The sufferings of the cross are consecrated into perpetual redeeming efficacy by the everlasting intercession. This Old Testament prophet probably did not comprehend "what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in him did signify," (1 Peter i, 11;) but we are satisfied that the only complete fulfillment of his words in these two verses is to be found in Jesus Christ, considered as the great High-priest who has entered into the heavenly holy of holies, "now to appear in the presence of God for us." Heb. ix, 24. His obedience, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension are all virtually embodied and represented in his "ever living to make intercession for us;" and only from this lofty exaltation can we see how "he shall sprinkle many nations."

III. Who, now let us ask, was the writer of this profoundest of all prophecies? It is natural for us to desire to know. The unsurpassed grandeur and sublimity of the writing and its deep and wondrous lessons would remain the same, even if the author were utterly unknown; but those who truly prize the matchless prophecy will not be content, without the clearest show of reason, to allow a saintly name, to whom it has been attributed by the unbroken tradition of two thousand years, to be robbed of his honor. Within the last century a large number of critics, chiefly German, have attempted to show that chapters xl–lxvi of the canonical Isaiah were not written by Isaiah the son of Amoz. It is quite generally agreed that these chapters are the work of a single author, and form a united whole, but must have been written later than the age of Isaiah, and during or after the Babylonish exile. And the unknown author has been called the "Pseudo-Isaiah," the "Later Isaiah," "Deutero-Isaiah," and "The Great Unnamed."

It is notable that almost invariably those critics that reject the Messianic exposition of chapter liii reject also the Isaiahan authorship of chapters xl–lxvi. And the great argument for assigning these chapters to a later age than that of Isaiah is the calling of Cyrus by name. Chaps. xliv, 28; xlv, 1. Manifestly this is the great difficulty with the rationalistic critics. They

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will not allow a prediction that bears witness to a superhuman origin, and so they settle the whole question in advance by an *a priori* assumption. The ultimate question, therefore, becomes this: Is there a personal God, who at times interferes in supernatural and extraordinary ways with human affairs? If we say No, then must we resort to a naturalistic exposition of this and many other prophecies. But the holy Scriptures, from beginning to end, in one long multifarious answer, proclaim a God who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke to the fathers by the prophets. This forenaming of Cyrus is, indeed, extraordinary, and calculated to excite attention. But a careful scrutiny of our prophet's language (xliv, 26; xlv, 1–7) will bring out this issue: Either the writer truly prophesies of future things, or he is guilty of imposture. In calling Cyrus by name he assumes to be uttering a prophecy of a very extraordinary kind. A contemporary of Cyrus, uttering such language, would have exposed himself to contempt and ridicule. But the author's moral tone and sentiment are utterly incompatible with the perpetration of a pious fraud. And yet again and again does he profess to reveal the future. Comp. xli, 4, 22, 23; xlii, 9; xliv, 7, 8.

Other evidences of a post-exile date, it is claimed, are seen in those passages which represent Zion as a captive, and Jerusalem a desolation. Chaps. lii, 2; lviii, 12; lx, 9, 10; lxi, 4; lxii, 8; lxiv, 10, 11. In some of these passages allusion is undoubtedly made to the afflictions of the Babylonish exile, which Isaiah had specially foretold to Hezekiah, (chap. xxxix, 6;) but these allusions, like the prophecy concerning Cyrus, are but a small part of the great prophetic picture of Israel's future. Alexander calls attention to the fact that Babylon is less frequently mentioned than Egypt by Isaiah, and he wisely suggests that the oppressions and desolations described may be Egyptian or Roman as well as Babylonian. The seer has the past and the future of Israel, as the Old Testament Church, mapped out before his eye, and he shows himself familiar with all, as becomes one who speaks in the name of Him who is the First and the Last. Chaps. xli, 4; xliv, 6. If striking allusions to the Babylonish exile are pressed as evidences of late authorship, then may we urge the marvelous portraiture of Jesus of Nazareth in chapter liii, and insist on the same ground that this

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must have been written after Jesus had suffered on the cross, and after Paul had expounded the mysteries of redemption.

The argument based on the peculiar style and diction of these chapters is of too uncertain a character to prove any thing. The citation of fancied Chaldaisms and of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα produce an artificial glare confusing to some minds, but are utterly misleading as evidences of authorship. The subject-matter of these prophecies would naturally beget a tone of peculiar majesty, and Knobel himself admits that their style greatly resembles that of the genuine Isaiah. As for the plea that they contain doctrines and sentiments belonging to an age later than that of Isaiah, it is quite sufficient to reply, Nay, these passages themselves show that such sentiments were current in Isaiah's day!

Over against all these critics we finally posit the unanimous verdict of all Jewish and Christian tradition as far back as there is any trace, and ask the candid reader to weigh it as against the hypothesis of a post-exile authorship and a pseudo-Isaiah. "That a writer confessedly of the highest genius," observes Alexander, "living at one of the most critical junctures in the history of Israel, when the word of God began to be precious and prophetic inspiration rare, should have produced such a series of prophecies as this, with such effects upon the exiles and even upon Cyrus as tradition ascribes to them, and then have left them to the admiration of all future ages, without so much as a trace of his own personality about them, is a phenomenon of literary history compared with which the mystery of Junius is as nothing."

Some critics have urged, as against the traditional authorship of these later chapters, that in the Talmud Isaiah is placed after Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But far back of the Talmud, and two centuries or more before the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Sirach wrote of these three great prophets, placing Isaiah first, and calling him "the great prophet, who was also faithful in his vision. By a great spirit," he adds, "he saw the last things, and comforted the mourners in Zion. He showed what should come to pass forever, and secret things before they came to light." Ecclesiasticus xlviii, 22–25. And thus, as prince among the prophets, have all subsequent ages held him. In loftiness of thought, in splendor of diction, and in profound in-

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tuition of the yearnings of the human heart, he stands unrivaled, his enemies themselves being judges. And doubtless as the world grows older, mightier and mightier will grow this great evangelical prophet, this comforter of Zion, this winged psalmist of humanity's holiest hopes.

> Minstrel sublime! Thy God anointed thee
> Above thy fellow-prophets. All thy words
> Are polished amethysts, and, like the glass
> Of him that revels with the golden stars,
> Bring to our vision worlds unknown before.
> Immortal seer! What glory filled thine eye!
> What myriad melodies possess thy harp,
> That angels linger in their flights to hear
> Thy oracles divine. Sound on, ye hymns
> Prophetic; ages yet to come will hear,
> As ages past heard, in these lofty strains
> The Spirit's voice, and hearing, will believe
> That Jesus is the very Christ of God.

ART. IV.—HARMAN'S INTRODUCTION.

An Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. By HENRY M. HARMAN, D.D., Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature in Dickinson College. Edited by GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D., and JOHN F. HURST, D.D. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

AROUND any ancient monument the dust of centuries has settled, until its base is buried out of sight. In order to judge of the proportions of such a monument, or to ascertain how securely it stands, we must dig down to its foundations, and bring to light its buried parts. Troy could never have been understood by studying the Iliad only; Dr. Schliemann's pick and shovel must prepare the way for a proper appreciation of the city of Priam.

The same thing is true of any old book. Time works such changes in language, in the manners and customs of the people, and in the relative position of the nations, that in a few centuries a large part of the book becomes buried lore. Almost every author leaves great chasms in his writings to be bridged over by facts and opinions commonly known and accepted. But these facts and opinions in course of time sink out of sight, and others widely different are superimposed. In a few cent-

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uries the bridges which connected the headlands of the narrative are all gone, and the new circumstances have either left the chasm with nothing to join its opposite banks, or have filled it up so high with *débris* that it is utterly impassable. The book thus becomes fragmentary, disconnected, and contradictory; nor is it possible to vindicate its integrity and give it a plain and consistent meaning except by reproducing in thought the state of things which existed at the time it was written. But this will require no little digging and delving in the lore of the past, and will necessitate the exhuming of the age in which, and the people among which, the book first made its appearance.

The Bible is the oldest of all authentic books, and for that reason presents many difficulties requiring explanation before it can be thoroughly understood. Moreover, its several parts were written in different ages of the world, and in various countries. And then it was all penned by men of a widely different race from us, having modes of thought and forms of expression peculiar to the East. When we remember that the governments under which these writers lived have perished from off the face of the earth, and that the Hebrew people no longer inhabit the country which then was theirs, we should expect to find more difficulty in interpreting the Bible than in any other book. One half of that old monument is buried beneath the drifting, shifting sands of time, and we can but very imperfectly judge of its symmetry as a whole, or of the strength of its base, by the portion which now remains above ground. It requires more learning and more labor to remove the accumulations of time from the Bible, and lay bare the manners and customs which were contemporaneous with its writers, than are demanded for the elucidation of any other ancient document. If, however, the labor and learning thus spent shall result in discovering that the shaft is a monolith, and that it rests upon the Rock of ages, the reward will be more than commensurate with the toil.

The necessity for a re-examination of the claims and contents of the Bible, for the purpose of directing attention and thought to its sacred truths, is made apparent by the attempt on the part of skeptical scientists to ignore and divert attention from this volume of our faith. Mr. James C. Southall says: "There

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is a certain want of ingenuousness among many literary and scientific men with regard to the historical books of the Hebrew Scriptures which is reprehensible, and for which I have little respect. They studiously avoid all mention of these documents, when if they had been discovered in the valley of the Euphrates or the Nile they would receive great attention. I do not recollect that the 'Antiquity of Man' ever recognizes that the book of Genesis is in existence, and yet every one is perfectly conscious that the author has it in mind, and is writing *at* it all the time." * The testimony of the book no less than that of the rocks requires careful study in order to be understood, and the Church, therefore, ought to put forth as much effort to concentrate thought upon the Bible as the world does to keep the discoveries of physical science ever before the mind. At a time like this, when skepticism is endeavoring to turn the current of thought away from revelation, the publication of an exhaustive "Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures" is not only a valuable contribution to sacred literature, but also a priceless boon to all sincere inquirers after the truth.

Henry M. Harman, D.D., Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature in Dickinson College, is the first American scholar who has undertaken this stupendous work. Indeed, we had almost come to think that the time and patience required in the production of such a book were too great for the push and hurry of the American character, and that they could only be matched by the bull-dog perseverance of the English, or the tireless sitting capacity of the German character.

Dr. Nast gave us an admirable "Introduction to the Gospels" a few years since, but that was only a part of the great work that was needed, and, after all, its author was not a native of America, having had his birth in the Fatherland. The appearance, therefore, of Dr. Harman's "Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures" within the last year is matter both of Christian gratitude and national pride.

The vast and varied erudition which he brings to this task makes him master of the situation, while his indomitable patience and perseverance never tire in exposing error and in tracking truth to its source. He seems equally at home in all the languages of the East, both ancient and modern. Greek,

* Preface to "The Recent Origin of Man," p. 10.

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Hebrew, Egyptian and Assyrian archæology are all at his fingers' ends. The discoveries of science and the testimony of travelers furnish a fund of knowledge on which he draws at will, and his thorough acquaintance with all that has been written by those who have preceded him in this particular department of study makes him quick to profit by the admissions of enemies and to take warning from the errors of friends. Indeed, his stores of antique and curious learning fit him for a task like this almost beyond a rival.

At the very outset of his Introduction he parts company with atheists and with the Tübingen school of critics, demanding in his readers belief in the existence of a God, and in the possibility of a supernatural revelation. He thus states the plan and scope of his work:

> It is our purpose, in the present volume, to examine the Genuineness, Credibility, Integrity, Language, Contents, and most important Ancient Versions of the Canonical Books of the Bible. An inquiry of such a nature travels over a long period of human history. We are to consider books extending through a period of more than fifteen hundred years, the earliest of which appeared at the dawn of history, and the last were composed when the Roman Empire and Pagan Civilization were at their zenith of power. In the treatment of such a subject much depends upon the frame of mind with which it is approached. If our speculative system excludes from the universe an ever-living, free, supreme Intelligence, the Creator and Preserver of all that is, and acknowledges nothing but unintelligent physical forces, upon whose play all things depend, we are wholly unfit to deal fairly with the Sacred Canon. For in such a case Revelation, Miracles, and Prophecies are palpable absurdities. But Atheism can never be a positive affirmation; and if the natural phenomena of the world furnished no proof of a personal God, we could yet philosophically admit the evidence which the facts of the Bible give of his existence. No *real Theist* can consistently deny the possibility of revelation, with its accompanying proofs—miracles and prophecies—and hence he is ever ready to listen to the evidence of the genuineness of documents that establish them. Nor will he take offense at a *written* revelation, when he reflects that it is by means of *books*, in the order of Providence, that mankind are instructed in the various affairs of the world.—P. 17.

Granted the existence of God and the possibility of a written revelation, our author sets out to determine what claim our Scriptures have to be regarded as such written revelation from God. In deciding a question like this the stream of inquiry

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divides, as we follow it up, into three branches, namely, external, internal, and collateral evidence. These branches, however, flow so close together that, follow which one you will, the other two will always be in sight.

Dr. Harman does not attempt to complete the consideration of either one of these branches of evidence to the exclusion of the other two, but seems to delight in keeping them all constantly before the mind, so that their united force may be felt. He cannot, of course, avoid pursuing separately lines of inquiry which belong to one or the other of these classes of evidence, and for the time being must close his ears to all other voices, but it will not be long before he returns to bring up the other lines abreast with this. His mode of treatment reminds one of a skillful lawyer presenting his evidence to a jury. He does not divide it up into sections and bring all the witnesses who are to testify to any fact upon the stand in immediate succession, but so arranges the order of his witnesses that the testimony of each will serve to explain and confirm that of all the others. He may first bring a witness to identify a document; then he will read the instrument and put it in evidence; next he may call a witness to swear to the signature; then he will prove that the party admitted upon a certain occasion that he had executed such an instrument; then he will show in whose custody it has been kept from the time it was executed; next he will return to the document, and will establish from its orthography and grammar a correspondence with other papers executed by this party; and, finally, he may prove the fact that the party was in the place named at the time the instrument purports to have been executed, and that it was generally reputed to be his act, without any denial on his part.

He will so interweave external, internal, and collateral evidence that each will be supported by the other, and that the case will be sustained by the combined force of the testimony.

In the case of the holy Scriptures the first question which demands an answer is, Whence came the books which make up the Bible? They did not fall from the moon, they were not brought to earth by an angel, they were not revealed by some supernatural light in a cave of the mountain. We hold them to be the word of God; but how came we in possession of them? To answer this question our author proceeds to follow the

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stream of revelation up to the several springs whose waters swell the great current. And, just here, I cannot refrain from expressing my gratification that in almost every instance he has gone to original sources for his information, and has given us the original text, either in the body of the book or in copious foot-notes. Nothing new could be said upon this head, for the facts are patent to all; but the disposition and arrangement of the facts, so as to give them their greatest force, is very skillfully made.

Confining his inquiries in the first part of the book to the Old Testament, it becomes of the utmost importance to determine the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures. It were manifestly a waste of time and labor to investigate books which never attained to the dignity of sacred writings among the Jews themselves; and so the sacred writings which have come down to us need sifting before we examine their claim to be the word of God. For this purpose our author travels through every ancient catalogue of the Old Testament—from that of Melito to that of St. Jerome. As the last mentioned catalogue is the one on which he bases the canon of the Old Testament, it may not be regarded as out of place to insert it here:

Of all the fathers of the early Church Jerome was the greatest Hebrew scholar, and the best versed in the literature of the Jews. His testimony as to the canon of the Old Testament is, therefore, very valuable. In the preface to his translation of the two Books of Samuel and of the two Books of Kings he furnishes a catalogue of books of the Old Testament as arranged in the Hebrew Bible, giving both the Hebrew and the Greek or Latin name of each. He gives, first, the five books of Moses, which he says are called TORAH—LAW. The second division, he says, is that of the PROPHETS, and he begins with Joshua the son of Nun. Next comes the Book of Judges, with that of Ruth in the same volume. The third book is that of Samuel, called First and Second Kings with us. The fourth book is that of Kings, contained in the third and fourth volume of Kings; fifth, Isaiah; sixth, Jeremiah; seventh, Ezekiel. Then come the Twelve (Minor) Prophets. The third division, says he, contains the Ἁγιόγραφα, HAGIOGRAPHA, (*Holy Writings.*) The first book is Job; next, Psalms of David, in one volume; three books of Solomon, namely, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs; First and Second Chronicles; Ezra; and the ninth, Esther. "Thus the books of the ancient law," says he, "are twenty-two: five of Moses, eight of the Prophets, and nine of the Hagiographa; although some often insert Ruth and the Lamentations in the Hagiographa, . . . and thus the books

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of the ancient law would be twenty-four." In this catalogue are all the books that we have in our present canon of the Old Testament, and no others; Nehemiah is included in Ezra, and the Lamentations are included in the prophecy of Jeremiah. Jerome remarks on this catalogue: "Whatever is outside of these must be placed among the Apocrypha. Therefore Wisdom, which is commonly inscribed the 'Wisdom of Solomon,' and the Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, and Judith, and Tobias, are not in the canon. The First Book of Maccabees I have found in Hebrew. The Second Book is in Greek." He observes, in his preface to Jeremiah, that "The Book of Baruch has no existence among the Hebrews, and the spurious Epistle of Jeremiah I have determined should be by no means commented upon."—P. 30.

From these Christian authorities he turns to Jewish testimony for confirmatory evidence of the Old Testament canon. It so happens that the writings of Josephus and Philo have preserved for us catalogues more or less perfect of the books held as sacred by the Jews in their day. Another is found incorporated in the prologue of the Greek translation of the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, while the Talmuds furnish a fourth. These are all forced to bear their testimony to the canonicity of the books of our Old Testament.

Alongside these Jewish and early Christian catalogues he next marshals the ancient manuscripts of the Jewish Scriptures; and after them the many ancient versions—the Septuagint, the Targums, the Peshito, the Itala, the Vulgate, the Egyptian, the Ethiopic, the Armenian, the Georgian, the Gothic, the Slavonian, and the Arabic—together with the Samaritan Pentateuch and its versions. Early Christian literature is ransacked for information upon this subject, and every passage found bearing upon the canon of the Scriptures is made to take its place in this book. We are compelled to wade knee-deep among old Hebrew MSS., and through tomes of musty translations in all the languages of the Babel East. The conflict between these early authorities soon eliminates the Apocrypha, and leaves us the Old Testament canon in its integrity as we now have it.

Having thus determined the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures as a whole, our author next resolves the Old Testament into its several components, and regards each book as a separate document for the purpose of making each succeeding author bear testimony to the writings of his predecessor, so as to fix ap-

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proximately the date of the oldest books of the Bible. In other words, he traces the volume as a whole book to within sight of its latest writer—farther than this it could not be traced, because it did not exist in its integrity—and from this point, taking each sacred author as an independent authority, he climbs, step by step, by means of their testimony, up the stair of evidence to the days of the Exodus and the writing of the Pentateuch.

Paley's argument from quotations and allusions must forever be conclusive.* Any quotation from a book is proof unanswerable that that book was extant at the time the quotation was made. Well, by means of direct quotations from, or clear allusions to, or direct mention of, the Pentateuch, in the several books of the Old Testament, our author follows the Books of Moses back to the days of Joshua, who mentions them as writings well understood and of acknowledged authority among the people at that time. With the testimony of Joshua he closes the evidence from sacred authors, and concludes as follows:

It may be taken for granted that Moses was the great legislator of the Hebrews, since the proof is so strong that it may be said to have hardly ever been questioned. All the writings of the Jews, and their oldest traditions, agree that Moses was their lawgiver; and the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans held the same view. Manetho, an Egyptian priest of Sebennytus, a man of great erudition, who wrote in Greek, about B. C. 300, the Egyptian History from their sacred writings, states that the Israelites left Egypt in the reign of Amenophis, and that their leader, a priest of Heliopolis, by name Osarsiphus—whose name was changed to *Moses* after he went over to the Israelites—*gave them laws*, for the most part contrary to the customs of Egypt, enjoining upon them not to worship the gods, nor to abstain from those animals held sacred in Egypt, but to sacrifice and slaughter them all. King Amenophis (Amunoph) is placed by Wilkinson at B. C. 1498–1478. Manetho's History of the Dynasties has been remarkably confirmed by the monuments of Egypt. Strabo, the great Greek geographer, (about B. C. 65,) in speaking of the Jews, remarks: "Moses, one of the Egyptian priests, possessing a part of Lower Egypt, left there, being disgusted with the existing institutions, and many, honoring the Divinity, left with him. For he said and taught that the Egyptians have not just conceptions of the Divine nature in representing it by beasts and cattle; nor have the Lybians; nor have the Greeks, who represent it by human forms. For that only is God which embraces us all, both land and sea."

The Roman satirist Juvenal (about A.D. 100) speaks of "the

* "Evidences of Christianity," p. 134.

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law, all which Moses delivered in the sacred volume." "Moses," says Tacitus, "gave the Jewish nation new rites, contrary to those of other men."—P. 71.

Having thus established the antiquity and integrity of these books, the question as to their genuineness next arises. In this field Dr. Harman's scythe cuts a broad swath. His intimate acquaintance with the state of ancient learning in all the countries which enter into this question, and his knowledge of the manners, customs, and languages of the peoples concerned, enable him largely to reproduce the state of society which existed in the days of the Exodus. He is not writing a work on the evidences of Christianity, and hence his book is not polemical in tone. He is preparing the way for the study of the holy Scriptures, and therefore contents himself with the task of removing causes of misapprehension, and with restoring, as far as may be, the ancient settings and surroundings of the Bible. He does not aim at dovetailing propositions into syllogisms for the purpose of forcing conclusions. He rather assigns to himself the task of collecting the materials out of which arguments are constructed. His arrangement of these materials is rather in the form of pictures of ancient society than in the shape of demonstrations of formal propositions. Reading his work, before we know it we feel at home among the patriarchs, and the meaning of lawgiver, psalmist, and prophet dawns upon us we know not how. The best possible explanation of an author's meaning is a knowledge of the circumstances under which the book was written. Thus (on page 67) he hedges in the Pentateuch:

As a preliminary to the discussion of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, there arises the question of the antiquity of the art of alphabetical writing among the Hebrews: for if it can be shown that the art was well-known among that people in the Mosaic age, the probability that their great lawgiver *wrote* his laws will be very great.

Writing in hieroglyphics, which preceded alphabetical writing, was known and practiced in Egypt at a very remote period. The sacred books of Thoth, the Egyptian Mercury or Hermes, were written, in part at least, as early as the time of Suphis, (Cheops,) to whom the books were attributed. This Memphitic king, according to Wilkinson, reigned about B. C. 2450. Numerous commentaries were written on these sacred books of Thoth. "Papyri are of the most remote Pharaonic periods, and the same mode of

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writing on them is shown from the sculptures to have been common in the age of Suphis, or Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid." "Every thing was done in writing." They had decimal as well as duodecimal calculation, and the reckoning by units, tens, hundreds, and thousands, before the pyramids were built. Alphabetical writing came into use several centuries later. "From the Palestinians the people near the Mediterranean Sea received their alphabet. The sounds of the alphabet itself, as it is known to us, suit well the general lingual characteristics of the Semitics. It corresponds to their peculiarity, for it expresses their inclination to gutturals, and the variety of their hissing or aspirated sounds. We can, therefore, assert with high probability that *its inventor was a Semitic.*" That the Israelites possessed alphabetical writing when they went down into Egypt is quite evident, otherwise they would have adopted the hieroglyphic system of the Egyptians. The Phœnicians, who lived on the borders of Canaan, and whose language was nearly the same as the Hebrew, possessed writing at a very remote period. They attributed the invention of their alphabet to Taut, their world-god. The sacred writings of the Phœnicians, in which their cosmogony, the history of their gods and heroes, natural events, and astronomical, astrological, and psychological doctrines were contained, were called Taut-writings. Antiquity mentions seven such writings.

The existence of alphabetical writing among the Hebrews at the time of the Exodus being thus established, he proceeds to draw a picture of the arts and sciences in general in Egypt in the Mosaic age, to show that the statements of the Pentateuch respecting the arts employed by the Israelites in building the tabernacle, in making its utensils, and in adorning the priests, together with the allusions made to gold and other ornaments, are natural and credible, unless one can suppose that the Israelites, although dwelling in close proximity to the Egyptians for centuries, never learned any of their arts, and that no Egyptian artist ever appeared among them.

These collateral considerations create a strong presumption both that Moses wrote laws for the Jews and that the Pentateuch contains those laws. And now our author turns to the evidences of genuineness to be found in the books themselves. Having argued the unity of the Pentateuch from the one plan which pervades it all, showing it to be the work of one mind, he next proceeds to demonstrate its antiquity from the *archaisms* which it contains. I do not recollect ever to have seen so thorough and exhaustive a presentation of this class of evidence as is found in this book. Indeed, the chap-

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ters upon this subject I regard as the gems of the whole volume. They give evidence of an amount of learning, labor, and patience which few men possess, and furnish an argument for the antiquity and genuineness of the Pentateuch which few minds can resist.

Language is a long-lived thing, but it has its youth, maturity, and decrepitude, like men and nations. The seasons in its life-time may be centuries, but they mark different stages of its development or decline. A language that had well-nigh perished may sometimes be revived and perpetuated for centuries, but its youth or maturity can never be restored when once it has been passed. Though the English tongue should become universal, and should continue to be spoken to the end of time, it would never again be characterized by the language of Spenser and Chaucer. A language may reach a second childhood, like an individual, but the second will be very unlike the first. Because language is thus ceaselessly progressive, the style, the idioms, the grammar, and the very words of any composition will go far toward determining the age in which it was written. A document found to-day written in English containing many obsolete words and forms of expression, together with antiquated spelling and strange grammatical forms, but containing no word or syllable that was not pure Anglo-Saxon, would unquestionably be assigned to a period prior to the Norman Conquest, and subsequent to the Anglo-Saxon ascendency in England. The ages of stone and of bronze do not more clearly mark successive stages in a people's civilization than do the peculiarities of the language in which a book is written determine the age to which it belongs. Dr. Harman, with consummate skill, has collected and arranged the archaisms of the Pentateuch for the double purpose of establishing the antiquity of the Books of Moses and the unity of their authorship. We think he conclusively shows, not only that the books must have been written in the infancy of the Hebrew language, but that the same peculiarities run through all five of the books, and are not found in any other Hebrew books of great antiquity, thus showing these books to have been written by one and the same author.

The genuineness of these books being thus clearly indicated, our author next turns to examine the objections which have

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been offered against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Of the *document* hypothesis of the origin of the Pentateuch, he disposes as follows:

Respecting the document hypothesis, we may remark, first of all, that there is very little agreement, as we have already seen, among the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch in regard to the *number* of the original documents, *when* they were composed, by *whom* and from *what* sources, and *when* the *final* revision of the whole was made. This want of unity in view is a strong proof that their theories rest upon no solid basis of facts. One feature, however, stands out prominently in nearly all their theories: they deprive Moses, as much as possible, of all connection with the composition of the Pentateuch.

The different names for the Divine Being—*Elohim*, *God*, *Jehovah*, (properly *Jahveh*,) and *Jehovah Elohim* (LORD GOD, Eng. Ver.)—found in different portions of the Book of Genesis, furnish the original ground for the decomposition of the Mosaic writings. In the other books of the Pentateuch (with the exception of the first few chapters of Exodus) the use of the divine names furnishes no support at all for the document hypothesis. But it must be borne in mind that the hypothesis that one document or more entered into the composition of the Book of Genesis and into the first two chapters of Exodus, by no means militates against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. That the traditions of the Hebrew people would be written down during their sojourn in Egypt, where they came in contact with a people who were accustomed to write the annals of their kings, and to compose works on science and religion, is highly probable. Joseph, who married the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On, might have compiled the annals of the Hebrews and the traditions respecting the deluge and the antediluvian world. But those annals might have been very defective, and have contained no account, or a very imperfect one, of the work of creation, the order of which none but God could know. The original document lying before Moses—for we can scarcely believe it at all probable that the Hebrews had two different documents which related the history of the world from the creation to the time of Moses—may have been used by him in the composition of Genesis. In this way we might find in Genesis a narrator, (*the Elohist*,) and an editor or reviser, the Jehovist, (*Moses*.) How far this is probably true must be determined from the phenomena exhibited in the book.—P. 88.

After patiently exposing the absurdity of Bishop Colenso's strictures, one by one, he finally takes leave of him with this remark: "There is one peculiarity of Colenso which must be noticed. Whenever any subject admits of different views or explanations, the one which creates a difficulty or absurdity is

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almost invariably adopted by him. No other document of either the ancient or modern world would be treated in the same way."—P. 217.

Curious objections by the score are satisfactorily answered, and apparent discrepancies harmonized, until the ground is completely cleared of obstacles to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. At last he opens the books of the Pentateuch, and shows that *they claim* to have been written by Moses, while no rival author has ever arisen to dispute the claim. Finally, to place the divine seal upon these old books, he turns to Jesus Christ and his apostles for their testimony:

Our Saviour and his apostles every-where assume the Mosaic authorship and the divine authority of the Pentateuch. Our Saviour, in his controversy with the Jews, says: "For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for *he wrote* of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" How absurd this language would be, on the theory that the Pentateuch was written ages after Moses—If you do not believe in a work made up of traditions and myths in a late age and attributed to Moses, how can ye believe in me?—and this language from Him who is the *truth* itself!

In various passages Christ speaks also of Moses as if he was the author of the Pentateuch: "Have ye not read in *the book of Moses*, how in the bush God spake unto him saying, I am the God of Abraham," etc. Mark xii, 26. "If they hear not *Moses* and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." Luke xvi, 31. "These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in *the law of Moses*," etc. Luke xxiv, 44. "Did not *Moses* give you *the law?*" John vii, 19.

The Apostle Peter, on the day of Pentecost, says: "For *Moses* truly said unto the fathers, A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me," etc. Acts iii, 22.

The Apostle Paul, in his address to Agrippa, observes in respect to his teaching: "Saying none other things than those which the prophets and *Moses did say* should come." Acts xxvi, 22. And in Acts xxviii, 23, St. Paul expounded "both out of *the law of Moses* and out of the prophets." "For *Moses* describeth (Greek, *writes*) the righteousness which is of the law, that the man which doeth these things shall live by them." Rom. x, 5. This refers to Lev. xviii, 5, which St. Paul here declares that Moses wrote. "For even unto this day, when *Moses* is read, the veil is upon their heart." 2 Cor. iii, 15.—Pp. 224, 225.

The inspiration of the Pentateuch is left to be inferred from its contents. If it be a trustworthy history of the events which

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it records, there is no escaping the conclusion that Moses was a divinely inspired man. Men always have believed and will believe to the end of time that God is on the side of truth. Whenever, therefore, they behold God's omniscience cropping out in prophecy or his omnipotence laid bare in miracles, they will believe in the truth of the man or the message in attestation of which the prophecy was uttered or the miracle performed. There could have been no deception in the miracles performed during the exodus. It was not a matter of faith but of positive knowledge with the Jews that the Red Sea parted at Moses' command. There could have been no mistake about the manna which fell, and on which they were fed. They knew whether the waters gushed forth from the rock when Moses smote it, or not; and they knew absolutely whether their clothing waxed not old throughout all their journeyings. There could have been no mistake about these and similar miracles; and the Jews would not have accepted as true the Pentateuch which contained these accounts, nor bowed obedience to its laws, had these miracles not occurred in their knowledge. But admit these miraculous interpositions of divine power through Moses, and at once he becomes the accredited agent and mouth-piece of God.

The authenticity and inspiration of the books of Moses, like the Siamese twins, are vitally united, and are, therefore, inseparable. If the books are not trustworthy histories of the events which they record, of course they are not divinely inspired. But if, on the other hand, we accept their statement of facts as true, it follows irresistibly that God breathed his own wisdom into their author, and clothed him at times with almighty power. The nature of the history determines the inspiration of the author. But the narrative of events in the Pentateuch cannot be rejected as authentic history according to any rule of criticism which would not destroy belief in all ancient history. The miraculous events, upon which the proof of Moses' inspiration rests, and about which there could have been no deception, have been attested by every Jewish writer from Moses down to the close of the sacred canon—they have been celebrated by the Jews in sacred songs, and commemorated by religious institutions and festivals through all the ages which have intervened since the events are related to have occurred.

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The country over which Moses and Israel passed, in their flight from Egypt, bears names to the present day which are the echo of the miraculous events of the Exodus, and the atmosphere of Egypt and Arabia is still full of traditions respecting these events. With all these evidences corroborating the Mosaic record, it is not possible rationally to withhold assent to the authenticity of the Pentateuch. And since its authenticity establishes miracles and prophecy, the inspiration of Moses follows inevitably.

It is too late to object to the possibility of miracles and prophecy when the one has been performed and the other fulfilled before our eyes. De Wette saw and acknowledged that the Mosaic narrative enfolds the miraculous like a garment. He says: "If it is at least doubtful to the thinking intellect that such miracles really occurred, the question arises whether they did not so appear to the eye-witnesses and participants of the history; or were supposed by the reporters to have occurred in a natural way, but set forth in a poetic-miraculous light? But this must be denied as soon as the narratives are carefully considered. For there is wholly wanting in them that credulous poetic frame of mind which would contain the key to the miraculous." *

Bishop Colenso's general objection to miracles is a weak thing to dispute the power of Moses' rod. It is thus stated and annihilated by our author, (pages 218, 219:)—

"The order," says he, "of this wondrous universe, so manifold, so diverse, yet all tending to unity, to one great central Cause, a miracle, if really witnessed, would be like a jarring discord in the midst of a mighty music—not a sign of the master-musician's presence, but a token that for once he had failed to subdue the rebellious elements—would, in short, be simply frightful." † What shall we say to a miracle's being "a jarring discord in the midst of a mighty music?" Is this world nothing but harmonious music? What shall we say of earthquakes burying whole cities with thousands of human beings; of inundations laying waste vast tracts and destroying human life; of famines, pestilences, tornadoes, sweeping away houses, and sending ships with their precious freight beneath the waves of the deep? Is all this music in the ears and harmony to the eyes of Colenso? To these discordant and destructive forces add the passions of men, exhibited in horri-

* Schrader's De Wette's "Einleitung," p. 257.

† "Lectures on the Pentateuch," etc., p. 369.

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ble wars and devastations. In the midst of such a world as this, is an extraordinary display of omnipotent power in punishing the wicked and delivering the good—the manifestation of the divine power and Godhead, the revelation of Jehovah to man, a great light in the midst of moral darkness—is all this nothing but a jarring discord? In the midst of the wrongs and the darkness of the world, who has not felt, as did Isaiah, and prayed, "O that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down?"

The bed rock of the Bible has thus been reached; and, having found the Pentateuch to be the WORD of GOD, it is comparatively easy to determine, approximately, the age, genuineness and inspiration of the remaining books of the Old Testament.

To undertake to give an adequate idea of our author's treatment of these several books would be to transcribe a large part of his work. Suffice it to say, that the same thorough scholarship and careful research are brought to bear upon every portion of the Old Testament; and if in every case we do not agree with the conclusions of his logic, we cannot help being edified and profited by his learning.

His Introduction to the New Testament, which occupies the latter part of his work, does for the four Gospels what the course of investigation pursued in the case of the Pentateuch did for the Books of Moses. His examination of the authorities bearing upon the authenticity of the Gospels is thorough and exhaustive, and his accumulation of facts for the defense of the Gospels leaves nothing to be desired. But as the treatment of the New Testament is similar to the course pursued with the Old, it does not fall within the scope of this article to enter further into its discussion.

That the book is free from errors is not claimed, nor is it hoped that all the conclusions reached by the author will be accepted by orthodox Christians; but it contains so much that is rare and valuable that we can easily afford to overlook its defects. Dr. Harman is a scholar rather than a logician. The treasury of learning which he has given us in this volume is almost faultless. The mistakes are nearly all in the conclusions which he draws from indisputable premises. Without indorsing every thing contained in the book, we regard the volume, as a whole, as a grand contribution to sacred literature, and as an armory of truth from which the weapons of our warfare will be taken for a generation to come.

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Art. V.—ECHOES FROM AFRICA.

The American Missionary. December, 1878; January and February, 1879. American Missionary Association. New York.

The Three Despised Races in the United States. An Address by Joseph Cook. American Missionary Association. New York. 1878.

"The fate of the negro," it has been said, "is the romance of our age." The events which have transpired in his history since the great emancipation in the United States, and which are now transpiring, are in the highest degree romantic. There will always gather around the history of the race a pathetic interest, which must ever kindle the imagination, touch the heart, and awaken the sympathies of all in whom there is a spark of humanity.

The intelligence we have just received from America of large migrations of negroes from the Southern to the Western States is full of melancholy and suggestive interest. To reflecting minds acquainted with the history of Southern society during the last fifty years these events are not surprising. Retributive justice may linger, but it is sure. A prosperity built up on the wrongs of a race, by the unrequited labor of a whole people, ought not to have been expected to be permanent. In 1858 the chivalry of Louisiana passed a law forbidding free blacks to come in; now they would pass a law forbidding them to go out.

"Many years ago," we are informed by a writer of Southern birth,

"an artist of Philadelphia was engaged by the State of South Carolina to paint some national emblematic picture for her State-house. Jefferson Davis was requested to act with the South Carolina Committee at Washington in criticising the studies for this work. The most creditable sketch presented was a design representing the North by various mechanical implements; the West by a prairie and plow; while the South was represented by various things, the center-piece, however, being a cotton-bale with a negro upon it fast asleep. When Mr. Davis saw it, he said, 'Gentlemen, this will never do; what will become of the South when the negro wakes up?'"

The discussions which the reconstruction laws have made possible in the South, the circulation of newspapers, the education of negro youth as preachers and teachers, have roused

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the negro, and started him to his feet. The thunders of the civil war awoke him from his profound slumber; but he lay on the cotton-bale with his eyes open, uncertain where he was. The man who has been suddenly roused from a long sleep takes some time to recover himself. The negro is now up—stupid yet from a protracted and undisturbed slumber—but he is up, and wants to adjust his relations to the cotton-bale upon an equitable footing, or leave the bale and its owner to their fate. Hence the exodus and migration idea, which menaces the South in every department of its organic life. And this is a specially inopportune moment for the carrying out of such an idea on any thing like a large scale. The prosperity of the South has been rapidly returning under free labor, and was being placed on a satisfactory and enduring basis. Mr. Jefferson Davis lately declared that the ex-slave-holders were so far satisfied with the change that they would not, if they could, revert to the former system. And yet the owners of these reviving estates have been so unwise and reckless as to adopt such a system of treatment as has spread dissatisfaction among their hands. And, from all we can gather, this harsh and oppressive treatment has not been of a hap-hazard or isolated character, but the result of a deep-laid scheme. The plan seems to have been so to impoverish their laborers as to make them helplessly dependent, to check by a tyrannical repression the normal impulse of advance, to arrest the people through their elementary needs at a capriciously chosen point in their progress, and *fix* them in it, and thus bring about a species of serfdom very little better than the former bondage. Rev. Joseph Cook, the celebrated Boston lecturer, in an address before the American Association, furnishes the following information:

Last summer, on Lake Chautauqua, while I had a little leisure, I fell into conversation with one of the acutest members of Washington society—I dare not describe him more definitely—and he said to me: "The negro is getting in debt. He is a peasant; he rents land; he has only very small wages; he buys his groceries at a store owned by his landlord, and runs up a bill there; and the silent scheme of the South is to get the negro in debt. Then he cannot very well leave town until his debts are paid. He becomes a fixture, in many cases, because of his indebtedness; and, to make the story short, sir," said my informant, "some of us fear that fifty years hence a considerable portion of the freed-

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men will be in a state of peonage. They will be bankrupt tenants under the power of landlords. And it is often whispered in the South that this will be the next best thing to the restoration of slavery." *

No people having their eyes open and standing on their feet would long submit to such a state of things. But the intelligent among the negro population do not seem to consider that any migration in the United States will materially affect for the better the social and political *status* of the colored people.

The "People's Advocate," (Feb. 1, 1879,) a colored paper published at Washington, in an able editorial on the subject, says:

There has been a very respectable partial migration, and no perceptible change has come over the South in its ideas of negro citizenship. In 1869–70, 60,000 left Virginia and North Carolina for Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. They left Georgia by the thousands for Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and have gone from Eastern Virginia to New York and New England; but the feeling is nearly as bad to-day in Virginia and Georgia as it was years ago.

And they are now fleeing from Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

"'Tis but a poor relief they gain
Who change the place but keep the pain.'"

And it strikes us, viewing matters from this distant standpoint, that the feeling toward the negro will continue to be "bad" in the United States, if being "bad" means the non-recognition of his social and political equality with the white man. For the negro, pure and simple, there is no country but Africa, and in America his deeper instincts tell him so. He will never be understood, nor will he ever understand his European guide and teacher, as long as he remains in the countries of his exile. He is often misled by the overflowing and ceaseless generosity of white men into a belief that his benefactors are getting nearer to the idea of practical oneness and brotherhood with him. But among the phenomena in the relations of the white man to the negro in the house of bondage none has been more curious than this: that the white man, under a keen sense of the wrongs done to the negro, will work for him, will suffer for him, will fight for him, will even die for him, but he cannot get rid of a secret contempt for him.

* "The Three Despised Races," etc., p. 25.

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Mr. James Parton, in his article on "Antipathy to the Negro," * says:

When Miss Kemble came first to Boston, in 1832, she sat next to the late John Quincy Adams at dinner one day, and the conversation turned upon the tragedy of "Othello." Miss Kemble has since reported one of Mr. Adams' remarks on this subject: "Talking to me about Desdemona, he assured me, with a most serious expression of sincere disgust, that he considered all her misfortunes as a very just judgment upon her for having married a *nigger*." If this anecdote had not come to us on such respectable authority we could hardly believe it of a man who, during the last and best ten years of his life, was looked upon as the black man's champion.

Theodore Parker, who in pleading for the slave could "stir his hearers to the bottom of their hearts and soften them to tears;" who, in his famous letter to Millard Fillmore, (Nov. 21, 1850,) could say:

I would rather lie all my life in jail and starve there than refuse to protect one of these parishioners of mine. . . . William Craft and Ellen were parishioners of mine. They have been at my house. I married them a fortnight ago this day. After the ceremony I put a Bible and then a sword into William's hands, and told him the use of each. . . . There hang beside me in my library, as I write, the gun my grandfather fought with at the battle of Lexington—he was a captain on that occasion—and also the musket he captured from a British soldier on that day, the first taken in the war for independence. If I would not peril my property, my liberty, my life, to keep my parishioners out of slavery, then I would throw away these trophies, and should think I was the son of some coward, and not a brave man's child.†

Theodore Parker, who could say, "I should like of all things to see an insurrection of slaves;" ‡ who could pronounce that pathetic and touching but terrible discourse over the great Webster; this same Theodore Parker did not think it inconsistent with his high ideal of human liberty and equal rights to write in a private letter as follows:

Last night I could not coax the thermometer down below 79° any way we could fix it. Now, at eight and a half A. M., I dare not look at it, it is so high. In the midst of the heat there

* "North American Review," Nov.–Dec., 1878.

† "Biography of Theodore Parker." By Octavius Brooks Frothingham. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1876. Pp. 410, 411.

‡ Ibid., p. 475.

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just came a monstrous African black! O dear, how black he was! Fat! bless me, he looked like a barrel (no, a *sugar hogshead*) of tar, so black, so fat! What an aggravation, with the thermometer at 90° in the shade!*

We should have taken this for the irrepressible overflow of harmless witticism but for other disparaging references to the negro. To Miss Hunt he writes, under date November 10, 1857:

There are inferior races which have always borne the same ignoble relation to the rest of men, and *always will.* For two generations what a change there will be in the condition and character of the Irish in New England! But in twenty generations the negroes will stand just where they are now; that is, if they have not disappeared. In Massachusetts there are no laws now to keep the black man from any pursuit, any office, that he will; but there has never been a rich negro in New England; not a man with ten thousand dollars, perhaps none with five thousand dollars; none eminent in any thing except the calling of a *waiter.*†

Again: "In respect to the *power of civilization*, the African is at the bottom, the American Indian next."‡ Again: "When slavery is abolished, the African population will decline in the United States, and die out of the South as out of Northampton and Lexington."§

Mr. Parker, after all he said and did for freedom, seems to have had an invincible contempt for weak and oppressed races. He waged uncompromising warfare against the process by which such peoples are degraded, but had no charity toward those suffering from the results of such process. He fought against the parent, and ridiculed the offspring. The abstract to him was hateful; the concrete examples contemptible or ludicrous. He scorned the Irish and laughed at the negro. He speaks of the Irish as follows:

I don't know but these Paddies are worse than the Africans to the country. We made a great mistake in attracting them here and allowing them to vote under less than twenty-one years of quarantine. Certainly it would take all that time to clean a Paddy—on the *outside* I mean; to clean him inwardly would be like picking up all the sands of the Sahara. There would be nothing left when the sands were gone.‖

* "Biography," p. 311. † Ibid., p. 467. ‡ Ibid., p. 327.
§ Ibid., p. 473. ‖ Ibid., p. 473.

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It is a pity that in speaking of the "gintleman from Car-r-r-k," as in caricature he describes the Irishman, and of "the poor wretches from Africa," he did not conform to his own canon of criticism. Speaking of Pierpont, he says: "Just now, considering all that he has done and suffered, it would seem a little ungenerous to be quite just. All pictures must be painted in reference to the light they are to hang in and be looked at." *

Mr. Parker knew the "light" of prejudice and contempt in which his picture of the negro was to "hang," and yet, making no allowance for circumstances, and uninfluenced by the laws of moderation, he holds the balance between light and shade with an indifferent hand, paints in the gloomiest possible colors, and thus encourages rather than disarms the falsifying faculty of the observer predisposed to an unfavorable impression.

Would Mr. Parker have joined Dennis Kearney, and raised a crusade in favor of the inhospitable legislation proposed by the opponents of Chinese immigration? In view of the splendid results in the United States and in the world generally of the manly struggle which Mr. Parker maintained for truth and freedom—in view of the large sacrifices which he unquestionably made in the cause of free humanity—many errors of temper and judgment on his part may be forgotten; but the negro can never forget the slurs upon his race, of which, however, no one, perhaps, more readily than Mr. Parker would now admit the impolicy if not the injustice. For how do such utterances differ in character and effects from those of the Notts and Gliddons, of the Calhouns and Jeff. Davises? And the fact—which should be suggestive to thinking negroes in the United States—that they are reproduced in the biography by Mr. Frothingham, shows that there is a feeling that they are the proper thing to say, even now, about the negro. Can Congressional legislation remedy the evils produced by such caricatures and misrepresentations? Congress may decree civil rights to the "despised" race in America, and the exigencies of party may occasionally bring the negro to the front; but what progress can he make when a public sentiment against him is fostered in the writings and in the private intercourse of his

* "Biography," p. 329.

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friends? In the language of the Liberian Declaration of Rights, "Public sentiment, more powerful than law, will ever frown him down."

The negro, pure and simple, may rely upon it that for him the most enthusiastic of his benefactors sees nothing but the lowest occupations. In the case of the most liberal of his advocates he will have occasionally to exclaim, *Et tu, Brute!*

A writer in the Methodist Quarterly Review for January, 1875, on "The Negro," has the following among the closing sentences of an able and plausible defense of the race:

> Without the negro the top-stone of our national greatness will not be lifted to its predestined lofty altitude for centuries yet to come. Expatriate the negro, and our cotton-fields whiten no more; our turpentine orchards become silent as the grave; our rice-fields grow up into canebrakes, sheltering the alligator and wild boar.

But does the American conscience ever look forward to the time when, in the United States, the negro will have any common interest in, or any, the slightest possible, control over, the political and financial elements of the country—when he will be needed as a part of the directing agency in the halls of legislation, in counting-houses, and in banking establishments?

Mr. Parton, in the "North American Review," says:

> The South is most happy in possessing the negro; for it is through his assistance that there will be the grand agriculture in the Southern States, which cannot flourish unless there is a class to labor and individuals to contrive. The Southern farmer, by the black man's help, can be a "scholar and a gentleman," and at the same time secure and elevate the black man's life.

Such utterances "give color to the idea" that the negro was made to live and improve only in the service and under the guidance of a superior. If this view is correct, then why does not the great Creator allow the elect masters to have free access and safe incursion into the natural home of the created slaves, and live in a land where they might hold their predestined *protégés* in unlimited numbers and in comfortable service? Why did He make for the slaves so magnificent a country, and surround it with a wall of fire, so that if the master comes to the threshold he either beats a hasty retreat or perishes in the attempt to penetrate?

> "Massa run away,
> Darkee stay, oh ho!"

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No; the destiny of the negro and his marvelous country is veiled from the view of the outside world according to the wise and beneficent purposes of Omniscience.

> "God is his own interpreter,
> And he will make it plain."

He can wait, if the impatient Caucasian cannot.

The American Missionary Association, whose publications we have prefixed to this paper, in their work of lofty and noble purpose throughout the South are endeavoring to prepare the negro for higher spheres of labor than "cotton-fields, turpentine orchards, and rice-fields." Every negro who is at all acquainted with matters in the United States must have the highest admiration for that Association. Almost alone among the benevolent institutions of that land in the days of the great struggle, they never for one moment yielded to the imperious dictates of an oligarchical monopoly, but gave expression to the idea which they inscribed upon their banner, that one of the chief purposes of their organization was to resist the tyranny of the autocracy which doomed the negro to perpetual servitude. No one could be enrolled among the members of their society who was "a slave-holder." They have the gratitude of the negro race.

But history will have a brighter page than even that with which to adorn their annals when she comes to recount the devotion and sacrifices of the hundreds who have been sent forth under their auspices as uplifters of the prostrate host in the South, to whom, left as they were paralyzed by slavery, free movement and real progress were intrinsically impossible without the aid of such agencies as the American Missionary Association. As time rolls on the romance which clings to those heroes who fought to unfetter the body of the slave will fade beside the halo which will surround those who have labored to liberate his mind.

We have read with the deepest interest the report and some of the addresses made at the Thirty-second Anniversary of this Association, held in October, 1878, as well as letters from various portions of the field under its supervision. In reading the accounts of the struggles and sufferings of the missionaries, their sorrows and disappointments, their battles and their vic-

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tories among the lowly in remote and sequestered districts, it is often impossible to repress the tears—tears of sympathy, of gratitude, and of joy.

At the Annual Meeting Rev. C. M. Southgate said:

We heard words of hearty praise this afternoon, telling of the success of the work. They tell hardly enough. But these efforts should be redoubled. We want more institutions like those at Atlanta, New Orleans, Charleston, and the other large Southern cities where high culture and intelligence rule. The scholarship can be compared without fear with similar grades at the North. I never heard in our boasted common schools such recitations as I have heard from boys as black as the blackest. I know what Yale and Harvard and Dartmouth can show; but in Greek and Latin those colored students can rival their excellence. The culture in morals and manners is at least not inferior, nor the religious instruction less fruitful. The report from the Churches shows as large and as healthy success as we can show here. The young men and women in these institutions have an intense longing to be at work for the Master. The desperate condition of their race rests upon them like a pall. God is making them his prophets, and speaking through them, and sending redemption.

Rev. Dr. Bascom, in a letter from Alabama, says:

I see abundant proofs of the beneficent work of your Society here. Could its influence have been exerted in like manner among all our colored people of the South, the problem so perplexing to politicians and philanthropists, as to the future of this class in our country, would have been already solved.

The committee on the "Normal Work of the Association" reported that:

The eagerness of the colored people to obtain at least a rudimentary education has ever been a most encouraging sign. The young man who last year walked fifty miles with his trunk upon his back that he might enter school, recalls the zeal of the late Dr. Godell, of Constantinople, who, in his youth, also walked sixty miles with a trunk strapped upon his back, that he might enter Phillips Academy, at Andover. The demand for teachers from the normal schools—quite beyond the ability to supply them—is one of the surest indications that the schools are meeting an urgent need.

We regret that Professor Hartranft, in his able address on the "Five Tests of American Civilization," should have spoken of the "brutality of the negro." In what portion of the United States has that "brutality" been shown? Such a charge is in

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flagrant contradiction to all the testimony borne of the negro by those who know him best.

And here we must venture to enter our earnest protest against the use of such phrases as "The Despised Races," which we see frequently used of late in the publications of the American Missionary Association. The Rev. Joseph Cook addressed the Association on the "Three Despised Races," and he was followed by Rev. C. M. Southgate on "Puritanism and the Despised Races." Such expressions as "The Despised Race" and "The Dark Continent," applied to the negro and his ancestral home, have not, we fancy, the most salutary effect either upon those who employ them or upon those to whom they refer; in the one they often beget arrogance; in the other, servility or resentment. They do more than serve the *ad captandum* purposes for which they are probably intended. In using "great plainness of speech" the instructors of humanity should be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves," which, according to a negro interpreter, means "an ounce of serpent to a pound of dove." Moreover, the whole of the rest of mankind does not hold the European, in view of his past history, in such unqualified admiration as to admit without serious question that he has a right to embody in terse phrases, and to parade in the titles of books, pamphlets, and addresses his contempt for other races. There are those of other races who also sneer and scorn and "despise." Some of the proceedings of Baker and Stanley in Africa must frequently have impressed the natives with the feeling that those energetic travelers came from much "darker continents" than any their unsophisticated imaginations had ever before suggested to them. The African now coming forward through education and culture cannot have unlimited respect for all the qualities of the European races: "A people with a passion for taking away the countries of others and dignifying the robbery as conquests; and whose systematic cruelty has been shown for ages in chaining, buying, and selling another race.

"'Hearest thou, O God, those chains
Clanking on Freedom's plains,
By Christians wrought?
Those who those chains have worn
Christians have hither borne,
Christians have bought.'"

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The intelligent negro feels that the part of the oppressor is not less to be despised than the part of the oppressed—that the part of the man-stealer and man-seller is far more contemptible than the part of the man stolen and sold. And this he will feel more and more. The brilliancy of the universal and prolonged success which has given the European the idea that he has a right to despise others and to proclaim the fact—the glories which have followed in the wake of his progress and conquests—are getting sadly dimmed in the light of a fuller understanding of the Gospel of Christ. Under the searching criticisms of rising intellects imbued with the essence of a Christian philosophy and influenced by the spirit of a science properly so called, those brutal instincts which received the eulogiums of the past are finding their proper recognition as elements of character to be reprobated and suppressed. The Bosworth Smiths of to-day are superseding the Carlyles of yesterday. Might no longer makes right. The motto on the British coat-of-arms is being slightly altered—not "God and *my* Right," but "God and *the* Right." Whatever "smacks of saltpeter"* is being deprecated and condemned. Says the eloquent author of "Carthage and the Carthaginians:"

> It is equally reprehensible, whether it be the plunder of half of Europe by the representative of one of its most enlightened nations, the arch-robber of modern times, Napoleon, or the sack of a Chinese palace by those whom the Chinese had a right, in this instance at least, to style barbarians. If good men and great nations have hitherto often followed the example of Cicero in drawing a broad contrast between the extortions of a Verres and the high-handed plunder of Marcellus, a Warren Hastings, or a Napoleon, it is because they have not yet reached the moral standard which condemns the public robber; they look askance only at a thief. †

History, then, as it is read by the thinking negro, will not diminish the vehemence of his protest against the injustice of being regarded by the European as belonging to a "despised race," nor lessen the grounds of his desire to reciprocate the

* Lord Salisbury's Speech in the House of Lords, 1879.

† "Carthage and the Carthaginians." By R. Bosworth Smith, M.A., Assistant Master in Harrow School, etc. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1878. When Dr. Johnson expressed a hope that he might never hear of the Punic Wars again he never anticipated any thing like this brilliant and charming work—this startling investment in flesh and blood of the dry bones of Carthaginian history.

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disparaging sentiment. His hands are free from the blood of other men. He has not in any way oppressed other races. He has suffered, *and that is all.* He has been scattered and peeled, despoiled and plundered, abused, persecuted, and down-trodden, *and that is all.* The late Professor Tayler Lewis, of Union College, when he was once asked the flippant question, "What shall we do with the negro?" replied, "And pray, sir, what shall the negro do with you? It is my logic, with no disrespect to anybody, that one question is as fair as the other." *

The negroes on the African continent who have not read European history are divided into two classes, namely, those who have seen and had intercourse with the Europeans, and those who have never seen but only heard of them. The view taken by the former at this moment is exactly that described by Mungo Park a hundred years ago. A century has made no change. Of the impressions of the latter we have a fair specimen in one of Stanley's amusing anecdotes. Mungo Park says:

> Although the negroes in general have a very great idea of the wealth and power of the Europeans, I am afraid that the Mohammedan converts among them think very lightly of our superior attainments in religious knowledge. The white traders in the maritime districts take no pains to counteract this unhappy prejudice. The poor Africans, whom we affect to consider as barbarians, look upon us, I fear, as little better than a race of formidable but ignorant heathen.†

Mr. Stanley, describing the people on the south-western shores of Lake Tanganyika, says:

> The conduct of the first natives to whom we were introduced pleased us all. They showed themselves in a very amiable light, sold their corn cheaply and without fuss, behaved themselves decently and with propriety, though their principal men, *entertaining very strange ideas of white men*, carefully concealed themselves from view, and refused to be tempted to expose themselves within view or hearing of us.
>
> Their doubts of our character were reported to us by a friendly young Arab as follows: "Kassanga, chief of Ruanda, says, 'How can the white men be good when they come for no trade, whose feet one never sees, who always go covered from head to foot with clothes? Do not tell me they are good and friendly. There is something very mysterious about them; perhaps wicked. Probably they are magicians; at any rate, it is better to leave them alone, and to keep close until they are gone.'"

* Methodist Quarterly Review, Oct., 1878, p. 617. † Park's Travels.

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And again:

In these people we first saw the mild, amiable, unsophisticated innocence of this part of Central Africa, and their behavior was exactly the reverse of the wild, ferocious, cannibalistic races the Arabs had described to us.*

After the disparaging view of the negro taken by Professor Hartranft, it is not surprising that he should have exclaimed:

As to the African, there are not a few Americans, even in this day, who think a righteous solution of the African question is to ship them all off to the Dark Continent. So far as the American Colonization Society keeps in view education and other Christian instrumentalities I bid them God-speed; but if they desire to send the negro out of the country, I say, No! a thousand times, No! Let us solve the problem right here where God has placed them.

We cannot help repeating the last words of the paragraph—"right here where *God has placed them*"—and we think of the sanguinary scenes attending the capture and deportation of their fathers from the ancestral land; the devastation of flourishing districts; the desolation and ruin by fire and sword; the pillage, the plunder, the murders, and the horrors of the middle passage.

There was among philanthropists a difference of opinion when these people, or their fathers, were being shipped to America; and Professor Hartranft is not alone in his benevolent scruples about shipping them back to the "Dark Continent."

The Rev. Sylvanus Heywood, who seems to have a higher appreciation of the race and of its work, speaks of the negro as the "black diamond plucked out of Africa," and advocates for him an education the same in character and completeness as that given to the white man. He says:

You may enact laws and hedge them about with penalties for securing the rights of the blacks, but law alone will prove a failure. But give to them the highest Christian culture, and they will not only demand, but command, their rights. Give them a common school education, and it will be a blessing to them; but with nothing more they will remain but hewers of wood and drawers of water. They will be *in* society, but not *of* it. But give them the highest culture among cultured men, and the case will be far different. It is too late in the day to raise the ques-

* "Through the Dark Continent," vol. ii, pp. 68, 69.

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tion whether they are capable of this. This Association has demonstrated that day by day. I have spent ten years as a teacher among the whites and two among the blacks, and I must say that I accomplished more in those two years than in ten—more in the way of giving instruction. I say it is too late to raise that question at all. It is already demonstrated. Let them be educated with broad culture. Let them have the training that will put them in possession of practical skill, such as shall win success. Let them have their own lawyers well trained in legal lore, so that they shall be able—in that natural eloquence in which they excel—to carry conviction to dignified courts. Let them have clergymen, not only earnest and sanctified, but able to cope with the deep things of science and theology—men able to stand before the most learned bodies. Let them have statesmen, well-grounded in philosophy, history, and government, so that they will be able not only to win victories upon the stump, but in the halls of legislation. Let their homes become homes of Christian culture and social refinement. Then, and not till then, will they cease to struggle for their rights, and *take* them.

But Mr. Heywood takes also a much broader view of the logical and necessary sequence of all this high culture—of all this effective training. He points to the fatherland. His philosophy is correct. For the negro, pure and simple, this is the only real solution of his difficulties. He says:

> The ways of God are mysterious. We must walk by faith, and not by sight. We hear his voice saying, "This is the way; walk ye in it." In this darkness we see his hand. In the raising of this Society and the doing away with slavery we can see almost visibly the hand of God displayed upon the midnight sky, pointing to that Dark Continent, saying we should send these freemen forth as the apostles of light to purify and make glad their ancestral homes.

No man who has any proper conception of the capacities and work of the negro, and has caught any thing like a glimpse of his ultimate destiny, can fail to arrive at Mr. Heywood's conclusion. To the intelligent and earnest negro in America there is, as he rises in culture, an ever-widening horizon of duty and of liberty. Home, or rather the place of his birth, gets too narrow for liberty, too circumscribed for work, and he looks to Africa as the field for both.

In an able article in the London "Times" for May 19, on the negro migration in the United States, the following words occur:

> The truth is that the negro is not a migratory being. He did not come of his own accord to Virginia or any other Southern.

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State, nor will he willingly leave it again now that he is acclimatized there. He has found an Africa in the South which is quite as congenial to him as that from which his forefathers were transported.

On the subject of the negro the "Times" and every body else not African are utterly in the dark. An acknowledged mystery hangs about him and his destiny. Foreigners do not know the negro. They have never had an opportunity of knowing him. Foreign slavery on the one hand, and aboriginal barbarism on the other, are the only circumstances under which they have had an opportunity of contemplating him. It is true that the "negro is not a migratory being." He would never have appeared on American soil if he had not been taken thither by violence. And the restlessness he now shows is among the strongest proofs of his freedom. He is now free to think and act for himself, and the consciousness of being a stranger in a strange land is beginning to operate upon him. The "Times" admits that "this is not the first symptom of a desire for change among the colored citizens;" and yet it fancies that the negro has found "an Africa in the South which is quite as congenial to him as that from which his forefathers were transported." The fact is, that the negro is getting every day more and more into a position to show himself no longer a dormant, but an active, factor among the forces of civilization, and the European will witness almost daily new developments in his character—the exhibition of qualities never suspected. Next to ridicule one of the most repulsive things to a sensitive mind is sympathy unduly extended, especially when the sympathizer has no means of correctly estimating the situation which he imagines should call forth his sympathy. There are very few Europeans who are qualified either to guide or to sympathize with the negro in the countries of his exile; and gratuitous advice even from these, in vital questions of his race, has no practical influence upon him.

"The enthusiasm for Liberia" has not died out, as the "Times" imagines. The American Colonization Society has at this moment five hundred thousand applicants for passage to Liberia. Dr. A. L. Stanford, a negro of culture, who was sent last year as Commissioner to Liberia from his people in Arkansas, returned with a favorable report, in which he says:

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After traveling extensively in Liberia and observing the prosperous condition of the colony which the American Colonization Society has planted, and, I am convinced, firmly established, I am prepared to lend my aid in disabusing the public mind in regard to the noble efforts put forth by that Society in elevating the downtrodden negro race. I entertain very different views from what I held before. I verily believe that Africa is the natural home of the negro, and that ere long the remnant of her descendants, wherever dispersed, will return to that land. I favor a gradual emigration of the more enterprising, hard-working, and intelligent class of American negroes. I believe such a course would prove a blessing to Africa and to the race.*

It is admitted by all travelers to the coast that Liberia occupies five hundred miles of the finest and most picturesque portion of West Africa, with an interior extending two hundred miles on indefinitely back, abounding in every thing necessary for the growth and prosperity of a people. The whole valley of the Niger is accessible to this republic, teeming with a population every-where hospitable and friendly, ready and anxious to welcome to their salubrious, prolific, and picturesque home their brethren returning from the countries of their exile.

In the trade and commerce of this country there seems to be a special interest, not only for the negroes in the United States, but for the whole American people. There would be unlimited demand for American productions in that vast region now almost untouched. Gold, and hides, and beeswax, and rubber, as well as the finest coffee, might be had in unlimited quantities. Not far from Liberia are the unvisited but easily accessible and wealthy countries north and west of Ashantee and Dahomey, possessing the very highest capacity for the consumption of manufactured articles and for the production of raw material—from which a prodigious trade, struggling for an outlet, filters through in very small quantities to the Gulf of Benin.

Viewing the subject in this light, it becomes a practical business question whether there are no large capitalists in the Northern or Southern States willing to invest in an entirely virgin country, so much nearer to the United States than many of those countries from which at great expense tropical productions are now obtained for the American market—a field where

* "African Repository," April, 1879, pp. 40, 41.

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agriculture may find unobstructed scope; where so many results, moral, political, and pecuniary, may be at once achieved; and where a Christian nation, with its multifarious agencies for diffusing civilization, may be built up. If American capitalists desired to engage in agriculture, and to produce the far-famed Liberia coffee or any other tropical product, they could themselves select and send out able hands from America for this work, who, while building up a congenial home for themselves and their children, and making "the wilderness and solitary place glad" for their presence, would be also enlarging the wealth of their patrons.

At a banquet given in Paris on the 19th of May, 1879, in commemoration of the abolition of slavery, M. Victor Hugo said: "In the nineteenth century the white man has made the negro a man, and in the twentieth century Europe will make Africa a world."

We admire the epigrammatic form of this sentence, but we venture to disagree with the sentiment it contains. As philosopher and prophet, the great poet is in this instance mistaken. Poetical inspirations do not always suggest sound political lessons. But what he said further on in his speech should be carefully pondered by all intelligent negroes every-where. He said:

> The day had come for the vast continent which alone among the five parts of the world had no history to be reformed by Europeans. The Mediterranean was a lake of civilization, and it was the duty of Greece and of Italy, of France and of Spain, the four countries that occupied its northern shores, to recollect that a vast territory lay unredeemed on the opposite coast. England was also worthy to take part in the great work. She, like France, was one of the great free nations of the globe, and, like France, she had begun the colonization and civilization of Africa. The latter held the north and east, the former the south and the west. America had joined in the task, and Italy was ready to do so. This showed the unity of spirit which pervaded the peoples of the world. M. Victor Hugo then described the magnificent scenery, the fertility, and the navigable rivers of Central Africa in eloquent language, and concluded by exhorting the European nations to occupy this land offered to them by God, to build towns, to make roads, to cultivate the earth, to introduce trade and commerce, to preach peace and concord, so that the new continent should not be the scene of strife, but, free from princes and priests, should enjoy the blessings of fraternity.*

* "Daily Telegraph," May 20.

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It is really high time that a "unity of spirit should pervade the peoples of the world" for the regeneration of a continent so long despoiled by the unity or consent of these same peoples. Thinking negroes should ask themselves what part they will take in this magnificent work, the work of reclaiming a continent—*their own continent.* In what way will they illustrate their participation in the "unity of spirit" which pervades the peoples for the redemption of their fatherland? Compared to this, most of the questions with which they are endeavoring to grapple in the United States sink into insignificance. The local can bear no comparison to the universal, nor the temporary to the eternal.

Victor Hugo exhorts the European nations to "occupy this land offered to them by God." He has forgotten the prudent advice of Cæsar to the ancestors of those nations against invading Africa. The Europeans can hold the domain "offered to them" by only a precarious tenure. But it already belongs to the exiled negro. It is his by creation and inheritance. Every man, woman, and child of the negro race out of Africa ought to thank God for this glorious heritage, and hasten to possess it: a field for the physical, moral, and spiritual development of the negro, where he will live under the influence of his freshest inspirations; where, with the simple shield of faith in God and in his race, and with the sword of the spirit of progress, he will grow and thrive; where, with his sympathetic heart, he will catch stray, far-off tones, inaudible to the foreigner, which, penetrating through the local air, will waken chords in his nature now unknown to the world and unsuspected even by himself. He will come under the influence of powers which will haunt him with strange visions and indicate the way he should go. Emerson says:

> A man's genius, the quality that differences him from every other, the susceptibility to one class of influences, the selection of what is fit for him, the rejection of what is unfit, determines for him the character of the universe. A man is a method, a progressive arrangement; a selecting principle, gathering his like to him wherever he goes. He takes only his own out of the multiplicity that sweeps and circles round him. He is like one of those booms which are set out from the shore on rivers to catch drift-wood, or like the loadstone among splinters of steel. . . . A few anecdotes, a few traits of character, manners, face,

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a few incidents, have an emphasis in your memory out of all proportion to their apparent significance, if you measure them by the ordinary standards. They relate to your gift. Let them have their weight, and do not reject them and cast about for illustration and facts more useful to literature. What your heart thinks great is great. The soul's emphasis is always right.*

When Professor Hartranft says, "Let us solve the negro problem right here," in America, what "problem" does he refer to? And how does he propose to solve the great questions of the African race in the United States? There are certain problems at times set before a people by accidental and temporary circumstances; these may admit of solution by extraneous help. There are others which grow out of their natural, inherent, and unchangeable relation to the outside world or the universe; these are to be solved by the people themselves under favoring circumstances; the trusts and responsibilities which these impose are special, incommunicable, and inalienable. But probably Professor Hartranft means the problem pressing upon the white man in his relations to the negro; the problem of his duty toward the "despised" race—his power to arrive at a satisfactory solution being a "test" of his civilization. In regard to this, of course, we can suggest nothing. But from all we can gather it appears that the chief problem held up to the negro for *his* solution by his friends in America is that of "conquering the caste prejudices of the whites" around him; of becoming, as the usual phrase is, "a man among men," (white men;) of "wiping out the color line," etc. Now, we beg most respectfully, with all the earnestness and deference becoming the subject, and with the serious emphasis which we know the enlightened of the race would authorize us to employ, to assure our white friends that these are matters for which the negro, pure and simple, when cultivated up to Mr. Heywood's standard, will care very little. He will then feel that in his own race-groove and on his own continent he has a work to accomplish equal to that of the European, and that caste or race prejudices are as natural to him as to the white man. The passion for equality does not always exert an elevating influence on the character, but may be positively mischievous, where to produce or sustain it certain sentiments in the mind are flat-

* The Prose Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. i, p. 292.

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tened by holding the higher attributes in abeyance, or brought into prominence at the expense of judgment and love of truth.

Ripe scholarship and disciplined thought, even under the training he is receiving in America, will give to the negro a freshness, a manliness, a hopefulness, and a faith which will deliver him from the tyranny of his surroundings, widen his view of his own capabilities, make him conscious of belonging to a race which has rich things in store for the world, and glorify his heart with a thousand strange and fruitful sympathies and with endless heroic aspirations.

The negro who is really restless on the subject of caste in America is he who, from defective culture or lack of culture, has not half found out the calling of his race; who, consequently, unduly impressed by his surroundings, is eager for immediate success, and anxious to play his part well amid the circumstances in which he finds himself—aiming at technical skill, which is popular or fashionable, rather than artistic life, which may be unique and unpopular. Fascinated by the present, he cannot conceive any thing else, and harasses himself with the ever-recurring and ever-unsatisfying and unsatisfactory task of imitating imitators. The negro raised to Mr. Heywood's standard will feel the force of Emerson's words:

> We like only such actions as have already long had the praise of men, and do not perceive that any thing man can do may be divinely done. We think greatness entailed or organized in some places, or duties in certain offices or occasions, and do not see that Paganini can extract rapture from a catgut, and Eulenstein from a jew's-harp, and a limber-fingered lad out of shreds of paper with his scissors, and Landseer out of swine, and the hero out of the pitiful habitation and company in which he was hidden. What we call obscure condition or vulgar society is that condition and society whose poetry is not yet written, but which you shall presently make as enviable and renowned as any.*

Recognizing the force of these truths, the cultivated negro will have insight enough to discover his exact relation to surrounding superficial phenomena, and self-respect and independence enough to acknowledge the fact that his peculiar work cannot be done under the overshadowing influence of a foreign race; that there he cannot "communicate himself to others in his full stature and proportion;" and, feeling this, he will turn

* "Prose Works," vol. ii, p. 291.

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to the fatherland, to "the one direction in which all space is open to him," and under the conviction that "he has faculties inviting him thither to endless exertion."

The teachers of the negro in America cannot have failed to observe that there seems always to be in the minds of their pupil some reservation which they cannot overcome, some hesitancy which they cannot explain, but which they attribute to a sort of modesty growing out of a sense of inferiority in the pupil. But the fact is, that, under the influence of the means of culture to which he has access, his race-consciousness is kindled into active and sensitive life, and he receives under mental protest many a dogma which for European growth and development is orthodox and inspiring. Not only the physical and metaphysical teachings often puzzle and contradict his deepest feelings, but even the Scriptures are at times a perplexity to him; and as he becomes acquainted with the original languages in which they were written, he feels that there is in them a temporary and local element which must be separated from the permanent and universal before the sacred records can utter what in the depths of his being he wants to say. But in America he will never be able to make the discrimination that will be useful to him. He will never be able to translate the letter, which is often adapted to another age and race, into the spirit of his own times and race. He is, therefore, lonely with his secret, with which nothing around him seems to sympathize. Development is denied him; he cannot expand. He fills his belly with theories and dogmas which to him are like the dry, hard husk. He cannot digest them, and they afford him no nourishment. Nearly every thing he produces comes from the memory; very little flows fresh from the heart. The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States is the result, in part, of just such experiences on the part of the Bishop Allens of a former day. They found that the waters flowing from the fountain which God had opened in their soul were slackened and half-choked by being forced through the pent-up and artificial channels provided for them in the white Churches, and they established that noble organization—the admiration of negroes every-where, which during the last fifty years has attained such wonderful growth—that the living streams of their unfettered nature might wind their own sweet way along the

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meadows of an ecclesiastical Liberia. If the fare with which they were furnished in the new religious republic was ridiculed by their enemies as "ash cake," it was to them more than the wheat bread upon which they were starved in their previous connection. The food now dispensed to them was to their souls the very bread of life.

But there are many drawbacks to this *imperium in imperio*. It grew out of a temporary and local necessity, and, like all such products, must be partial and limited in its influence. Does it not become this most honorable and useful body—this first-born of African Churches—this pledge and proof of Africa's future evangelization—to inquire whether they may not increase their efficiency and even develop their central strength by taking a wider, deeper, and more practical interest in the land of their fathers, in their kith and kin in Africa? Their system is capable of indefinite development in the vast and unoccupied field which this continent presents. The message to them, as a Church of Christ, is, "Go ye into all the world;" —not only over the United States, from California to New York and from New England to Texas, but to "regions beyond," especially to the lost sheep of their own race. Their talents, it occurs to us, are not as useful and as profitable as they might be made. This is a drawback and a mistake. If it be sinful to wrap our talent in a napkin and hide it in the earth, it is only one degree less sinful so to handle it as to make it yield twofold only where it might yield ten. We are persuaded, however, that it is not the courage they lack for the work, but conviction. The same self-control and self-reliance, the same energy and independence, which led to the founding of the African Churches in the United States would readily, if there were earnest conviction on the subject, sacrifice the charms of home, the comforts of civilization, the æsthetic and sensuous attractions of an enlightened country, for the labors and toils and privations of the wilderness. They are quite equal to, and have shown themselves worthy of, the great achievement of taking possession of the whole valley of the Niger for Christ. Let them arise and come, and they will find in the home of their widowed parent that "the barrel of meal will not waste, nor will the cruse of oil fail." Freedom from restraint ought not to be our ultimate and final object, but FREEDOM TO WOR-

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SHIP GOD: and the desire for such freedom is, in certain aspects of the subject, among the happiest of the popular instincts of the negro race.

It is remarkable that the message which Moses was commanded to bear to the tyrant Pharaoh was not "Let my people go that they may be *free*," but "Let my people go that they may *serve* ME." As long as they remained in a strange country under a foreign race they could not render that service for which they were fitted, and which God requires of every man. They could not serve the Lord with their "whole heart," the undiminished fullness of their nature, in carrying out the purposes of their being. "How could they sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" Their race impulses and instincts were hampered, confused, and impaired. So with the negro in America. Although their gatherings, of whatever nature, are usually marked and enlivened by a stream of religious feeling which continually flows with a rapid and sometimes boisterous current, still they cannot fully know God in that land, for they see him through the medium of others. Here and there there may be a "Caleb, who has another spirit within him, and follows the Lord fully;" but the masses are distracted by the disturbing *media*. The body, soul, and spirit do not work in harmony. The religious passions are predominant in their influence among them, and they show a co-operative and successful energy in ecclesiastical organizations; but in their political struggles there is no attempt at any logical or reasoned solution of their difficulties. "The negro," says Rev. Joseph Cook, "has gone to the wall in Mississippi, in spite of having a majority there and the suffrage. And he is likely to go to the wall in South Carolina. He is going to the wall even where he has a majority; and his inferiority in politics results from his lack of education" —such an education as he can never receive in America. But let him be delivered from the restraints of his exile; let him be set free from the stocks that now confine him, and he will not only arise and walk, but he will point out the way to his eminent success, which, in his particular line, only *he* can find out, and which he *must* find out for himself. He will discover the central point from which the lines may be easily and infallibly drawn to all the points of the circle in which he is to move effectively in the true work of his race for his own elevation and

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the advantage of the rest of mankind. He will prove that what in African history and character seems nebulous confusion is really a firmament of stars. There are stars, astronomers tell us, whose light has not yet reached the earth; so there are stars in the moral universe yet to be disclosed by the unfettered African, which he must discover before he will be able to progress without wandering into perilous seas and suffering serious injury. Let him, then, return to the land of his fathers, and ACQUAINT HIMSELF WITH GOD, AND BE AT PEACE.

ART. VI.—THE GREAT EPIC OF INDIA.

The Ramayan of Valmiki Translated into English Verse. By RALPH T. H. GRIFFITH, M.A., Principal of the Benares College. Five vols. London: Trübner & Co. Benares: E. J. Lazarus & Co. 1870–1874.

The Ramayan of Tulsi Das. Translated by F. S. GROWSE, M.A., B. C.S. Book I, CHILDHOOD. Allahabad: North-western Provinces Government Press. 1877.

IN an article on "Dante" in a former number of this Review, the author wrote: "We count but four as having in the course of literature risen to the first class of epic poets—Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Milton* . . . . The 'Iliad,' the 'Æneid,' the 'Vision,' and 'Paradise Lost' exhaust our catalogue." † To these must be added the illustrious name of Valmiki, and in this catalogue a place not the lowest must be given to the "Ramayan."

The hero of this poem is Rama or Ram Chandra, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu, (the *Preserver* in the Hindu Triad;) and, although he was born as other men are, and sinned as other men do, still he was a wonderful personage; as the Hindus recount, "virtuous, heroic, firm, true, grateful, good, kind, bounteous, and holy, just, and wise," comparable with "Sun, Moon, Indra, Vishnu, Fire, and Air." Of the ten incarnations of Vishnu Ram Chandra is by far the most popular, and the hold he has upon the hearts of this hero-loving nation can hardly be over-estimated. In every part of the country "Ram-Ram!" is a common term of salutation; by river's bank and under the *peepul's* shade devotees sit days at a time repeating, from dawn till dark, "Ram-Ram! Ram-Ram!" The *Janam*

* Methodist Quarterly Review, January, 1852, p. 50. † Ibid., p. 51.

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Asthan, or place of his birth at Ajudhiya, is daily visited by hosts of pilgrims, (as are the other places scattered here and there over India made famous by some connection with the great hero;) and when, but the other day, the native troops were leaving the Bombay harbor for Malta, the enthusiastic cheers which arose from the dark-hued soldiers were not "Long live the Queen!" "Three cheers for the Empress!" (Kaizar i Hind,) but "Ram Rajah Ki Jai!" "Ram Chandra Ki Jai!" (Hurrah for King Ram Chandra—Victory to Ram!)

The truly surprising popularity of the poem and its hero is also seen in the "Ram Lila," (Ram's Festival,) held annually at the close of September or early in October. This festival is observed throughout the country, and continues for a fortnight. During these happy days the chief parts of the "Ramayan" are acted, and the principal adventures of Ram are brought to the notice of the Hindu public. It is an open-air theater, attended day after day by enthusiastic millions. In the larger cities, like Lucknow, Cawnpore, and Benares, great preparations are made, large sums of money expended, and a corresponding amount of enthusiasm enkindled. It is not unusual for a wealthy Hindu to spend thousands of dollars upon a single entertainment of this kind. A large garden or other walled inclosure is selected; in this tents are pitched to represent the hostile camps of Ram and Ravan. Trees are set out; rivers are made; in short, the place becomes a miniature Hindustan from Ajudhiya to Ceylon. The actors who are hired for the occasion are dressed to represent the various characters of the poem, including even the monkeys. The play begins with the childhood of Ram, and progresses day after day until the climax is reached in the slaying Ravan and burning his city by the hero. It is pantomimic, and a loud-voiced pundit marches up and down in front of the spectators, keeping them acquainted with the progress of the play. Thousands of people, men, women, and children, all dressed as well and brightly as possible, laughing and chatting in the happiest manner, climb the garden walls, look down from the tops of surrounding houses, crowd the verandas of adjacent buildings, or stand in deep ranks around the extensive stage. The scene, with its indescribable *éclat*, is most interesting to look upon, and dwells long and pleasantly in one's memory. In smaller cities the

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representation is on a more limited scale; but every-where, in city, town, and hamlet, Ram's Festival is celebrated—as it has been for at least more than a score of centuries.

The subject of the "Ramayan" is, as the name implies, the life and adventures of Ram.* In this respect it is a true epic, and well planned. Various conjectures have been made as to the date of the events (real or imaginary) related in the poem. Sir William Jones places Ram Chandra in the year 2029 B. C., Tod in 1100, Bentley in 950, Gorresio in the 13th century B. C. The last named scholar, in the introduction to his edition of the "Ramayan," adduces a number of arguments in favor of the great antiquity of the poem, but these are hardly of convincing power. Perhaps a more proper estimate is the following, found in the fiftieth volume of the "Westminster Review:"

We are ignorant of the date of the poem, or rather of the era to which its older parts belong. Probably Valmiki and Homer were contemporaries; perhaps the Hindu was the earlier of the two, and sang his song while that Ilion was a reality which to Homer rose in the background of two or three generations. Our limits forbid us to enter into any detailed proof, nor, indeed, could any be quite satisfactory. The best arguments for its age are found in the poem itself, and the habits and manners which it describes. Thus, the burning of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands, which the Greeks describe as an old custom when Alexander invaded India, B. C. 327, is utterly unknown in the "Ramayana," and one fact like this speaks volumes. In such poems as the "Ramayana" and the "Iliad" we instinctively feel that they belong to the earlier world: we enter them as we enter a house in Pompeii—the colors may still seem fresh and no mark of decay remind us of their age, but we feel that they belong not to us or ours, and a gulf of ages lies between us and our objects.

The poem appears to have undergone two distinct revisions, one in Benares and the other in Bengal; the former, as is generally allowed by European scholars, is the more genuine. The Bengal recension has been translated into Italian (by Gorresio) and into French, (by M. Fauche;) but, until the appearance of the volumes before us, there had been no English version of either recension. In the years 1805–10 Carey and Marshman, the illustrious missionaries of Serampore, published the text and English translation of two books and a half, (the poem consists

* From *Rama* and *ayana*.

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of seven books, containing twenty-four thousand verses,) but these volumes have long been out of print, and are said to be "very inferior as productions of literary art, though no blame attaches to the excellent men who published their work in the very dawn of Oriental studies."

In 1846 Schlegel published the text of the first two books, with a Latin translation of the first and part of the second. "I congratulate myself," he says in the Preface, "that by the favor of the Supreme Deity I have been allowed to begin so great a work. I glory and make my boast that I, too, after so many ages, have helped to confirm that ancient oracle declared to Valmiki by the father of gods and men:

> "'Dum stabunt montes, campis dum flumina current,
> Usque tuum toto carmen celebrabitur orbe.'"

The volumes before us indicate no small amount of research, scholarly ability, taste, and poetical skill. Mr. Griffith is to be congratulated for having given this very remarkable poem to the English public in so attractive a form. It will remain a worthy monument to his perseverance and erudition.

The work opens with a happy description of the great hero, his fair, strong body, and his many good qualities of head and heart. It also gives a brief history of his life, travels, and courageous deeds, which may be epitomized as follows:

Rama was the son of Dasaratha, King of Ajudhiya, who was fifty-seventh in descent from the illustrious Manu. This famous king had three queens, and the chief of these, Kausalya, gave birth to the hero of the poem. Even while a youth he became a general favorite in the kingdom, and especially with his father. In company with Lakshman, his ever-constant brother, he set out upon his travels. Journeying to the east, he arrived at the court of Janak, a great king, who gave him welcome in his own and in his father's name. This Janak had a bow wonderfully strong, and a daughter (named Sita) marvelously fair. He had promised Sita to the suitor who should be able to bend the great bow, but although many came to make the trial all failed. Rama asked to see the bow, and when it was brought seized it in the middle and drew the string until the weapon broke in two. The lovely Sita was at once pronounced to be his, and word was sent to his royal father, who hastened to attend the nuptial ceremonies. The marriage

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was celebrated with great *éclat*, King Dasaratha giving as dowry one hundred thousand cows for each of his sons. The ceremonies ended, the kingly party returned to Ajudhiya, where they were met by an enthusiastic host of "people and Brahmans," who welcomed them home. The hero of the bow became more and more popular on account of his filial obedience, courage, and beauty.

> "So for his virtues, kind and true,
> Dearer and dearer Rama grew
> To Dasaratha, Brahmans, all
> In town and country, great and small."

The king grew older, and was minded to associate with himself his favorite son as Regent Heir. A popular assembly was held, and the people were asked to express their pleasure. The plan of the king was unanimously approved, and Rama was told by his father that he should be installed on the morrow. Great preparations were made. Temples, trees, shops, and houses were covered with banners and decorated with flowers; villagers came from every side and filled the city:

> "Each with his friend had much to say
> Of Rama's consecration day;
> Yea, even children as they played
> At cottage doors beneath the shade."

But, suddenly and without warning, the star of Rama's prosperity shot downward, and

> "When Kaikeyi, youngest queen,
> With eyes of envious hate had seen
> The solemn pomp and regal state
> Prepared the prince to consecrate,
> She bade the hapless king bestow
> Two gifts he promised long ago,
> That Rama to the woods should flee,
> And that her child the heir should be."

The king could not but keep his promise, and, weeping, banished his darling son, and in his place placed Kaikeyi's child, Bharat, upon the throne.

> "Then Lakshman's truth was nobly shown,
> Then were his love and courage known,
> When for his brother's sake he dared
> All perils, and his exile shared."

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The faithful Sita, too, went with her lord. The king and people, "sad of mood," followed the departing hero until they came to the Ganges, when he crossed over and they returned to the capital. The little party went from wood to wood until

> "They came to Chitrakuta's hill,
> And Rama there, with Lakshman's aid,
> A pleasant little cottage made,
> And spent his days with Sita, dressed
> In coat of bark and deer-skin vest.*
> And Chitrakuta grew to be
> As bright with those illustrious three †
> As Meru's sacred peaks that shine
> With glory, when the gods recline
> Beneath them: Siva's self between
> The Lord of Gold and Beauty's Queen."

The aged king pined for Rama, and died of grief. Bharat refused to reign, and wandered through the woods until he found his exiled brother. He besought him to return and take the throne, but Rama steadily refused, choosing rather to obey his father's decree:

> "He placed his sandals in his hand,
> A pledge that he would rule the land;
> And bade his brother turn again.
>
> "Then Bharat, finding prayer was vain,
> The sandals took and went away;
> Nor in Ayodhya would he stay,
> But turned to Nandigrama, where
> He ruled the realm with watchful care,
> Still longing eagerly to learn
> Tidings of Rama's safe return.
>
> "Then lest the people should repeat
> Their visit to his calm retreat,
> Away from Chitrakuta's hill
> Fared Rama ever onward, till
> Beneath the shady trees he stood
> Of Dandaká's primeval wood."

Here the hero of the poem took up his abode. Counseled by a new-found friend—

* The garb prescribed for ascetics by Manu.

† In half the temples of Oudh and Central India images of Rama, Lakshman, and Sita, made of marble and richly painted, are to be seen. The extent to which they are worshiped proves the estimation in which they are held.

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"He gained the sword
And bow of Indra, heavenly lord:
A pair of quivers too, that bore
Of arrows an exhaustless store."

With these weapons he delivered the trembling hermits from their foes, destroying fiends, giants, and giantesses in countless numbers. The news was carried to Ravan, king of the demons,

"Whose name of fear
Earth, hell, and heaven all shook to hear."

"Impelled by fate and blind with rage,
He came to Rama's hermitage."

"He wiled the princely youths apart,
The vulture * slew and bore away
The wife of Rama as his prey."

Rama returned to his leafy cot, but, not finding Sita, he rushed through the forest broken-hearted, weeping and wailing over his loss. At last he made friends with Hanuman, "the wind-god's son," and Sugriva, a powerful chief. Hanuman went in quest of Sita. One "wild, tremendous leap" of two hundred leagues brought him to the capital city of Ceylon,

"Where Ravan held his royal sway.
There pensive 'neath Asoka boughs
He found poor Sita, Rama's spouse.
He gave the hapless girl a ring,
A token from her lord and king.
A pledge from her fair hand he bore;
Then battered down the garden-door.
Five captains of the host he slew,
Seven sons of councillors o'erthrew;
Crushed youthful Aksha on the field,
Then to his captors chose to yield."

Escaping,

"The town he burned with hostile flame,
And spoke again with Rama's dame,
Then swiftly back to Rama flew
With tidings of the interview."

Rama, accompanied by Hanuman, Sugriva, and legions of monkeys, set out to rescue the captive lady. A bridge was thrown across the narrow sea between the continent and Ceylon, and the host crossed—

* Jatayu, a semi-divine bird who fought in defense of Sita.

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"To Lanka's golden town,
Where Rama's hand smote Ravan down." *

Then

"To meet her husband Sita came;
But Rama, stung with ire and shame,
With bitter words his wife addressed
Before the crowd that round her pressed.
But Sita, touched with noble ire,
Gave her fair body to the fire.
Then straight the god of Wind appeared,
And words from heaven her honor cleared.
And Rama clasped his wife again,
Uninjured, pure from spot and stain."

Raising to life his fallen warriors, in company with Sita, Rama flew in magic chariot through the clouds to Nandigrama:

"Met by his faithful brothers there,
He loosed his votive coil of hair;
Thence fair Ayodhya's town he gained,
And o'er his father's kingdom reigned."

His reign was very prosperous:

"Disease or famine ne'er oppressed
His happy people, richly blest
With all the joys of ample wealth,
Of sweet content and perfect health.
No widow mourned her well-loved mate,
No sire his son's untimely fate.
They feared not storm or robber's hand;
No fire or flood laid waste the land;
The Golden Age † seemed come again
To bless the days of Rama's reign."

With this introduction, which fills four cantos, and which, evidently, is the work of a later hand than Valmiki's, the poem properly begins. First comes a beautiful description of Ayodhya, the capital city of the old kingdom: ‡

"On Sarju's bank, of ample size,
The happy realm of Kosal lies,

* The rocks lying between Ceylon and the mainland are still called Rama's Bridge by the Hindus.

† The Brahmans count four ages, the Krita, (age of the gods, the perfect or golden age,) the Treta, (the age of the three sacred fires,) the Dwapara, (the age of doubt,) and the Kali, (the present time, the age of evil.)

‡ Now called Ajudhiya, an interesting mass of ruins, adjoining the city of Fyzabad, eighty miles from Lucknow. The site is a grand one, and it is not at all difficult to imagine just such a city as the poet sings of formerly existing here.

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With fertile length of fair champaign,
And flocks and herds and wealth of grain.
There, famous in her old renown,
Ayodhya stands, the royal town
In bygone ages built and planned
By sainted Manu's princely hand.
Imperial seat! her walls extend
Twelve measured leagues from end to end,
And three in width from side to side,
With square and palace beautified.
Her gates at even distance stand;
Her ample roads are wisely planned.
Right glorious is her royal street,
Where streams allay the dust and heat.
On level ground in even row
Her houses rise in goodly show:
Terrace and palace, arch and gate,
The queenly city decorate.
High are her ramparts, strong and vast,
By ways at even distance passed,
With circling moat, both deep and wide,
And store of weapons fortified."—*Book I, Canto v.*

King Dasaratha and his people are next described:

"And worthy of so fair a place
There dwelt a just and happy race
With troops of children blest.
Each man contented sought no more,
Nor longed with envy for the store
By richer friends possessed.
For poverty was there unknown,
And each man counted as his own
Kine, steeds, and gold and grain.
All dressed in raiment bright and clean,
And every townsman might be seen
With ear-rings, wreath, or chain.

"Thus, worthy of the name she bore,*
Ayodhya for a league or more
Cast a bright glory round,
Where Dasaratha, wise and great,
Governed his fair ancestral State,
With every virtue crowned.
Like Indra in the skies, he reigned
In that good town whose wall contained
High domes and turrets proud,
With gates and arcs of triumph decked,
And sturdy barriers to protect
Her gay and countless crowd."—*Book I, Canto vi.*

* Ayodhya means *Not to be fought against.*

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There are many fine passages in the poem, but want of space forbids extensive quotations. We may, however, make a few:

THE BREAKING OF THE BOW.

"Then spoke again the great recluse:
'This mighty bow, O king, produce.'
King Janak, at the saint's request,
This order to his train addressed:
'Let the great bow be hither borne,
Which flowery wreaths and scents adorn.'
Soon as the monarch's words were said,
His servants to the city sped:
Five thousand youths in number, all
Of manly strength and stature tall,
The ponderous eight-wheeled chest that held
The heavenly bow with toil propelled.
At length they brought that iron chest,
And thus the god-like king addressed:
'This best of bows, O lord, we bring,
Respected by each chief and king,
And place it for these youths to see,
If, sovereign, such thy pleasure be.'
With suppliant palm to palm applied,
King Janak to the strangers cried:
'This gem of bows, O Brahman sage,
Our race has prized from age to age,
Too strong for those who yet have reigned,
Though great in might each nerve they strained.
Titan and fiend its strength defies,
God, spirit, minstrel of the skies.
And bard above and snake below
Are baffled by this glorious bow.
Then how may human prowess hope
With such a bow as this to cope?
What man with valor's choicest gift
This bow can draw, or string, or lift?
Yet let the princes, holy seer,
Behold it: it is present here.'"

"Then spake the hermit pious-souled:
'Rama, dear son, the bow behold.'
Then Rama at his word unclosed
The chest wherein its might reposed,
Thus crying as he viewed it: 'Lo!
I lay mine hand upon the bow:
May happy luck my hope attend
Its heavenly strength to lift or bend.'
'Good luck be thine!' the hermit cried;
'Assay the task,' the king replied.

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Then Raghu's son, as if in sport,
Before the thousands of the court,
The weapon by the middle raised,
That all the crowd in wonder gazed.
With steady arm the string he drew
Till burst the mighty bow in two.
As snapped the bow, an awful clang,
Loud as the shriek of tempests, rang.
The earth, affrighted, shook amain
As when a hill is rent in twain.
Then, senseless at the fearful sound,
The people fell upon the ground;
None save the king, the princely pair,
And the great saint the shock could bear.

"When woke to sense the stricken train,
And Janak's soul was calm again,
With suppliant hands and reverent head,
These words, most eloquent, he said:
'O saint, Prince Rama stands alone;
His peerless might he well has shown.
A marvel has the hero wrought
Beyond belief, surpassing thought.
My child, to royal Rama wed,
New glory on our line will shed;
And true my promise will remain
That hero's worth the bride should gain.
Dearer to me than light and life,
My Sita shall be Rama's wife.'"—*Book I, Canto lxvii.*

The triumph of the jealous Queen Kaikeyi over Dasaratha is thus described:

"When thus the archer king was bound
With treacherous arts and oaths enwound,
She to her bounteous lord, subdued
By blinding love, her speech renewed:
'Remember, king, that long past day
Of gods and demons' battle fray,
And how thy foe in doubtful strife
Had nigh bereft thee of thy life.
Remember it was only I
Preserved thee when about to die,
And thou for watchful love and care
Wouldst grant my first and second prayer.
Those offered boons, pledged with thee then,
I now demand, O king of men,
Of thee, O monarch, good and just,
Whose righteous soul observes each trust.
If thou refuse thy promise sworn,
I die despised, before the morn.

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These rites in Rama's name begun—
Transfer them, and enthrone my son.
The time is come to claim at last
That double boon of days long-past,
When gods and demons met in fight,
And thou wouldst fain my care requite.
Now forth to Dandak's forest drive
Thy Rama for nine years and five,
And let him dwell a hermit there
With deer-skin coat and matted hair.
Without a rival let my boy
The empire of the land enjoy,
And let mine eyes ere morning see
Thy Rama to the forest flee.' "—*Book II, Canto xi.*

The poet draws a pleasing picture of the three exiles going through the forest farther and farther from their Ayodhya home, and seeking in their mutual love a higher pleasure than the courtly attractions from which they were banished could yield:

"The tender dame
Asked Rama, as they walked, the name
Of every shrub that blossoms bore,
Creeper and tree unseen before;
And Lakshman fetched at Sita's prayer
Boughs of each tree with clusters fair."

As they approached Chitrakuta Rama thus addressed his lotus-eyed Sita:

"Look round thee, dear; each flowery tree
Touched with the fire of morning see:
The Kinsuk now the frosts are fled,—
How glorious with his wreaths of red!
The Bel trees see, so loved of men,
Hanging their boughs in every glen,
O'erburdened with their fruits and flowers;
A plenteous store of food is ours.
See, Lakshman, in the leafy trees,
Where'er they make their home,
Down hangs the work of laboring bees,
The ponderous honeycomb.
In the fair wood before us spread
The startled wild-cock cries:
Hark, where the flowers are soft to tread,
The peacock's voice replies.
Where elephants are roaming free,
And sweet birds' songs are loud,
The glorious Chitrakuta see;
His peaks are in the cloud.

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On fair smooth ground he stands displayed,
Begirt by many a tree:
O, brother, in that holy shade
How happy shall we be!" *—*Book II, Canto lvi.*

Rama's sorrow on returning home after Sita had been stolen away, is thus described:

"Longing to gaze on Sita's face,
He hastened to his dwelling-place,
Then, sinking 'neath his misery's weight,
He looked, and found it desolate.
Tossing his mighty arms on high,
He sought her with an eager cry.
From spot to spot he wildly ran,
Each corner of his home to scan.
He looked, but Sita was not there;
His cot was desolate and bare,
Like streamlet in the winter frost,
The glory of her lilies lost.
With leafy tears the sad trees wept
As a wild wind their branches swept.
Mourned bird and deer, and every flower
Drooped fainting round the lonely bower.
The sylvan deities had fled
The spot where all the light was dead,
Where hermits coat of skin displayed,
And piles of sacred grass were laid.
He saw, and, maddened by his pain,
Cried in lament again, again:
'Where is she, dead, or torn away,
Lost, or some hungry giant's prey?
Or did my darling chance to rove
For fruit and blossoms through the grove?
Or has she sought the pool or rill,
Her pitcher from the wave to fill?'
His eager eyes, on fire with pain,
He roamed about with maddened brain.
Each grove and glade he searched with care;
He sought, but found no Sita there."—*Book III, Canto lxi.*

He rushed wildly through the forest, asking the various trees for tidings of the missing Sita. The kadamba, bel, arjun, basil,

* "We have often looked on that green hill," says a writer in the "Calcutta Review," (vol. xxiii;) "it is the holiest spot of that sect of the Hindu faith who devote themselves to this incarnation of Vishnu. The whole neighborhood is Rama's country. Every head-land has some legend, every cavern is connected with his name; some of the wild fruits are still called *sitaphal*, being the reputed food of the exiles. Thousands and thousands annually visit the spot, and round the hill is a raised footpath, on which the devotee, with naked feet, treads full of pious awe."

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tila, asoka, palm, rose-apple, cassia, jasmine, mango, and sal, are all interrogated, but in vain. He then asks the deer, the elephant, and the tiger, but with no better success:

"Thus as he cried in wild lament,
From grove to grove the mourner went,
Here for a moment sank to rest,
Then started up and onward pressed.
Thus roaming on like one distraught,
Still for his vanished love he sought.
He searched in wood and hill and glade,
By rock and brook and wild cascade.
Through groves with restless step he sped,
And left no spot unvisited.
Through lawns and woods of vast extent
Still searching for his love he went
With eager steps and fast.
For many a weary hour he toiled,
Still in his fond endeavor foiled,
Yet hoping to the last."—*Book III, Canto lxi.*

As before stated, Hanuman, the monkey-god, (who changed his size to suit his convenience,) went to Ceylon to find Sita. After slaying the warriors he set fire to the city:

THE BURNING OF LANKA.

"'What further deed remains to do
To vex the Raksha's king anew?
The beauty of his grove is marred,
Killed are the bravest of his guard.
The captains of his host are slain,
But forts and palaces remain.
Swift is the work and light the toil
Each fortress of the foe to spoil.'
Reflecting thus, his tail ablaze
As through the cloud red lightning plays,
He scaled the palaces, and spread
The conflagration where he sped.
From house to house he hurried on,
And the wild flames behind him shone.
Each mansion of the foe he scaled,
And furious fire its roof assailed,
Till all the common ruin shared:
Vibhishan's house alone was spared.
From blazing pile to pile he sprang,
And loud his shout of triumph rang,
As roars the doomsday cloud when all
The worlds in dissolution fall.

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The friendly wind conspired to fan
The hungry flames that leapt and ran,
And, spreading in their fury caught
The gilded walls with pearls inwrought,
Till each proud palace reeled and fell
As falls a heavenly citadel.
Loud was the roar the demons raised
'Mid walls that split and beams that blazed,
As each with vain endeavor strove
To stay the flames in house or grove.
The women, with disheveled hair,
Flocked to the roofs in wild despair,
Shrieked out for succor, wept aloud,
And fell like lightning from a cloud.
He saw the flames ascend and curl
Round turkis, diamond, and pearl,
While silver floods and molten gold
From ruined wall and lattice rolled.
As fire grows fiercer as he feeds
On wood and grass and crackling weeds,
So Hanuman the ruin eyed
With fury still unsatisfied."—*Book V, Canto liv.*

The conflict between the opposing armies of Rama and Ravan was long continued, and the description fills several cantos. The following is one of the closing scenes:

"With wondrous power and might and skill
The giant fought with Rama still.
Each at his foe his chariot drove,
And still for death or victory strove.
The warriors' steeds together dashed,
And pole with pole re-echoing clashed.
Then Rama, launching dart on dart,
Made Ravan's coursers swerve and start.
Nor was the lord of Lanka slow
To rain his arrows on his foe,
Who showed, by fiery points assailed,
No trace of pain, nor shook nor quailed.
Dense clouds of arrows Rama shot
With that strong arm which rested not,
And spear and mace and club and brand
Fell in dire rain from Ravan's hand.
The storm of missiles fiercely cast
Stirred up the oceans with its blast,
And serpent-gods and fiends who dwell
Below were troubled by the swell.
The earth with hill and plain and brook
And grove and garden reeled and shook:
The very sun grew cold and pale,
And horror stilled the rising gale. . . .

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Then to his deadly string the pride
Of Raghu's race a shaft applied.
Sharp as a serpent's venomed fang
Straight to its mark the arrow sprang.
And from the giant's body shred
With trenchant steel the monstrous head.
There might the triple world behold
That severed head adorned with gold.
But when all eyes were bent to view,
Swift in its stead another grew.
Again the shaft was pointed well;
Again the head divided fell.
But still as each to earth was cast
Another head succeeded fast.
A hundred, bright with fiery flame
Fell low before the victor's aim,
Yet Ravan by no sign betrayed
That death was near or strength decayed.
The doubtful fight he still maintained,
And on his foe his missiles rained.
In air, on earth, on plain, on hill,
With awful might he battled still;
And through the hours of night and day
The conflict knew no pause or stay."—*Book VI, Canto cix.*

But at last Rama was victorious, and the poet tells of

RAVAN'S DEATH.

"Then Matali to Rama cried:
'Let other arms the day decide.
Why wilt thou strive with useless toil,
And see his might thy efforts foil?
Launch at the foe thy dart whose fire
Was kindled by the Almighty Sire.'
He ceased: and Raghu's son obeyed:
Upon his string the hero laid
An arrow, like a snake that hissed,
Whose fiery flight had never missed:
The arrow Saint Agastya gave
And blessed the chieftain's life to save;
That dart the Eternal Father made
The monarch of the gods to aid;
By Brahma's self on him bestowed
When forth to fight Lord Indra rode.
'Twas feathered with the rushing wind;
The glowing sun and fire combined
To the keen point their splendor lent;
The shaft, ethereal element,
By Meru's hill and Mandar pride
Of mountains, had its weight supplied.

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He laid it on the twisted cord,
He turned the point at Lanka's lord,
And swift the limb-dividing dart
Pierced the huge chest and cleft the heart,
And dead he fell upon the plain
Like Vritra by the Thunderer slain.
The Raksha's host when Ravan fell
Sent forth a wild terrific yell,
Then turned and fled, all hope resigned,
Through Lanka's gates, nor looked behind.
His voice each joyous Vanar raised,
And Rama, conquering Rama, praised.
Soft from celestial minstrels came
The sound of music and acclaim.
Soft, fresh, and cool, a rising breeze
Brought odors from the heavenly trees,
And, ravishing the sight and smell,
A wondrous rain of blossoms fell;
And voices breathed round Raghu's son:
'Champion of gods, well done, well done.'"

—*Book VI, Canto cx.*

One of the most striking passages in the poem is Sita's reply to Rama when he had charged her with infidelity:

"Struck down with overwhelming shame,
She shrank within her trembling frame.
Each word of Rama's like a dart
Had pierced the lady to the heart;
And from her sweet eyes unrestrained
The torrent of her sorrows rained.
Her weeping eyes at length she dried,
And thus 'mid choking sobs replied:
'Canst thou, a high-born prince, dismiss
A high-born dame with speech like this?
Such words befit the meanest hind,
Not princely birth and generous mind.
By all my virtuous life I swear
I am not what thy words declare.
If some are faithless, wilt thou find
No love and truth in womankind?
Doubt others if thou wilt, but own
The truth which all my life has shown.
If, when the giant seized his prey,
Within his hated arms I lay,
And felt the grasp I dreaded, blame
Fate and the robber, not thy dame.
What could a helpless woman do?
My heart was mine and still was true.

* * * *

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Is all forgotten, all? my birth,
Named Janak's child from fostering earth?
That day of triumph when, a maid,
My trembling hand in thine I laid?
My meek obedience to thy will,
My faithful love through joy and ill,
That never failed at duty's call—
O king, is all forgotten, all?'

"To Lakshman then she turned and spoke,
While sobs and sighs her utterance broke:
'Sumitra's son, a pile prepare,
My refuge in my dark despair.
I will not live to bear this weight
Of shame, forlorn and desolate.
The kindled fire my woes shall end,
And be my best and surest friend.'
His mournful eyes the hero raised,
And wistfully on Rama gazed,
In whose stern look no ruth was seen,
No mercy for the weeping queen.
No chieftain dared to meet those eyes,
To pray, to question, or advise.
The word was passed, the wood was piled,
And fain to die stood Janak's child.
She slowly paced around her lord,
The gods with reverent act adored,
Then, raising suppliant hands, the dame
Prayed humbly to the Lord of Flame:
'As this fond heart by virtue swayed
From Raghu's son has never strayed,
So, universal witness, Fire
Protect my body on the pyre.
As Raghu's son has idly laid
This charge on Sita, hear and aid.'
She ceased: and, fearless to the last,
Within the flame's wild fury passed.
Then rose a piercing cry from all,
Dames, children, men, who saw her fall,
Adorned with gems and gay attire,
Beneath the fury of the fire."—*Book VI, Canto cxvii.*

The Lord of Fire rescues the faithful dame, and brings her forth unscathed:

"Fair as the morning was her sheen,
And gold and gems adorned the queen.
Her form in crimson robes arrayed,
Her hair was bound in glossy braid.
Her wreath was fresh and sweet of scent;
Undimmed was every ornament.

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Then, standing close to Rama's side,
The universal witness cried:
'From every blot and blemish free,
Thy faithful queen returns to thee.'"—*Book VI, Canto cxx.*

Rama receives her, and the happy pair return triumphantly to Ajudhiya, where Rama ascends the throne to the delight of the people: and here the story ends.

The "Ramayan" of Tulsi Das is the popular version, to be found in all the bazars of the great cities of India. Tulsi Das was a Brahman of the highest class. He spent the most of his life at Benares, visiting as well the other famous cities of his native land. He began the composition of the "Ramayan" at Ajudhiya, in A. D. 1575, and died in 1580. Two copies of the poem in his own handwriting are said to be still in existence, the one at Rajapur, the other in the temple of Sita Rama, which he himself founded at Benares. In addition to this his great work, he was the author of six other poems, all in honor of Ram Chandra. In his introduction Mr. Growse says:

The introductory portion of the first book of the "Ramayan" is not only interesting as a *resumé* of popular Hindu theology and metaphysics, but is also curious as containing the author's vindication of himself against his critics. They attacked him for lowering the dignity of his subject by clothing it in the vulgar vernacular. However just his defense may be, it did not succeed in converting the opposite faction; and the professional Sanskrit pundits, who are their modern representatives, still affect to despise his work as an unworthy concession to the illiterate masses. With this small and solitary exception the book is in every one's hands, from the court to the cottage, and is read or heard and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindu community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old.

One quotation must suffice—from "Breaking of the Bow:"

Rama first looked at the crowd, who all stood dumb and still as statues; then the gracious lord turned from them to Sita, and perceived her yet deeper concern; perceived her to be so terribly agitated that a moment of time seemed an age in passing. If a man die of thirst for want of water, when he is once dead, of what use to him is a lake of water? What good is the rain when the crop is dead? or what avails regret when a chance has once been lost? Thinking thus to himself as he gazed at Janaki, the lord was enraptured at the sight of her singular devotion, and, after making a reverential obeisance to his *guru*,* he took up the bow with most superlative ease; as he grasped it in his hands it gleamed

* Religious instructor.

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like a flash of lightning; and again, as he bent it, it seemed like the vault of heaven. Though all stood looking on, before any one could see he had lifted it from the ground and raised it aloft and drawn it tight, and in a moment broken it in halves; the awful crash re-echoed through the world.

So awful a crash re-echoed through the world that the horses of the sun started from their course, the elephants of the four quarters groaned, earth shook, the great serpent, the boar, and the tortoise tottered. Gods, demons, and saints put their hands to their ears, and all began anxiously to consider the cause; but when they learned that Rama had broken the bow they uttered shouts of victory.*

It may be remarked, in passing, that an acquaintance with this poem, "the one common and everlasting possession of the Hindus," is of great help to the missionary as he goes about preaching to these idolatrous millions. As he begins his conversation with a group of villagers seated around the public well, or gathered at some great fair, it helps him amazingly to be able to make a quotation from Tulsi Das; *exempli gratia*, the following:

"Bhe pragat Kripálá | dina dayála | Kaushalyá hitakári,
Harkhit mahtári | muni manhári | adbhut rup Nihári,
Lochan abhirámá | tanu dhan shyámá | nij ayudh bhiy chári,
Bhushan banmálá | nayun bishálá | shobhásiudu Kharári." †

This stanza is from the "Ram Pariksha," (Ram Tested,) a very excellent and popular vernacular tract written years ago by the Rev. Mr. Sternberg, and widely circulated throughout North India. The tract gives extracts from the "Ramayan," and makes a comparison between Ram Chandra and our blessed Saviour. Some reference to the national epic serves as a fitting introduction to what we have to say about the sinless Incarnation. Ram *is* being tested. And the day will come when these millions who now yield heartiest homage to the son of Dasaratha and Kaushalya, and worship his image in thousands of temples, shall join in the praise and worship of the Lord Jesus Christ. If only the coming of the glad day could be hastened!

* Growse's "Ramayan," Book i, p. 145.

† Literally translated: "Then appeared he who is merciful, pitiful to the poor, the beloved of Kaushalya. Beholding his wonderful form, his mother was delighted, and the hearts of the munis were ravished. His eyes most pleasing, his body dark blue like the clouds, in his four hands bearing his special weapons. Garlanded to his feet, his eyes large, a sea of beauty, was the enemy of Khar."

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ART. VII.—THE ITINERANT MINISTRY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

If there had never been such a constitution as that now existing in the Methodist Episcopal Church; if such a plan of ministerial distribution had been wrought out in theory and submitted for acceptance or rejection without previous successful experiment, there is no reason to suppose that one vote in a thousand would be given for its adoption. Not founded on the Scriptures, though not contrary to them, not based on any primary or secondary prelatical authority, involving the surrender of abstract rights, and apparently in most, and really in many, particulars incongruous with the spirit of modern democratic institutions, it would be generally and immediately rejected. Those even who might see in it great possibilities if any denomination of Christians could be induced to accept it, would consider it so contrary to the independent temper of the age as to be utterly impracticable. Yet it exists. Its growth has been contemporary with that of the Republic, its many thousands of ministers and millions of laymen on the one hand submitting to its requirements, and on the other being the stanchest advocates of personal independence in the State. The explanation of the phenomenon is that which solves so many otherwise impossible problems—constitutions and governments, in Church and State, "*grow*, are not made."

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE ITINERANT SYSTEM.

When John Wesley began to preach the only visible bond of union between his converts was himself. Even the "Society" was not formed. But men heard, believed, were converted, sought association, and acknowledged Wesley to be the head; the work grew, and men of "gifts, grace, and usefulness" were commissioned by him to exhort and preach. They went only where he sent them, did what he directed, and departed for other fields at his bidding. The numbers increased and formed many Societies; the "helpers" were called together in conference, but had no power of decision. Wesley heard, and when all had finished announced the policy to be pursued. In process of time the limit of possible connection with circuits

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and stations (except in the case of ordained ministers of the Church of England) was fixed at three years. But the ministers had become numerous, able, and learned, the Societies self-supporting and somewhat exacting. Wesley grew old, and saw that, unless provision was made, at his death the body would fall into Congregationalism. To prevent this he executed the famous deed transferring the property and all rights held by him to the "Legal Hundred." The success of the Connection, the personal relations of ministry and laity, the property interests involved, produced a coherence and momentum which carried the great body of adherents in safety over the chasm occasioned by Wesley's death; and the Wesleyan "Church" or "Denomination" became thoroughly compacted.

Before Wesley died its government was an ecclesiastical monarchy, absolute in theory, but with many concessions granted to ministers and laity, which, as time passed, made it, like the Government of England, a Limited Monarchy. At the formation of the "Legal Hundred" its government became more analogous to that of an "Aristocracy," though modified by all the rights enjoyed by the people. In the United States, prior to the sending over of ministers with authority from Wesley, there was no legal connection between the different *nuclei* of Methodism in the North and the South. When Asbury assumed jurisdiction he claimed, and the preachers accorded to him, the same power exercised in England by Wesley. The Minutes of the Conference for 1779 close with these questions:

Quest. 12. Ought not Brother Asbury to act as general assistant in America? He ought: 1st, on account of his age; 2d, because originally appointed by Mr. Wesley; 3d, being joined with Messrs. Rankin and Shadford, by express order from Mr. Wesley.

Quest. 13. How far shall his power extend? On hearing every preacher for and against what is in debate, the right of determination shall rest with him, according to the Minutes.

From that time, with considerable trouble and opposition, he exercised his powers, deciding questions, stationing and removing men, until the Revolution was ended and Dr. Coke had arrived. Then the Societies and preachers adhering to Asbury, with the class-meetings, itineracy, and all the peculiarities of Methodism, formed the Methodist Episcopal Church, the his-

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tory of which momentous transaction being thus stated in the Minutes for 1785, after the publication of the letter brought from John Wesley by Thomas Coke:

Therefore at this Conference we formed ourselves into an independent Church; and, following the counsel of Mr. John Wesley, who recommended the Episcopal form of Church government, we thought it best to become an Episcopal Church, making the Episcopal office elective, and the elected Superintendent or Bishop amenable to the body of ministers and preachers.

From 1785, as from the beginning until then, the Superintendent or Bishop, with no time-limit except one for each case made in his own discretion, stationed the preachers, until 1792, when the following rule was adopted:

Quest. 4. How long may the Bishops allow an elder to preside in the same district?
Ans. For any term not exceeding four years successively.

Emory's foot-note on this question is as follows:

This restriction (for originally there was none) is said to have been introduced in consequence of the evil results of a more protracted term in the case of James O'Kelly, who had been Presiding Elder in the southern part of Virginia ever since the organization of the Church, besides having been stationed there several years before, and who thus acquired a power to injure the Church by his secession which otherwise he would not have possessed.

But there was no restriction on the discretion of the Bishops in fixing the terms of the appointments of ordinary preachers until 1804, when the following rule was passed:

Providing he (the Bishop) shall not allow any preacher to remain in the same station more than two years successively; excepting the Presiding Elders, the Editor and General Book Steward, the Assistant Editor and General Book Steward, the supernumerary, superannuated, and worn-out preachers.

At that time there were no "Missionary Society," with its "Corresponding Secretaries," no "editors and assistant editors at Auburn, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis, Portland, San Francisco, Atlanta, and New Orleans," no "missionaries to Indians, Welsh, Swedes, Norwegians, neglected portions of our cities," to "people of color, and on foreign stations." There certainly was no call on the Methodist Episcopal Church to furnish.

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"chaplains to reformatory, sanitary, and charitable institutions, to prisons, and in the army and navy," nor for secretaries or agents of the American Bible Society. None of our ministers were required to be "presidents, principals, or teachers in seminaries of learning," for we had few such institutions in 1804. And in those days of virtual ostracism we were not likely to be asked to furnish professors to "any seminary of learning not under our care." Nor was the "Five Points Mission in New York" nor "the American Chapel in Paris" among "the things that are." The history of these exceptions is the record of the growth of the Church in numbers, intelligence, wealth, and influence, and is interwoven with that of other denominations and of the United States. The editors, agents, corresponding secretaries, and teachers, have special professions or kinds of business to master and conduct; while the chaplains, city missionaries, and "those who may be appointed to labor for the benefit of seamen," have "itinerant" congregations.

At the General Conference of 1844 the rule concerning the length of a presiding elder's term in the same district was made to read thus: "For any term not exceeding four years successively. After which he shall not be appointed to the same district for six years." In 1872 it was provided that "presiding elders in Missions and Mission Conferences in heathen lands may be appointed to the same district for *more* than *four* consecutive years." At the General Conference of 1844 the following additional proviso was enacted respecting the appointment of the preachers:

> *Provided*, also, that, with the exceptions above named, he shall not continue a preacher in the same appointment more than two years in six, nor in the same city more than four years in succession, nor return him to it after such term of service till he shall have been absent four years.

This proviso was repealed in 1856. At the Conference of 1864 the rule enacted in 1804, limiting the term of possible service to *two* years, was made to read thus, "*Provided*, also, that with the exceptions above named he shall not continue a preacher in the same appointment more than *three* years in *six*."

So this unique system, which could never have been contrived and established as a whole, has grown and solidified. And now the Superintendents or Bishops, endowed with their

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prerogatives by the whole Church in General Conference assembled, before a delegated General Conference was needed or projected; and maintained in the exercise of their authority by the Restrictive Rules (which define the powers never transferred by the ministry and membership to the delegated General Conference) and by the subsequent enactments of said delegated General Conference, have *theoretically* absolute power and discretion in fixing the appointments of the preachers, being amenable to the General Conference for the proper exercise of the functions of their office. So tremendous is their power in theory; but *practically* they receive counsel from the Presiding Elders and communications from both preachers and people, giving stability to the machinery by their final determining prerogative, which, though not now frequently exercised *ex cathedra*, is, like the "discretion" of a judge of the highest court, "not to be appealed from." But when the limit of three years is reached their authority and discretion end. They are themselves subject to law, and if they were to presume to appoint the most useful and popular man, under the ordinary procedure, for a fourth year, it would be an act in the Bishop attempting it of rebellion against the General Conference and the Denomination which would compel his expulsion from office. In no case has it been attempted by a Bishop, though a few instances of stretching the exceptions allowed, to cover special emergencies, have occurred, without in every case being as carefully scrutinized by the succeeding General Conference as they should have been. In this system the appointments are made annually, and the Bishop presiding at the Conference is required to give an appointment to every "effective" member of the Conference not under charges or sentence of suspension.

Every Church, under this system, must receive the minister appointed. It may protest, and object, and temporarily refuse, and by an exercise of "discretion" on the part of the Bishop it may gain its end; but if the issue be fairly joined, and the Bishop refuse to change the appointment, the Church *must* succumb, or be cut off from the body. In like manner every minister *must* go to his appointment. He may persuade, argue, implore, and convince "episcopal discretion," and so be appointed elsewhere than at first announced. But if the decree

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be not changed he must go, or locate, withdraw, or become a subject of ecclesiastical discipline.

Under the operation of this complex mechanism ten thousand ministers, many of them the equals in experience, learning, eloquence, piety, and local public esteem of those who appoint them, are sent from place to place, compelled to remove at least as often as once in every three years, the whole body averaging as often as once in two years. And ten thousand Churches part on a set day with their pastors, some gladly, some willingly, some doubtfully, some very sadly; to receive others, some very sadly, some doubtfully, some willingly, and some gladly. While the number of ministers who will not go and of Churches that will not receive those who are sent, is so very small as scarcely to be a factor in the estimate of the results of the working of the system.

Many of those who observe the Denomination from without only, and some who, though within, have not carefully studied it, ask why we do, and how we can, submit to it. One answer will meet both questions. We submit to it because we approve it, and we approve it because of the immense and otherwise unattainable advantages which it confers upon the Denomination as a whole. Every thing finite must have the virtues and "defects of its qualities;" and the value of a system is ascertained by experience, and the estimate confirmed by analysis and comparison.

Peculiar Advantages of the Itineracy.

The present time and place are suitable to point out even to some who enjoy without properly estimating them the peculiar advantages of the itineracy. It will, of course, be necessary to re-state well known and "oft told truths," but the writer believes that certain considerations herewith presented have not often, if ever, been brought forward in vindication of the system of periodical transfers of the ministry. That a great work has been done by a settled ministry, and that vigorous and healthy Churches are now maintained by it, no one can doubt; and any allusions to defects in that plan are not made in a spirit of hostility to those denominations which are organized under it, but simply as necessary to the full exhibition of the subject from our point of view.

1. The itineracy provides all Churches with pastors, and all

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pastors with fields of labor. In some other denominations, according to their own reports, less than one half the Churches have settled pastors, the rest having "stated supplies," transient preaching, or being destitute of pulpit ministrations. While this is the case with the Churches, between one third and one fourth of the ministers anxious to preach are without settlements or calls. The following extract is from the "Congregationalist" of September 10, 1879:

An Experience Meeting.

Time, Monday, 9 A. M.; place, a corner of the Congregational Book-store; occasion, a cluster of men discussing vacant pulpits and their method of supply. Though composed of ministers it was a *live* meeting; perhaps because there was no attempt to preach or theorize, only simply heart-felt statement of personal experience and feeling. For obvious reasons other letters have been substituted for the true initials.

Brother B. was speaking. "For my part I must say I am sick of this whole business. I love to preach; it has been my loved vocation for a score of years, and if there were anywhere an open door to a field however humble, where the salary would keep body and soul together, I would gladly work on for the Master; but this coming here week after week to make one of a crowd of disappointed applicants not only disheartens, but humiliates me in a way that I do not believe good for any man."

"True, Brother B., but what can we do?"

"Sure enough, what can we? If I knew I would not only tell others, but act for myself. I see and feel the evils of our system, but how to remedy them is another thing."

"There are nine of us," spoke up Brother F., "that came in here last Saturday hoping for a chance to preach somewhere as a supply or candidate. How many of us did preach?"

Two hands were raised, and their owners explained that in one case it was gratuitous assistance for a friend, and in the other the result of an arrangement made outside the Congregational House. "Well," continued Brother F., "I happen to know of four others who last Saturday made personal application in this building for places to preach. I presume Mr. Sargent could tell us of many others, and then we all know that both here and in the 'bureau' above they have on file a large and increasing list of applications from ministers all over New England, and from the regions beyond."

"What success did the four have?"

"Of these four, one was sent out by our good brother in charge of the book-store, in response to the only single, solitary call that came from any Church whatsoever to any party in this building. The other three went, one to a temporary boarding-place he has

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hired for himself and wife a few miles out, his goods stored meanwhile a hundred miles from here; one to his home down on the Cape, and the other to his home beyond the Connecticut River. His car fare, I happen to know, was $6 90; he brought his lunch with him, but he spent five cents for a cup of coffee."

"How much family has he?"

"Five children and an invalid sister."

"How much salary has he had?"

"Six years ago it was $1,200 and parsonage, then it was cut down to $1,000, again reduced to $800, and last year it was $650, and no vacation. Fifty dollars are still due."

"Why did he come so far on an uncertainty?"

"He told me that he was getting desperate; that he had been at home five Sabbaths without employment, and that he felt he must do something or go somewhere, and so he came on to make inquiries in person."

"What does the 'ministerial bureau' accomplish anyway?"

Brother S. responded: "It has never done any thing for me except to put my letters on file; but then I do not blame the bureau; it would gladly help us all to places if it could, but when all the applications come from the ministers, and none from the Churches, it makes it a one-sided affair, a market where it is all supply and no demand."

Over against this place the fact that there is not one Methodist Church desiring a pastor, and able to support him, without one, and not one "effective" Methodist preacher "standing all day idle in the vineyard because no man hath hired him."

2. It stimulates the growth of young Churches. It does this by supplying them with men of greater ability than they could without it secure. Many of them could not offer any minister such inducements that he would voluntarily settle there; but under the itineracy the hardship is shared, and the preacher encouraged and sustained "with the assurance of a better appointment next year." By this plan it has been made impossible for the emigrant, the miner, or even the hunter, to get beyond the reach of the Methodist itinerant, "who forms a class and gives notice of preaching wherever two or three can be got together." Except by their missionary efforts, necessarily circumscribed, other denominations can accomplish little in this way, for under the regular operations of the system of settled pastors Societies must first be formed and the minister receive a call.

3. It confers peculiar benefits on the minister. He is compelled to mingle very much in society, for the spirit of a re-

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cluse is fatal to his success. He is brought in close contact, in the course of years, with a very large number of persons, much larger than the ordinary settled pastor can reach. By this his knowledge of human nature is greatly enlarged. For this wisdom cannot be acquired in the closet; and by it alone men of limited acquirements frequently attain to the front rank in every sphere of public life, while where it is deficient the greatest erudition is comparatively useless.

It promotes physical vigor. To say nothing of the healthful influence of changes of climate and scenery, after preaching for two or three years to the same congregation the vital force of many men becomes exhausted. In such a state three months' labor may confirm a consumption, or permanently shatter the nervous system. The delivery of sermons, except when the vocal organs are diseased, is not unhealthy, but the mental and nervous exhaustion produced by their preparation often is. Could the failing minister be relieved from that for a few months, though still preaching, his powers would recuperate, but if settled he fears lest his resignation should be construed into a want of ability; he does not wish to ask for a long furlough because he cannot do without his salary, or lest his people should fancy that they are to have an invalid fastened upon them; and so many struggle on and break down. In the itineracy the periodic changes allow this rest, the necessity of making new acquaintances takes him out in the open air, and gives the *stimulus* to healthful exercise. If worn with a heavy city charge, a quiet rural station can be assigned him, or wherever he may be sent his pulpit preparations previously accumulated are for a time available.

Under this plan no minister is ever *required* to "candidate." If committees, self-constituted or official, go to hear him or ask him to preach on trial, he may be entirely inactive if he possess the requisite spirit. While in other systems, except in rare instances, voluntary and conscious "candidating," frequently not followed by "effectual calling," and always attended by humiliating anxiety, is unavoidable.

Many, if not most, ministers require the stimulus of variety to keep them at their best. This a new Church, congregation, Sabbath-school and community, furnish; and they place the minister under the necessity of making a new reputation for

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himself. There is, to noble minds, a powerful incitement in the fact of having a position already achieved to sustain; but human nature is weak, and very many are tempted to rely on a reputation already established for permanent consideration, and thus relax effort. Under the plan of regular transfers the minister is ever under the conviction that his influence is to be gained, and that he has no time to waste. That evils may hence arise is obvious, but their examination belongs to another part of the subject.

The wide circle of attached friends which the minister forms in his changes contributes greatly to his happiness, and the relief he feels in being removed from some who have done all in their power to harass him, even though he may have had great general success, is not to be despised. The comfort which the certainty that as long as he is able to toil there will be a place for him, however humble, provided by the Church, is greater than that furnished by an endowment policy of many thousands in the best life assurance company in the world. For that could give only money; this insures friends, the opportunity to labor for Christ and humanity, and the necessaries, if not the luxuries, of existence. The support, also, in the discharge of duty when opposed by the narrow, the worldly, or the sinful, afforded by the thought that the struggle will soon end by removal, and that these foes will not be able to prevent another appointment, may with great force be contrasted with the sinking of heart which the settled minister must feel when he perceives that if he is faithful he cannot stay, and if he is dislodged by opposition it will debar him from receiving another call.

But there is one capital advantage which the itinerant enjoys that few seem to have weighed. It is the opportunity of correcting and avoiding any errors into which he may have fallen, without jeoparding or ruining his influence. To depart from a policy already adopted, and strenuously supported, by the minister, in the same Church, is always difficult even in small things, and most dangerous in great matters; but in the discharge of his functions in another place he may, after mature reflection, deem it wise to adopt the very plan he had rejected. And he can do this without humiliation or controversy.

4. For the whole Church the distribution of different gifts in nearly equal proportions is desirable. Marked individuality

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in ministers settled for many years has a tendency to stamp "their image and superscription" on their devoted parishioners. As the symmetrical unfolding of nature and grace gives the ideal type of the Christian, so the ideal Christian minister is one who, devoted to Christ, is argumentative and discriminating enough to instruct the Church, imaginative enough to attract and inspire with hope, and emotional enough to affect the heart with suitable feelings. But where is that ideal man? In one, logic predominates; in another, poetry; in a third, pathos. The best statement on this subject is from the pen of Abel Stevens:

> Many men of fervid spirit and deep piety have little talent for disciplining the Church. Their discourses are chiefly hortative; they are instrumental in great revivals and additions to the membership. It is obvious that such talents need a rapid distribution. The soul must not only be converted, but trained in piety. By an itinerant system such men are changed from position to position, arousing dull Churches, breaking up new ground, invading and reclaiming ungodly neighborhoods. By the same system prudent men, with talents for instructing and edifying the converted masses, follow the former, gathering up and securing the fruits of their labors. Some pastors are addicted chiefly to experimental and practical preaching, others to the illustration and defense of doctrinal truth. Some are more effectual in the social services, others in the ministration of the pulpit. Some have ability only for spiritual labors; others are skillful in managing and invigorating the fiscal resources of the Church, in erecting new chapels, and promoting the benevolent enterprises of the times.

Further: Changes in the pastorate under any system are inevitable. Most men are not able to sustain themselves in the same charge for more than two or three years. All things considered, there must be an increase of attractiveness to preserve a given degree of interest, for it is the same voice, manner, man, addressing the same congregation from one hundred to one hundred and fifty times a year. If the pastor succeeds he will receive a call to some more desirable field of labor. Death makes vacancies, and disturbances from unforeseen causes are liable at any time to arise. There is under other systems an interval between the removal of one pastor and the settlement of another. And frequently no settlement can be effected without the secret or open dissatisfaction of a large minority. When a pastor is disliked from any cause, and his friends are numerous or strong, the dissatisfied are driven to do one of

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three things: to hear a man whom they do not like, to leave the Church, or to create such a disturbance that he must resign. The average Church member will not do the first, and is not likely to do the second; hence the worst passions are aroused, and Churches are rent into hostile factions. Such a conflict over a minister works immeasurable evil in a community. It is, however, in proportion to the great number of Societies, of unfrequent occurrence in the Methodist Episcopal Church; and this, not because its members and ministers are more patient or less excitable and persistent than others, but because it is obviously irrational and useless to risk the ruin of the Church on account of a minister, when at the best he can be enjoyed, or at the worst he must be endured, for but a short time. Whatever, then, has a strong general tendency to preserve the peace of the Church is of great value. It also exerts a great influence over the spirit of unity in the denomination. This is so obvious as to require but the briefest statement. In twenty years the same minister will have been pastor of more than six Churches in different parts of a State. His friends in them all observe his career and note with sympathy and interest his various changes, and thus, through him, become informed concerning other Churches. It is this which accounts, in great part, for the interest which Methodists feel in the dedicating of new churches, and for the great interest which the laity feel in the Annual Conferences, and the pleasure they derive from attending their sessions. Every member of the Church, of any considerable age, has the personal acquaintance of many ministers, and has heard others spoken of as likely, some day, to be his pastor. The pleasure which most Methodist laymen feel in the friendship of the various ministers with whom they have been brought into close relations, and whom they could never have intimately known but for the itineracy, is greater than they sometimes think, unless their attention is directed to it. In a word, the Methodist has more inducements and opportunities to become acquainted with the ministers, and societies, and general enterprises of the Denomination to which he belongs, than others can have.

Nor should the membership of the Church forget the relief it has from the disturbances incident to the trial of ministers on charges of doctrinal unsoundness or moral delinquency. The

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suitableness of the candidate for the ministry is first passed on by the laity, but not with reference to his being the pastor of those who recommend him; the Annual Conference decides whether to receive him on trial. After admission a yearly opportunity is given to bring any charge against him; his trial does not take place in the Church of which he is pastor, nor, if innocent and yet damaged, does his failure to be reappointed permanently embarrass him or the Society he leaves.

If during the year accusations are made, investigation may be had at once, and its place may be located at a distance from his station. All this depends on the itineracy. Contrast its operation with the uncertainty, confusion, fierce excitement, heart-burnings, and public scandal attending the trials of ministers under other systems; especially where the laity of the Church of which the accused is the pastor are of necessity his judges; or where the lay members and permanent pastors of neighboring Churches are involved either as counsel, witnesses, or judges.

5. But it is as the bulwark of sound doctrine that the itineracy commends itself to every sincere believer in the doctrines and lover of the spirit of Methodism. Most of the heresies and errors which have rent the Church in all ages have been introduced by ministers and teachers of theology, and by them disseminated among the people. When a heretical minister is long settled in one place, if a man of force, he impresses his errors upon the people. It was in this manner that the Unitarian secession in New England arose, which took a third of the Congregational Churches. Ministers preached these sentiments until they gained sufficient adherents to take the Church with them. This could never be done in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The preacher of false doctrines remains at the longest but three years the pastor of one congregation. It is impossible for him to eradicate in so short a time the seeds of truth planted by his predecessors. And on his departure a man both sound in doctrine and able to defend and establish the truth may be appointed to fill his place.

Hence secessions of heretical ministers, accompanied by their Churches, are unknown among us. The heretic may go, but he goes alone, and if, like Robert Laird Collier, he return to the vicinity of his former pastorate, he finds his old pulpit occupied by a shepherd able to protect the fold. Or he may stay,

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if he care to and can, but the reputation of uttering unsound sentiments will follow him from place to place, and his influence will wane.

Evils Incident to the System.

But great as these advantages are, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that there are certain evils incident to the system. It is necessary, however, that in contemplating evils we should ascertain the value of any compensations which may exist. It is said that the arbitrary removal of ministers frequently terminates revivals and leaves young converts uncared for; the minister is preparing to leave and the people to receive a new pastor, and that the departing pastor is unable to transfer the mental and moral history of converts from his own mind to that of his successor. It must be admitted that this liability exists, and that sometimes there is a serious loss here. But where the converts are placed under proper leaders in classes, and are converted to Christ and to his Churches rather than to the pastor, this loss can be made very small. Many revivals also would terminate, in any event, very soon, and many revivals are caused by the extra efforts occasioned and the greater interest of the people and the pastor enkindled by the knowledge that they must *soon separate.* It must also be remembered that where there has been no revival and no probability exists of one at that time, the coming of a new pastor often arouses the whole community, and great are the results in the first year. Then ample opportunity is afforded to train converts. It is not denied that there is a loss, but affirmed that it is not necessarily large, and that these compensations are important.

It is alleged that it lays a burden upon thoughtful and modest men, and offers a premium to the flippant and superficial, and enables indolent men, secure in the certainty of a place, to repeat their old routine of sermons. Concerning this it may be said that the itineracy bears heavily upon *diffident* men, but the contact with the world which it requires tends to remove the defect, so that the Methodist minister is proverbially free from diffidence. And the superficial certainly have some advantages in a system of change. But it is not a paradise for the indolent man, whose old sermons, grown stale to

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himself, are flat to the people, and in a little while he is stationed with difficulty and moved annually, increasing the rapidity of his revolutions with the diminution of his orbit, until his natural *inertia* brings his career to an end.

It may with truth be said that there is some loss of power when those who are succeeding are removed. The knowledge of the persons composing a Society, except as it reflects light on human nature in general, ceases to be of use. It requires a long time to become acquainted with a new congregation. After men pass forty years of age the difficulty of remembering names and faces becomes very great. Habits of study are broken up, and a great amount of otherwise superfluous calling is required. This, however, is not in practice as serious an evil as it seems. The class-meeting affords great opportunities of rapidly forming acquaintances. The writer is pastor of more than a thousand communicants, yet by visiting the fifteen classes of the Church, he met, under the best circumstances, in six weeks, more than three hundred members. The identification of individuals is greatly facilitated by the same institution. The people, under the requirements of the case, are social, and meet the pastor fully half way, while a promptness of approach on his part is not only permitted but expected. As the retiring pastor endeavors to correct his records and atone for any apparent neglect, and the new-comer must become acquainted, the *whole* people are quite sure to be visited at least twice in every two or three years, even if pastors were disposed to neglect this duty. We do not deny a loss of power, but admit it to be in some instances very serious. Yet it is not as great as it seems, and he who guards against it may reduce it very much. And in genuine Methodist Churches, where the class-meeting, that great "compensator," is maintained, it becomes still less.

The gravest charge made against the system is, that it renders local influence impossible. It will be found, however, when a comparison is made to our disadvantage, that some such man as Dr. Storrs, of Brooklyn, who is of transcendent ability, has grown up with the city, is pastor of a congregation of great wealth and commercial, professional, political, and social influence, is compared with an ordinary pastor of a Methodist Church. But let the comparison be made fairly, and several things will be observed. 1. That when a minister has been

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stationed for many years in the same city, and is adapted to it, he can attain great local influence, which he does not lose by being transferred from one Society to another. The influence of Dr. A. S. Hunt, in the directions in which his tastes led him, was and is second to but few ministers of any standing in the city of Brooklyn. The number of men in other denominations of *great* local influence is not very large, though particular instances are conspicuous. It is not maintained that we have as many, but our average ministers have more influence of this local kind than that large proportion of settled ministers who are supposed not to be succeeding, and have a hostile minority ready to make capital against them out of the smallest error they may commit. But in a republic there is another kind of influence than that just referred to. It is the power of arousing and stirring the people. Into that power enter enthusiasm, facility in speech, novelty of method, fearlessness, experience in various emergencies, and close connection with the masses of the people. It is this which promotes revivals, all reforms which spring from the impulses of men, great temperance movements, and which resists the insidious encroachments of Romanism or Communism. This kind of influence the Methodist preacher can attain anywhere, and he and his brethren are leaders in these movements every-where. "How is it," said an eminent citizen, referring to a minister of our Church, "that he has a greater hold of the people than those who have lived here all their lives?" "Thank God," said a distinguished professional man in New York, a warden in an Episcopal Church, "we have one Denomination in this country that can be relied on to check the Romanists whenever they show their teeth." And thus the sum total of ten pastorates of three years in as many places may be greater than that of a successful man in one position, and is certainly immeasurably greater than that of an ordinary man.

But we concede that certain things can be done more efficiently under a settled ministry than under an itinerant. Churches can be sustained in certain localities in cities where, under our plan, it is difficult, if not impossible. We hold, nevertheless, that if the incidental disabilities were "ten times greater than they are" the advantages of the system would far outweigh them.

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Proposal to Remove the Limitation.

There are those among us who come forward with a plan which they claim will remove at once every disadvantage and secure to us all the advantages of an itineracy, and those also of a settled ministry. They affirm that the only thing that needs alteration to effect this result is to remove the *limitation.* Let all things remain as they are, let the appointments be made annually, but let pastors be reappointed for successive years as long as the Bishops think it best. This proposition has the merit of simplicity, and would require nothing but a vote of the General Conference to render it legal. There are no constitutional restrictions to prevent it. A majority of one can make it possible for any minister to spend his life where he is, providing that at the successive Annual Conferences the Bishops should re-appoint him.

In attacking the time-limit principles are advanced identical with those urged against the itineracy as a whole. But those who favor the proposition affirm that they love the itineracy, and hope that it will be maintained. One position taken strikes the writer as most singular, and implying a remarkable view of "Providence." "The present rule sets aside the indications of Providence, and substitutes an unbending iron rule of man's device. You may follow Providence within the limit of three years, but after that no call or demand of a providential character can be heeded."

But is not an annual appointment making a limit for Providence? Ten thousand men are appointed for a *year.* Nothing but immorality, insanity, heresy, voluntary withdrawal, or disease, or death, can remove them. There they must remain.

No man can vote till he is twenty-one years old, yet some are better qualified at sixteen than others at forty. Is not an heir born in this country "providentially" prevented from controlling his property till he is twenty-one, even if man devised the restriction? Judges are retired at seventy, and ineligible to reappointment. When a limit is a fact Providence takes cognizance of it. This limit of three years was made, as was supposed, in harmony with providential indications drawn from the state of the whole Church. The thing to be done is to show that those indications have changed. A man may fol-

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low the indications of Providence till they lead him to make a contract which he cannot, without immorality, violate.

The proposition to remove the limitation, simple and harmless as it seems, contains in it elements which would render many of the advantages now guaranteed impossible, and in a short time put an end to the itineracy. It has been said by an advocate of the removal of the time restriction: "I realize that thousands of old men *feel* that the itineracy is bound up with this restriction. In the Church South, the restriction was repealed, (I believe in 1868,) but the majority were so moved by the tears of the fathers (who felt that Methodism had been stabbed to the heart) that they repealed their action before the session ended. I perceive and honor this *feeling;* but I know that it is only feeling. In a short life I have witnessed great changes of feeling in men and bodies of men."

The writer neither *feels* nor *thinks* that the itineracy is bound up with *this* restriction. But he believes that it is bound up with *a* restriction, a "time-limit" of some kind, contingent up to a certain point, but at that point invincible. And if he should prove to be "old" enough to attempt to substitute feeling or unsupported assertion for facts and reasoning, it will not be difficult to satisfy the Church of it. Indeed, no service can be rendered to a reform greater than a full statement of the views of its opponents. At the same time, to expose the fallacies in impracticable theories serves the cause of truth. The proposition we maintain is this: a limitation by law is essential to the successful working and permanency of the itineracy.

1. Under a limitation the appointments are made in the discretion of the appointing power until the limit is reached. The will of the Bishop determines when the pastor shall go, whether he shall return once or twice. Loyalty requires him to go or stay. But, according to his appointment, when the constitutional limit is reached the Bishop becomes "weak as other men." It is now the whole Denomination which compels the incumbent to move, and he cannot resist. If the Bishop, the Minister, and the Church, should combine, it would avail nothing. Hence it is impossible for the man to stay, and though he may go with the tears of the people mingling with his own, there is no outcry against the Bishop. But let all limitation be removed, and the exercise of Episcopal discretion is the

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sole "efficient cause" of the otherwise unnecessary removal of their beloved pastor, and the people are grieved and indignant, while he feels oppressed. And after a pastor should have been settled many years in a place, if the people desired him to remain, it would be impossible to remove him without his consent. It would be useless to talk to either about the good of the Denomination as long as both were satisfied.

But it may be said, If both are satisfied, why separate them at all? The answer is manifold. It is not always a proof that the Church is prospering because the minister and the people are pleased with each other. A course of reciprocal flattery renders delight in each other, and spiritual, and sometimes temporal decline, compatible. If the Society is really prosperous, it can endure a change, while there may be another Church which that very minister might, if honorably removed to it, at once develop into a great power. But great changes would surely be introduced in Methodist usages, doctrine, and discipline. One minister believing in the annihilation of the wicked, another preaching hope for all, a third winking at dancing, card-playing, theater-going, a fourth indifferent to class-meetings, these could all, and easily, stamp their peculiarities on their congregations, and great dissimilarities in usages, doctrine, and discipline, would soon appear. If the germs of these things are planted "in the green tree, what would they do in the dry?" Then, when these evils should have become obvious, and it would seem necessary to remove the man to save the Church, the cry of persecution would be raised, those whom he had infected would gather around him, and he would remain or divide the Church. This result would be the more sure because, under a ministry likely to be permanent, those who sympathize with a peculiar style gather around its embodiment, and those who dislike it (unless they remain as a turbulent element) depart.

2. As men supposed by themselves and their people to be succeeding would not move, the work of the appointing power would be to find places for those who left under the stigma of failure. Its action would thus be regarded with disfavor in advance, and would be much more vigorously resisted than in similar instances at present, because laymen would feel, that if they received the appointee, he might stay for an indefinite

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period. The work of the Bishops would be greatly complicated by the fact of there being no *certain* and *foreknown* vacancy, and no *certain* and *foreseen* removal. For example: in other Churches A. resigns and departs; a vacancy is thus made, and B. is called. B. is not called until there is a vacancy. At present, under our system, it is always known that at the end of three years there must be a vacancy, and that the pastor who has completed that period must be removed and appointed to fill another vacancy. But if all limitations of time were removed from the rule, and the appointments were made annually, there could be no vacancy until the meeting of the Conference, and no *necessary* vacancy then. And where a minister *might* remain, and yet it is understood during the year that he *must* leave, the results in most instances would be injurious. The Bishops could not foreknow what places they would have to fill, nor what ministers they would be obliged to station. For the mere rumor in other denominations that a pastor must go, often makes it certain that he cannot go without a great disturbance.

3. This appears more clearly from the fact that the membership of the Church, instead of, as now, having every motive to seek peace, would, in cases where, justly or unjustly, the preacher is disliked, have every motive to oppose him. Because they would perceive the *possibility* of his being re-appointed for an indefinite period, and unless there was decided opposition they would consider such successive re-appointments probable. To oppose him would be the only means of securing his removal.

It must be conceded that some now remain three years who should be transferred at the end of one or two. And this is an evil. But it is much less than the damage which would be caused by the disturbances resulting from the agitation and opposition which would then arise. Many of the best men do not make a very favorable impression at first. The people are somewhat disappointed. He is a stranger; they have not learned his ways, nor he theirs; he cannot seem as cordial and near to them, on arriving, as his predecessor, if beloved, did on departing. But if left to do his work in his own way, as the middle of the second year approaches his consistent deportment, ministrations in the pulpit, the sick-room, at the house of mourning, or his faithful pastoral visiting, have made a deep and general impression.

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A genuine revival of religion crowns his labors with success, and at the end of the second year there is a unanimous desire for his return. But this class of men, before their qualities could be displayed, would be so opposed by those who were not pleased with them, or positively disliked them, that success would be made impossible. Some very singular things have been published on this subject, of which the following is an illustration:

> I regard a first year's pastorate as necessarily experimental. There are few cases in which fitness can be determined before trial. The first year ought always, I think, to be experimental; and it ought not to be a hardship for any man or any Church to try again, to try several times. If we could get rid of triennialism, there would doubtless be more changes than now, because there would be more one-year terms. I have heard an old minister say, that out of twenty charges he had filled in forty-eight years of service, only two had been perfect fits.

On this suggestive passage two or three remarks may be made. It is clear that those who advocate the removal of the limitation perceive that its natural tendency would be to increase greatly the number of removals at the end of the first year; and it is certain that very many who, if they could be allowed to pursue their work quietly, would succeed finely in two or three years, would be removed at the end of the first under the suspicion, if not the brand, of failure. Many preachers, knowing that the Church had no longer the same motive to bear with them, would be tempted to concentrate their efforts wholly on securing that kind of popularity which would enable them to return. Perhaps the "old minister" who had but "two perfect fits" in his own judgment, and eighteen "misfits," was not the most competent judge. Some close observers might have classed the two with the eighteen, or called many of the latter "fits." Certain it is that many a faithful minister has done his best work where both he and the people for some time thought the appointment a "misfit." There are other considerations bearing on this point which cannot properly be omitted from the estimate. The opportunities for merited promotion would be much less than they now are. If a pastor were succeeding finely in a small place it would be indelicate for him to ask to be removed to a larger field, and if he did it secretly, while seeming to be pleased, it would involve

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a species of duplicity. If it were proposed to remove him the feelings of the people would be wounded, for they would know that he preferred to go. Instances can be recalled in all parts of the country where a wound that has never healed was made by a pastor's preparing to leave a station where he was greatly beloved, at the end of a first or second year, to go to another with larger salary and real or supposed higher social position. But as it now is, at the end of a third year he must be removed, and, there being a vacancy for him, he can be placed where his abilities will have full scope, still retaining the undiminished regard of the people he leaves. Again, much jealousy and discord would arise between the Societies from the attempts of Churches to allure successful men away. Recently a prominent Church under the settled system received the report of its "Committee to secure a Pastor." The report stated that they had visited upward of forty churches, listening to ministers, and it appeared that finally they had dislodged a young man who was having great success in a large town at some distance from the city. In his letter of acceptance he speaks of "coming out of the shade into the sunlight." The only way a Church about to change could do, would be to invite some successful man, to the great sorrow of his people. When such things are done under the present limitation, generally, though not always, the invitation given, to be confirmed at the Conference, has respect to the expiration of the constitutional term. Also there are few men, if it were known that they *might* stay, who could not make it difficult to dislodge them; their friends, many or few, would sympathize with them, and much friction and loss would result. We learn, from the observation of other denominations, that the average man in the average place cannot with success remain more than two or three years; and as the average man is and will be as twenty to one in the Church, and as many very able men intellectually are only average men in ministerial and pastoral efficiency, the loss of harmony and satisfactory work caused by the attempt of average men to stay more than three years would be much greater in the Church, as a whole, than the gain made possible by the superior facilities given to a small minority.

4. The history of the introduction of the time limit confirms all that has been set forth. Francis Asbury, an unyielding

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man, who showed himself ready to see the infant Church sundered rather than yield the claim to all the prerogatives of Wesley, was, as we saw in the beginning, unable to move the Presiding Elders as he wished until the time-limit was enacted. And he was equally unable to move the more influential preachers at the end of one, or even of two, years. An amazing, though, no doubt, unintentional, misrepresentation of the early history of American Methodism and of the Methodist Episcopal Church has been put forth by the "Brooklyn Society for the Promotion of a More Effective Working of the Methodist Itineracy:"

> Up to 1804 the pastorates were all short—shorter than now; but they were made so by a judgment annually exercised by those who made them. We are quite willing that the pastorates should be short, provided that they be made short by the judgment which annually fixes them.
>
> In 1804 the pastoral limit was fixed at two years of continuous service, and this limit was in the law for sixty years. Since 1864 the limit has been set at three years. I ask you to notice that the men who fixed upon two years in 1804 were large-minded, and set the mark up to the highest demand of any Church under their care. Two years' pastorates in 1804 met the extremest city want. If a General Conference were now to imitate the men of 1804, it could not fix the limit short of ten years. John-street, in 1804, was provided with a pastoral term up to its largest ambition; no one remembering all the changes that have occurred would think of a less term than ten years if he wished to meet the largest ambition of St. Paul's in 1880.—P. 18.

Nearly every statement in that passage is incorrect. "Up to 1804 the pastorates were all short, shorter than now." This is not correct. "Two years' pastorates in 1804 met the extremest city want." This is an error. "John-street, in 1804, was provided with a pastoral term up to its largest ambition." This is wholly wrong. Joining issue so positively on these statements, it behooves the writer to furnish irrefutable proof of the errors charged, or submit to be convicted of assailing the accuracy of another's affirmations without due care and candor. The facts are that, though for some time previous to 1794 the general custom had been for the preachers to change every six months, (albeit this was only required "when convenient,")* between

* Foot-note, Minutes, 1794: N. B.—"The Bishop and Conferences desire that the preachers would generally change every six months, by order of the Presiding Elder, whenever it can be made convenient."

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1794 and 1804 the terms greatly lengthened. Many remained *two* years, and several stayed *three* years, and Francis Asbury *could not* prevent it. The proof of these statements is as follows:

1. The Annual Minutes for the years between 1794 and 1804. These show many appointments for two years, and several for three—*John-street* and Baltimore, among others, having had pastors appointed for *three successive* years.

2. Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. iv, p. 178:

> They were not allowed to appoint preachers for more than two successive years to the same appointment; hitherto there had been no restriction, and some had been *three* years in one appointment. Asbury rejoiced in the new rule as a *great relief to the appointing power.*

3. Dr. Stevens is generally thoroughly reliable; but for details it is well to go to primary sources. Jesse Lee's "History of the Methodists" was published in 1810. He says, pp. 298, 299: "The following rule was also formed, 'The Bishop shall not allow any preacher to remain in the same station or circuit more than two years successively.' In some cases, prior to that rule, the Bishop had appointed a preacher or preachers to the same place for three years together. He now determined on a better plan, and formed this rule to prevent any preacher from wishing or expecting such an appointment in future."

The rule was not, therefore, formed to give a few stations "a pastoral term up to their largest ambition," but to render such a thing impossible. And the conclusion is, that if the iron hand of Asbury, when the Churches were weak and the discipline strong, could not maintain the itineracy without a time limitation, it is certain that, considering all the changes that have transpired, if the limitation by law were removed, the itineracy would at once and forever break down. When the proposition was first presented to the mind of the writer several years ago, in connection with the great embarrassments of a few Churches, it seemed quite plausible. But after pursuing that course which alone can lead to a safe conclusion, namely, to re-read the history of the denomination and submit the theory to unprejudiced analysis, he has been led irresistibly to the conviction that the proposition is impracticable, and that its adoption would

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prove fatal to the Denomination as an organic unity in harmonious action. It is for these reasons that he feels obliged reluctantly to take issue with those who advocate this proposition, some of whom have been as useful to the Methodist Episcopal Church as he can ever hope to be.

It is also clear to his mind that to substitute four or five years for three would be open to grave objections; the most serious of which would be that it would make unnecessary removals at the end of the first year, and that many who ought to be transferred at the end of two or three would make it a matter of honor to stay for four or five. But he by no means despairs of all modification whereby occasional highly important exceptions may be provided for without overthrowing the general law.

Under the present system a pastor may return for a second term of three years in every six. This has not yet been tried on any large scale. And it certainly requires great caution. But it is a possibility, with its peculiar advantages and disadvantages, under the existing plan. However, it is obvious that in the most pressing cases it could afford but little relief, and in many none at all.

In conclusion, the writer will suggest an amendment to the rule for the consideration of those who desire some modification and yet would rather things should remain as they are than to jeopard the inestimable advantages guaranteed by the itineracy.

A Possible Amendment.

Methodism has now spread to "earth's remotest bounds," and the author has recently received from Melbourne, Australia, a copy of the "Spectator" of July 25, 1879, from the editorial page of which the following is taken:

"The last Conference appointed a committee 'to prepare a report bearing on the itinerant system of Methodism, with a view to a modification of the present triennial period.' The committee has met, and nothing, of course, can be officially known as to the result of its deliberations until its report is laid before the next financial district meetings. But it is understood that it recommends the present maximum term of three years to be lengthened to six years. The appointments are to be annual, as at present, and the modification is guarded by the

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provision that no appointment beyond the present limit of three years is to be made except by a two thirds vote of the Conference, and on a request sustained by a two thirds majority of the Quarterly Meeting. Thus, a minority of one third in the Conference or in the Quarterly Meeting will have an absolute veto; and the present term can only be exceeded when the reasons for it are so strong as to make both the circuit concerned and the Conference practically unanimous. The change proposed, therefore, is of only homœopathic proportions, and is fenced by such guards as may soothe the apprehensions of the most timid. How this change can be carried into effect is a question for lawyers to decide. An Act of Parliament, possibly of the Imperial Parliament, will be required; and it must take the form of an Enabling Act—an Act, that is, which will enable trustees to vary the condition of their trust so as to permit the appointment of a minister beyond the present limits. The change, therefore, even if decided upon by Conference and sanctioned by Parliament, will only take effect, as it *ought* only to take effect, in the exact degree in which the Church desires it."

This proposition has these essential advantages:

1. The itineracy is still "limited by law."

2. It is so protected that it must be *exceptional*. It would be better to make the rule three fourths of the Quarterly Conference instead of two thirds. Then the proposal for an improper case would seldom or never pass beyond that meeting. But if it did the Annual Conference could and would check it.

3. It should be so arranged as to read the Bishop "*may* appoint." Then there would be no pressure upon the free action of the appointing power, and the exception would be analogous to others.

4. It would compel influential congregations to show a little more respect to the Annual Conferences than they sometimes do. Secure in their power to obtain transfers, they have been known to isolate themselves almost entirely. But if a vote of two thirds of the Annual Conference were a pre-requisite to the retention of a pastor whom their exigencies rendered necessary to them, they would cultivate closer relations than they think important now. Such power given to the Annual Conferences would not be an innovation, as we have at present in the Discipline the following grants from the General Confer-

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ence: "And also, *when requested* by an Annual Conference, to appoint a preacher for a longer time than three years to any seminary of learning not under our care;" also, "He shall have authority, *when requested* by an Annual Conference, to appoint" agents, etc. See *Discipline* of 1876, pp. 102, 103.

If some, on being refused, were to secede with their pastor, their fate in attempting to stand alone would soon work a cure. There is, however, no necessity for great haste. It is desirable to provide for exceptional cases. It would be better not to attempt it than to jeopard the wonderful and complex mechanism which we now possess. This plan, which comes from the "ends of the earth," may be feasible. Let it be thoroughly considered. For in some such direction as this, if at all, must relief be obtained.

NOTES TO EDITOR IN REGARD TO THE OLD HYMN BOOK.

MR. EDITOR: The review of "The Revised Methodist Hymnal," by Dr. Wheatley, in the July issue of the METHODIST QUARTERLY, did not meet the eye of the writer until recently, which may explain the delay in sending you the following notice of some of the errors into which the reviewer has fallen.

Referring to the former alterations of the Hymn Book, Dr. Wheatley says: "The fifth revision, though nominally the joint work of the Revs. D. Dailey, J. B. Alverson, J. Floy, D. Patten, Jun., and F. Merrick, with whom were associated Messrs. R. A. West and D. Creamer, was mainly the product of Dr. Floy's tireless energy and assiduous application."

The completed volume, in allusion to Dr. Floy, is said to have left "his hands," and it is designated as "Floy's revision," and "Floy's version"! On what ground rests this bold assumption? Did Dr. Floy himself aspire to any such distinction above his *confrères*? Does Dr. Wheatley profess to speak from personal knowledge? The whole force of his words is in their truthfulness.

What are the facts relative to the method that was pursued in the "fifth revision" of the Hymn Book? The General Conference of 1848 appointed a committee of seven persons, whose names are given above by Dr. Wheatley, for the accomplishment of that work, in connection with certain other agencies referred to subsequently.

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After the adjournment of the General Conference the Hymn-Book Committee at once entered earnestly upon their labors in the city of New York, where all their meetings were held, and Dr. Floy and Mr. West, who resided in that city, were appointed a subcommittee to act as secretaries. Their duties embraced whatever legitimately belonged to the revision and was matter of record, as correspondence, (which was very extensive,) arrangement of the hymns chosen by the Committee according to an adopted plan, and correcting the proof-sheets of the work as they came from the press.

The Committee had three sessions, and nine meetings at each session, making twenty-seven meetings in all, in the course of which the old book was examined throughout three times, and a separate vote was taken upon every hymn before it was admitted into the revised version. There were six members, out of seven, present at every meeting of the Committee.

Besides the labor expended in committee, much more was accomplished by the members at their homes; and Dr. Floy probably traveled considerably in visiting various libraries in pursuit of his portion of the work. He thus spent several days in the library of the writer, at Baltimore, which were industriously devoted by both of us to the selection of hymns for the revised book; where, twenty-nine years afterward, in 1877, Dr. Wentworth spent nearly two weeks in a similar employment with the writer and his son.

Professor Merrick, who attended only the first session of the Committee, comprising three days and nine sittings, compensated for his absence from the subsequent meetings by sending to the Committee at its second session a valuable manuscript criticism upon the whole book to be revised, which was carefully consulted both in committee and by the several members thereof. There were also similar criticisms forwarded to the Committee by outside parties, from which much useful information was derived.

The distant members of the Committee were in constant correspondence with the subcommittee or secretaries, and no new hymns, as in the case of the old ones, was allowed to be entered into the revised book until it had received the approval of a majority of the Committee. And it is but fair to assert that every member thereof has left his impress upon that work.

Within a year from their appointment, the Committee having completed their labors, in accordance with the directions of the General Conference, submitted their work to the Book Commit-

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tee and the Editors of the Book Concern, for their joint examination and revision; and having been approved by them, it was presented to the Bishops "for a final review," which they gave to it, and then cordially recommended the new book to the patronage and adoption of the Church.

The above is a very brief and inadequate detail of the manner in which "the fifth revision" of the Hymn Book was accomplished; from which I infer that it was not the work of any single pair of hands, nor, indeed, entirely of the seven pairs of the whole Committee, but the joint production of the Hymn-Book Committee, the Book Committee, the Editors of the Book Concern, and the Bishops of the Church. And it can no more, with propriety, be designated as the sole work of Dr. Floy than the new "Hymnal" can be characterized as the individual production of Dr. Wentworth or Dr. Rice; the relation of these gentlemen to the Committee of fifteen being similar to that of Dr. Floy and Mr. West to the former and smaller Committee of seven.

More than thirty years have elapsed since the publication of the Hymn Book of 1849, a longer period than the Church has awarded to the use of any other of its hymnals, and an unequivocal testimony of its true merits; during which interval five of the seven brethren who composed the Committee have taken their departure from earth, leaving only Dr. Merrick and myself to tell the story of "the fifth revision." But as Dr. M. was not present at the second and third sessions of the Committee, it seems eminently proper that the writer should give to the Church and the world this correction of the dubious statement of the reviewer of the new Hymnal.

DAVID CREAMER.

BALTIMORE, *December* 7, 1859.

DR. WHEATLEY'S REPLY.

REV. DR. WHEDON: Mr. Creamer's communication calls in question a statement I never made, namely, that Dr. Floy was the *sole* author of the fifth revision. It does not affect the statement that Dr. Floy was the principal factor of that production. The authorities for that statement are as follows: 1. Dr. Floy's own hymn book, in the margin of which are entries in his own handwriting, stating that such and such alterations, etc., were made by his sole authority. 2. The statement of Rev. J. Longking, who was printer at the time, that Dr. Floy transposed hymns, altered meters, etc., while the book was passing through the press, and that he did this without the concurrent aid of the

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Committee. 3. The statement of Dr. Curry, who, as an intimate friend of Dr. Floy, regards the fifth revision as the noblest monument to the memory of that gifted man. 4. Repeated statements made by ministers and laymen to the effect that Dr. Floy was the principal and most efficient agent in the construction of the last revision.

My article does not deny the efficient co-operation of Brother Creamer and of the other members of the Committee. It simply presents Dr. Floy as the leading member of that Committee; and, for the sake of convenience, speaks of the fifth as "Dr. Floy's revision" of the Hymn Book.

R. WHEATLEY.

805 BROADWAY, N. Y., *December* 11, 1879.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

BAPTIST REVIEW, July, August, September, 1879. (Cincinnati.)—1. God and the Bibles; by Prof. G. D. B. Pepper, D.D. 2. An Exposition of Genesis vi, 3; by Rev. J. F. Morton. 3. An Introduction to the Book of Isaiah; by Rev. Thos. D. Anderson, Jun. 4. Theism Grounded in Mind; by Hon. James M. Hoyt, LL.D. 5. Reason's Sphere in Things Revealed; by Rev. I. N. Carman. 6. The Foundation and the Keys: Exegesis of Matthew xvi, 18, 19; by Rev. S. W. Culver. 7. The Belief of the Hebrews in the Immortality of the Soul; translated from the French of M. Gregoire by Rev. W. H. H. Marsh. 8. The Portraiture of Jesus; by W. N. Clarke, D.D.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1879. (Andover.)—1. The Angel of Jehovah; by Prof. C. Goodspeed. 2. Notes on Grotius' Defense; by Rev. Frank F. Hoster. 3. Bible Illustrations from Bible Lands; by Rev. Thomas Laurie, D.D. 4. The Last Days of Christ: Exegetical Notes on the Basis of Mark xiv, 17–xvi, 20; by the late Rev. Horatio B. Hackett, D.D., LL.D. 5. Relations of the Aryan and Semitic Languages; by Rev. J. F. M'Curdy, Ph.D. 6. An Essay in Systematic Theology; by Rev. George T. Ladd. 7. The Sabbath Under the Old Dispensation; by Rev. William De Loss Love, D.D. 8. Theological Education.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, October, 1879. (Gettysburg.)—1. Church Orders; or, The Necessity of a Right Call to the Office of the Ministry; by L. A. Gotwald, D.D. 2. Home Mission and Church Extension Work Among Lutherans, Especially in the Great North-west; by S. W. Harkey, D.D. 3. Qualifications for the Gospel Ministry; by Rev. P. Born. 4. The Annihilation Theory Briefly Examined; by Rev. D. M. Gilbert, A.M. 5. Aspiration and Perspiration; by M. Valentine, D.D.

NEW ENGLANDER, November, 1879. (New Haven.)—1. Needed Improvements in Public Worship; by Rev. George Harris. 2. The Rise of an Orthodox Socialism in Germany: by M. Laveleye, translated by James F. Colby, A.M. 3. Modern Education: its Opportunities and its Perils; by President Noah Porter. 4. Some Perplexities of Thought; by Rev. Jotham Sewall, Jun. 5. Shall the Church rely on Revivalism or on Christian Nurture? by Rev. William B. Clarke. 6. The Baconian Influence in Religion; by Prof. H. M. Whitney. 7. Language and the Egyptian Language; by Dr. Carl Abel, translated by Poultney Bigelow. 8. The Mystery of Free-Will—where to find it; by Prof. Lemuel S. Potwin.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, November, 1879. (New York.)—1. The Other Side of the Woman Question; by Julia Ward Howe, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Wendell Phillips. 2. Malthusianism, Darwinism, and Pessimism; by Professor Francis Bowen. 3. A Page of Political Correspondence: Stanton to Buchanan. 4. The Diary of a Public Man. Part IV. 5. Tariff Reactions; by Professor Arthur L. Perry. 6. Some Recent Works of Fiction; by Edward Eggleston.

December, 1879.—1. Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States. Part I; by James Anthony Froude. 2. Young Men in Politics; by George S. Boutwell. 3. The Religion of To-day. 4. Is Political Economy a Science? by Professor Bonamy Price. 5. English and American Physique; by Geo. M. Beard. 6. The Permanence of Political Forces. Part I; by Cuthbert Mills.

Professor Bowen's article on Malthusianism, Darwinism, and Pessimism, is a production of special value. It opens some veins of thought, brings them into fresh combination, and educes and suggests conclusions, both doctrinal and practical, of most momentous importance.

Malthusianism and Darwinism (with an occult assumption of Atheism) are the twin premises of which Pessimism is the conclusion; and Pessimism is the ruin of our race. Both Malthusianism and Darwinism are based upon the idea of *over-population:* the former of the human race, and the latter of the animal races. Both doctrines require the suppression of life as a safety-valve; and from both demonstrate the *worthlessness of life*, human as well as animal. If life is worthless, then suicide is innocent and murder a trifle. Before us, then, is the abyss!

WHAT IS MALTHUSIANISM?

In order to refute the doctrines of human perfectibility taught by Rousseau and Condorcet, which taught the coming of an age of peace, virtue, and happiness over the earth by natural development, the Rev. T. R. Malthus published in 1798 his "Essay on Population; or, a View of its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness." This book for the first time threw the awful shadow of over-population before the eyes of mankind as the fatal terminus in the way of all not only perfectibility, but great permanent improvement. The more peaceful, virtuous, prosperous, and growing the community or the nations, the nearer and surer the result. The more science, charity, good morals increased, the more rapid the ruin. The only angels of redemption against this dire terminus were celibacies, suppressions of life, wars, pestilences, and famines.

For the law is common to the vegetable and animal kingdoms, the human race included, that the rate of increase, however slow

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or rapid it may be, must operate in the way of a geometrical ratio. The same causes which double a population of one thousand will double a population of one thousand millions. For example: a given rate of increase between 1790 and 1800 added only 1,200,000 to the white population of this country; between 1830 and 1840 *the same rate* of increase added 3,600,000. Our population was more than doubled between 1790 and 1820; it was again more than doubled between 1820 and 1850. But the former doubling added less than five millions to our numbers, while the latter one added over ten millions; and the next doubling, in 1880, will have added considerably more than twenty millions. Inevitably then, if the population increase at all, it must increase in the way of a geometrical progression—that is, as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, etc.

But the means of subsistence, at best, cannot possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio—that is, as the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc. The surface of the earth affords only a limited extent of ground, and this is of various degrees of fertility, large portions of it being hardly cultivable at all. By putting more ground in cultivation and improving the modes of agriculture, it is conceivable that, within twenty-five years, the quantity of food should be doubled. But it is not conceivable that *more* than this should be accomplished; that is, that the second twenty-five years should make a *larger* addition to the existing stock than was obtained during the former period. Hence, under the most favorable supposition that can be made, beginning with an annual product equal to one million bushels of wheat, at the end of the first quarter of a century this might be raised to two millions, at the end of the second quarter to three millions, and at the close of the third period to four millions.—Pp. 448, 449.

Adoption of the Doctrine and its Results.

The inferences from this theory were logically of the most inhumane character. If the increase of life was the great danger, all humanitarianism was essentially criminal. Charity was a folly. Vaccination was the enemy, and small-pox the benefactor. Marriage and fecundity were crimes against the public welfare. These conclusions were, of course, welcome to the English aristocracy, both as refuting the revolutionary doctrines and as relieving them of all responsibility for the miseries of the lower classes. Political economy was, down to a late period, based on Malthusianism. "These opinions led to the enactment, in 1834, of the New Poor Law, the avowed purpose of which was to prevent what is called 'outdoor relief,' and to collect the destitute and starving in union work-houses, where, as in jails, the separation of the sexes, the lowness of the diet,

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and the general severity of the regimen, should be a terror to the evil-doers who had presumed to burden society with their superfluous progeny. If the crime was not literally theirs, it was at any rate their parents' fault, and the sins of the fathers must be visited upon the children in order to deter others from like offenses. 'Go to the work-house, or starve,' was henceforth to be the answer to all applicants for parochial relief; and the reader of Dickens need not be reminded that many of them preferred the latter alternative."—P. 450.

Its Practical Refutation.

As Malthusianism is a signal instance showing how a dogma may demoralize a people, so its refutation, brought about by its effects, shows how a fact may demolish a dogma.

But the triumph of Malthusianism lasted only for about half a century, and its decline and fall have been even more rapid than its rise. The tide turned about the time of the famine in Ireland in 1846–47, and the consequent fearful exodus from that unhappy island, which, in less than ten years, deprived it of full one fourth of its population. In 1845 the number of persons in that country was estimated at 8,295,000, and they were increasing with considerable rapidity. In 1851 the population was only 6,574,278; and in 1871 it was less than five and one half millions, being a diminution of nearly thirty-five per cent. The Malthusians themselves were appalled at such a result. For the evil did not stop with the immediate diminution of numbers; as usual, in such cases, it was chiefly those who were in the flower of life, the healthy and the strong, who emigrated, leaving behind them the aged, the feeble, and the diseased. Hence the people at home deteriorated in vitality and working power even in a higher ratio than their decrease in numbers. At the same period there was also a great emigration, though by no means to an equivalent extent, from England, and especially from Scotland, where the great land-owners had acted on Malthusian principles by depopulating their vast estates, unroofing the cottages over their tenants' heads, and thus compelling them to ship themselves beyond sea. Then came the great trials of the Crimean war and the Indian mutiny, with the attendant difficulty of recruiting the army, so that the country awoke to a knowledge of the sad truth that, in banishing their people, they were drying up the sources of their productive power and their military strength.—Pp. 451, 452.

True Laws of Fecundity.

The discussion brings out some interesting conclusions in regard to the true principles of population. The first prominent

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fact of observation is that *the lower classes of life, the poor and ignorant, are very prolific, while the higher classes, the rich, intellectual, and aristocratic, tend to sterility.* As men rise in culture and in varied means of enjoyment, they resort less to animal gratifications. The very poor have scarce any other.

On examining the facts in the case more closely, it will always be found that it is not the excess of population which causes the misery, but the misery which causes the excess of population. Hopeless poverty makes men imprudent and reckless, and leads them to burden themselves with a family because they cannot be worse off, and there is no possibility of improving their condition. In Switzerland, where the land is parceled out among small proprietors, the peasantry obtain a comfortable livelihood, and, therefore, increase so slowly that the population will not double itself in less than two hundred and twenty-seven years. In France, where also the land is cut up into very small estates, and the peasantry are vastly better off than in England, the rate of increase for the population for ten years is only five per cent. In England, for the same period, it was fifteen per cent.; and in Connaught, the sink of Irish misery and degradation, between 1821 and 1831 it was as high as twenty-two per cent. In Galway and Mayo, notoriously two of the most destitute counties, during the same period, there was an increase in the one case of twenty-seven and in the other of twenty-five per cent.—nearly as great as in the United States. Thus the two extremes of general misery and general well-being produce very nearly the same effect on the movement of the population.—P. 454.

In England it is a matter of common observation that the families of the nobility and landed gentry constantly tend to die out, and, if they were not recruited by promotions from the middle classes, the upper orders of society would gradually disappear. Of the barons who sat in the English House of Lords in 1854, the peerage of considerably more than one half does not date back beyond 1800; and not more than thirty of them can boast that their ancestors were ennobled before 1711. The continued and increasing opulence of the landed gentry of England is chiefly attributable to this cause; since the diminution of their numbers tends, of course, to the concentration of their estates. Celibate or childless lives are common among the younger sons of the nobility and gentry, while they are very infrequent in the classes of artisans and laborers. Even here, in the eastern part of the United States, the sons in educated and wealthy families marry later in life, and have fewer children, than those in the classes who live by handiwork; while the Irish laborers are the most prolific of all. No further back than the beginning of this century families containing from ten to fifteen children each were not infrequent here in New England; now, one that has more than six is seldom found except among the very poor.—P. 455.

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Darwinism is Animal Malthusianism.

Darwinism is based on the same assumption of the overwhelming fecundity of animal life and the beneficence of destruction. In this battle of destruction it is the animal endowed with the best advantages for the struggle that survives and propagates his like, and so arise *species*. And so, too, result the rising of species into higher grades, for it is *the best* that survives. And as the slight variations of the new-born animals are properly *accidental*, that is, guided by no *intention*, so an air of what allow us to call *accidentality* is flung over the whole process, quite acceptable to Atheism. But here, alas, as Professor Bowen shows, comes in the true principle of fecundity that upsets this theory. In both the animal and vegetable worlds the law prevails that *low life is prolific and high life is chary of over-propagation*. Insects and fishes propagate by billions and trillions, but mammals by half dozens. It is by this secret principle of superior fecundity in animal life that species survive, and not by any slight individual accidental advantage, which is sure to be obliterated in a generation or two, that species prevail. "Natural selection," therefore, is a fallacy. And when art steps in and arbitrarily selects, art can improve, can vary wonderfully sometimes, and fantastically even, but the new forms tend to reversion, to sterility, and are rarely permanent.

Between low life and high life there arises this remarkable conservative balance, that the former is protected by its numbers and the latter by its strength. And if a battle between the two can be imagined, the low would be most likely to conquer, and the unfittest to survive. The Professor piquantly says:

> If a battle of this sort were possible, victory in it would not depend on superiority of organization. The existence not of the lower races, but of the higher ones, would be imperiled. We can foresee this result in our own case, whether we compare the different classes of human society with each other, or man himself, the order primates, with the inferior animals. In the grand "struggles" which will occur about the time of the Greek Kalends, the primitive stocks, such as Irish bog-trotters and Welsh peasants, would certainly "survive" the nobility and gentry, though the latter profit by the accumulated advantages of high breeding transmitted by direct inheritance through a pedigree extending back to William the Conqueror. And, in the final

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stage of the conflict even these original poor representatives of humanity must die out long before some of the animals far below them. Those pests of our summer, the insect tribes, would sing the requiem of man, and feast on his remains. Accordingly, the only original and distinctive feature of Darwinism—its attempt to explain away the argument from design for the being of a God by showing that the supposed adaptations of means to ends, and the admirably complex arrangements by which every portion of a living organism is fitted to do its proper work, may all be accounted for by the blind and unconscious action of mechanical principles and physical laws, without calling in anywhere a Divine purpose or a contriving Mind—must be regarded as a baseless hypothesis. A careful study of the successive development of the higher forms of life upon the earth does not invalidate, but fully confirms, the doctrine which has been held by every great thinker, from Socrates down to the present day, that no organism could have been produced without an organizing mind. —P. 462.

Pessimism.

Seen under the desperation of Malthus and the accidentalism of Darwin, deprived of all the lights and colorings of a higher faith, the universe is a dismal presentation, and daguerreotypes itself on the predisposed mind as Pessimism. Life is worthless. Man is a lump of matter crowded into a certain shape by a concurrence of blind forces, stimulated by a force called *life*, with certain molecular motions in his upper end called *thought*. Shatter the lump, and the molecular motion stops; and what of it? Just as well as if it kept a-going. My life is worthless; your life is worthless. All moralities are dissolved, and crime is just as good as innocence. And the more sincere these views, the worse they are, and the more dangerous the men who hold them. "Educated men, who have come to regard their own lives as only a burden to them, though they have been driven to despair, not by the privations and miseries which afflict the hopelessly poor, but by an insensate theory which teaches them to consider the existence of the human race itself as an intolerable evil, that can be abated most effectually by reducing society to anarchy and ruin, and who have prepared themselves for the admission of this theory by getting rid of all the restraints of morality and religion—these are foes truly formidable, against whom all the precautions and means of defense which governments can institute seem to be of little avail. This is the real ground of the terror recently inspired by the

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Nihilists in Russia and by the leaders of what is called 'the social democracy' in Germany."

Such is the anarchic abyss before us. To its brink we are led by Darwinism and Haeckelism. And the only remedy we have against it is the earnest hope of immortality, the powerful revival of Christian faith.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1879. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Canadian Element in the United States; by J. G. Shea, LL.D. 2. Modern and Ancient Philosophy Compared; by Rev. J. Ming, S. J. 3. De La Salle: His Life and Work; by M. O'R. 4. Recent Progress in Stellar Physics; by Rev. J. M. Degni, S. J. 5. The Mormons; by General John Gibbon, U. S. A. 6. The Internal Condition of Russia; by A. de G. 7. Cardinal Pole; by Rev. M. J. M'Loughlin. 8. The Recent Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII.; by Very Rev. James A. Corcoran, D.D.

Our graceful and scholarly Roman contemporary contains the *Epistola Encyclica* of Pope Leo, commending St. Thomas Aquinas to the faith of the Church. We suppose this pre-eminence is justly due to St. Thomas as being the greatest theologian of the Middle Ages, and among the greatest intellects of any age. He is so indorsed now by infallibility that his works appear to be endowed with an intrinsic infallible authority, and his words, like those of Trent, may be safely quoted as a binding authority. And perhaps this *infallibilizing* process is now performed to secure the theology of the Church against any future disturbing vagary of the infallible spokesman, and make all firm. It may be a surprise to some that he is placed above Augustine; a fact, perhaps, in some measure due to Augustine's predestinarianism. For, great as Augustine's authority was, his fatalisms were never accepted, as is generally assumed they were, by the Western Church. The creed of Trent is not Augustinian. The Church doctors, in refuting the Jansenists, were greatly embarrassed by the authority of Augustine.

The following is a Jubilate for our Yankee brethren:

Meanwhile Catholic Canada is sending her Catholic sons, her priests, her devoted sisterhoods, into this country. New England, which sought with such rabid hate to crush Canada and Canadian Catholicity, now sees her towns swarm with Canadian Catholics, with churches and convents. Did the early Cottons, and Mathers, and Endicotts, and Winthrops ever dream of such a result? Did they foresee that when their stern unchristian Calvinism had given place to Unitarianism there would be seventy thousand Canadian Catholics in Massachusetts, thirteen thousand in New Hampshire, more than twice as many in the New Hampshire

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Grants, ten thousand in Rhode Island, and as many in Connecticut, and twenty-six thousand in the district of Maine, living their Canadian life, with church, and priest, and nun, reproducing that hated province on that New England soil which they sought to separate by a wall of fire from all dissent? Catholics of other lands there would be in their eyes bad enough; the despised Irish Catholics bad, very bad; Catholics of New England lineage, and many there be, horrible enough; but nothing, we think, would have curdled the blood of those New England worthies of the early part of last century more than the mere suggestion of the possibility that the day would come when one hundred and fifty thousand Canadian Catholics would quietly seat themselves on the sacred soil of New England!—P. 604.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, October, 1879. (London.)—1. J. T. Beck of Tübingen; by R. W. Barbour. 2. Michael Bruce *versus* John Logan; by the Rev. R. Small. 3. The Rule of Righteousness. 4. The Day of Our Lord's Last Supper; by the Rev. George Brown. 5. The Canadian North-west and the Gospel; by George Patterson, D.D. 6. The Historical Personality of Christ in the Four Gospels; by A. N. Macnicoll. 7. Muhammadan Exegesis of the Qurán and Traditions; by the Rev. Edward Sell. 8. The Controversy Between John Welsh and Gilbert Brown in 1598; or "Where was the Protestant Religion before Luther?" by the Rev. W. Irwin. 9. Review of Recent Literature on the Criticism and Interpretation of the New Testament; by the Rev. Professor Salmond.

British Quarterly Review, October, 1879. (London.)—1. Adolphe Monod: A Biographical Sketch. 2. Irenæus; His Testimony to Early Conceptions of Christianity. 3. Dr. Johnson. 4. The Vatican and Civilization. 5. What is Religion? 6. Political Prospects of Italy. 7. University Education in Ireland.

Edinburgh Review, October, 1879. (New York)—1. Germany since the Peace of Frankfort. 2. Mozart. 3. The Philosophy of Color. 4. Spedding's Life of Bacon. 5. The Civil Engineers of Britain. 6. The Family of Mirabeau. 7. Froude's Cæsar. 8. The Code of Criminal Law. 9. Impressions of Theophrastus Such. 10. Afghanistan.

London Quarterly Review, October, 1879. (London.)—1. Prophecies Concerning Israel after the Captivity. 2. The English Church in the Eighteenth Century. 3. Ladies' Work among the Poor. 4. The Ancient British Church. 5. Dr. Eadie. 6. Colenso's Last Volume and Supernatural Religion. 7. The Evangelical Alliance at Basle.

London Quarterly Review, October, 1879. (New York.)—1. Pascal and his Editors. 2. The College of Physicians. 3. Albert Dürer. 4. The Founder of Norwich Cathedral. 5. Joseph de Maistre on Russia. 6. Froude's Cæsar. 7. The Weather and its Predictions. 8. Henry IV. of France. 9. The Submission of the Clergy. 10. Principles at Stake.

Westminster Review, October, 1879. (New York.)—1. The Federation of the English Empire. 2. The Law of Real Property. 3. The Indian Mutiny. 4. Cavour and Lamarmora. 5. The Bohemians and Slovaks. 6. Prince Bismarck. 7. Lord Brougham. 8. India and our Colonial Empire.

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German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) *Essays:* 1. CREMER, The Roots of Anselm's Theory of Satisfaction. 2. KAWERAU, The Outbreak of the Antinomian Controversy. 3. NÖSGEN, The Origin of the Third Gospel. *Thoughts and Remarks:* WIESELER, The Death Year of Polycarp. *Reviews:* BAUDISSIN, The Idea of Holiness in the Old Testament, reviewed by RIEHM.

An article on "the Third Gospel" gives in ninety pages a very full review of the recent German literature on the subject. Its author, C. F. Nösgen, had published in two former volumes of the *Studien und Kritiken* elaborate articles on the historical causes leading to the composition of the third Gospel, which have attracted great attention. The author argues at length that the writer of the third Gospel did not use a common source with the authors of the first and second Gospels, that his work was not a mere translation, but that it was probably based upon notes which the writer himself had made of the great events of the gospel history. He regards it as certain that this Gospel was composed prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, and rejects as entirely groundless the opinions of those who, like Köslin and Holzmann, place the time of composition about the year 80 A. D., or, like Hilgenfeld, Volkmar, and Scholten, toward the close of the first century, or even, like Keim, into the time of Hadrian, shortly before the second destruction of Jerusalem. Proofs are adduced that the third Gospel was generally known to the Churches of the East and the West at the time of Irenæus and Tertullian, and that before this time it was known to Papias and to many of the early heretics and pseudo-epigraphs. If this Gospel had been composed after the end of the first century, it might be expected that the Gnostics, who had already begun at that time to develop a great strength, would have been in some way or other referred to. The argument against the authenticity of the Gospel which Keim derives from a pretended acquaintance of the author of the third Gospel with Josephus is refuted as inconclusive. Nösgen refers to an essay published by him in a former number of the *Studien und Kritiken*, (1879, p. 521,) in which the relations between Luke and Josephus have been fully discussed by him. The similarity of certain expressions found both in Josephus and Luke is no greater than might be expected between any two writers who belonged to the same period of literature, and both whom

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wrote Greek as foreigners. In regard to the author of the third Gospel Nösgen believes that the uniform belief of the ancient Church which called Luke its author is unimpeachable. For though the statements found in the Muratorian fragment, in Irenæus, in Origen, and Eusebius concerning Luke and his Gospel are regarded by him more as surmises than ecclesiastical tradition, he lays great stress on the entire unanimity of these early statements in regard to the authorship of Luke, and he considers the weight of the argument all the greater as the name of Luke is by no means prominent in the other books of the New Testament, and as the high place he now holds in the estimation of the Christian Church rests entirely on the assumption of his being the author of two books of the Sacred Canon. The author refrains from discussing the question where the Gospel of Luke was composed. He believes that there is no passage in either the third Gospel or the Acts from which any inference could be derived. The arguments which have been adduced for several towns are based upon opinions which have no scientific value. The purity of the Greek found in the third Gospel is a testimony for the writer, but allows no inference as to the place where the book was written.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. Edited by Hilgenfeld. First Number. 1880. 1. A. HILGENFELD, The Gospel of John and the Defense of its Authenticity, by F. Godet and C. E. Luthardt. 2. FR. GÖRRES, The Pretended Persecution of Christians at the Time of the Emperors Numerianus and Carinus. 3. H. HOLTZMANN, Papias and Johannes. 4. SPATH, The Jonathan of the New Testament. 5. R. HILGENFELD, P. Sulpicius, P. F. Quirinius. *Reviews:* 1. HARNACK, The Muratorian Fragment, (1879.) 2. NÖSGEN, On Luke and Josephus, (1879.) 3. ANNULUS RUFINI, edited by Tobler.

We have referred, in our account of the new number of the *Studien und Kritiken*, to the controversy which German theologians keep up on the relations between Luke and Josephus. Several theologians of the liberal school are very positive in maintaining that Luke, both by the use of some Greek phrases peculiar to Josephus, and still more by a reference to facts which he must have taken from Josephus, shows a dependence on that writer, and that, therefore, the Gospel bearing his name must have been composed later than the works of Josephus. Among the theologians who defend this view is H. Holtzmann, Professor of Theology at the University of Strasburg, and a regular and frequent contributor to the *Zeitschrift fur Wissenchaftliche Theologie.* He has explained his reasons at full length in

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the volume of the *Zeitschrift* for 1877, (p. 535.) In reply to him C. F. Nösgen, the author of the above article in the *Studien und Kritiken* on Luke, wrote in the volume of the *Studien* for 1879, denying that any phrase or fact can be found in the third Gospel which can be traced with certainty to the works of Josephus. In the present number of the *Zeitschrift fur Wissenschaftliche Theologie* Holtzmann replies to Nösgen. The controversy is somewhat seasoned by the flavor of personalities, each writer assuring us that he cannot discover any thing of real worth in the dissertation of his opponent. Holtzmann declares himself to have derived great pleasure from the fact that his views regarding the partial dependency of Luke upon Josephus are indorsed by some able scholars, of whom he mentions E. Rénan; the author of "Supernatural Religion," in the "Fortnightly Review," October, 1877; and W. Brückner.

In a postscript to the present number of the *Zeitschrift fur Historiche Theologie*, Professor Hilgenfeld indorses the opinion expressed by Th. Zahn in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, that the Greek original of the work of Irenæus against the heretics, and the *απομνήματα* of Hegesippus in five books, were still extant in the sixteenth century, and may yet be found. He adds that he has recently found, in an edition of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, by Turrianus, (De Torres,) published at Venice, in 1563, another proof that not only the work of Hegesippus, but also the *Syntagmas* of Ignatius and Hippolytus were extant at that time.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne. (Christian Review.) August, 1879. 1. Leopold Monod, French Protestantism and Evangelical Missions. 2. Hector Berlioz.

September, 1879.—1. G. Meyer, The Evangelization of France. 2. Pressensé, The Last Manifestations of the Naturalistic School in Literature. 3. De Richemond, La Rochelle Beyond the Sea. John Jay. 4. Rohr, Discourses Addressed to the Students of Theology at Strasburg by Professor E. Reuss. 5. Decappel, The Invasion of the Locusts, Joel i and ii.

October, 1879.—1. Stapfer, Review of the third volume of Havet's *Le Christianisme et Ses Origines*. Tom. iii, Judaism. 2. E. W., The Life of Charles Kingsley. 3. F. Alone, Too Probable Not to Be True. A Novel.

November, 1879.—1. Pressensé, Address on the Influence of the Christian Press made at the Eighth Ecumenical Conference of the Evangelical Alliance. 2. E. W., The Life of Charles Kingsley. 3. F. Alone, Too Probable Not to Be True.

In France, as in the other Latin countries of Europe and America, Protestantism has been crushed by the iron hand of bigots

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and tyrants, but it has secured a permanent place in the history of Protestantism. What Protestant France has done for the foreign mission cause is the subject of the very interesting article by Leopold Monod in the August number. The article was originally prepared for the *Allgemeine Missions Zeitschrift*, a German monthly, devoted to the cause of foreign Protestant missions, which in this field has hardly any superior; but as the subject is of special interest to French Protestants, it is published in the *Revue Chretienne* also. Of course, while suffering from terrible persecutions at home, and struggling for a mere existence, the Protestant Churches could not be expected to do much for the extension of Protestantism in foreign countries. How efficient the persecution was to which the Protestants were subjected may be seen from the fact that at the last enumeration of the Reformed Churches made at the national Synod of Alençon, in 1637, there still were in existence eight hundred and six Churches, with six hundred and forty-one pastors. In 1806 the number of Churches had dwindled down to one hundred and seventy-one, and of these fifty were vacant. The first French Republic ended the long persecution of Protestants, and secured to it for the future religious toleration. The first French Protestant Bible Society was founded in 1818; in the same year the first Protestant paper, the *Archives du Christianisme*, was established. In 1821 Pastor Janssen, of Geneva, published in the French language a missionary work entitled, "Description of the Present Condition of Protestant Missions in Infidel Countries," as far as it was known in the beginning of the year 1820. It produced a great effect, and in many towns appeals were made by the pastors for missionary contributions. The first contributions were sent to Basle, but in December, 1822, a Missionary Society was established at Paris. The director of the missionary institute at Basle, M. Blumhardt, urged the society to establish its own mission, and the society resolved to follow this advice. The first missionary employed was Jonas King, an American minister, who offered to work under the auspices of the society among the Mohammedans and Jews of Palestine. In 1823 this committee announced that it had secured a mission-house, which had received two pupils from Basle. From that time a rapid progress was achieved. The receipts in 1823 amounted to thirteen thousand

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and sixty-one francs, in 1846 to one hundred and four thousand francs, in 1878 to two hundred and eleven thousand francs. Soon after 1846 came a great crisis, and the mission-house had to be closed for several years; but, thanks to the liberal aid furnished by the Protestants of other countries, it was reopened in 1856. It had in 1879 four students, and two others were educated in the preparatory school of Batignolles. As a condition for admission to the mission-house the academic degree of *bachelier ès lettres* is required. Auxiliary societies have been formed among women and children, but it is complained that the organization of the branch societies is not as efficient as it ought to be. The liberality of the missionary contributions considerably varies in different parts of France. The total Protestant population was given by the census of 1872 as 580,757, in a total population of 36,102,921.* At the census of 1872, which gave an entire population of 36,905,788, no inquiry was made into the religious divisions of the population. The figure given by the census of 1872 for the Protestant population is generally considered by Protestant writers as too low, and Monod, in accordance with an article on the religious statistics of France in Lichtenberger's "Encyclopædie," estimates it from 600,000 to 650,000. Dividing the Protestants of France into eight territorial groups, it has been found that the highest average contribution for foreign missions from any of these groups was ninety-two centimes for every Protestant inhabitant, the lowest ten centimes, and the average for all France twenty centimes. The number of missionaries sent out was forty-nine, of whom thirty-seven were Frenchmen. France has only one Protestant missionary journal, the *Journal des Missions*, which is sent to 1,820 persons, and has 714 paying subscribers.

Many of the Huguenots who were driven from France by

* The figure given in the census of 1872 (580,757) means the entire Protestant population, including children. Some works erroneously give it as the number of communicants, and estimate the entire Protestant population at about 1,500,000. That this is a mistake appears at once from the denominational division of the population of France given in the census, which is as follows: Catholics, 35,387,703; Protestants, 580,757; Israelites, 49,439; other non-Christian denominations, 3,071; without religion, or religion unknown, 81,951; total, 36,102,921. It will also be noticed that the author of the above article claims no higher figure than 650,000 for the *entire* Protestant population.

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fierce persecution have risen to great distinction in other countries, especially in Prussia and the United States. The article "La Rochelle Beyond the Sea," treats especially of the fate of the Protestant exiles who are descendants of the citizens of the great stronghold of French Protestantism, La Rochelle, and gives in particular a biographical sketch of John Jay, who played a prominent part in politics in the early period of the United States, and finally was appointed Chief Justice of the United States.

In a brief article of the same number of the "Christian Review" Pressensé calls attention to the literary productions of the new chief of an ultra-materialistic school, M. Zola. "It is a disgrace of our generation," he says, "that the utterances of the materialistic school attain a fabulous number of editions." I believe that the last but one novel of M. Zola, *l'Assommoir*, has exceeded its seventieth edition. Evidently it must have the entire world for its market. The materialistic school claims to paint nature, or, more correctly, real life all naked, all crude, without any attenuation. It purports to represent the hideous sides without excluding any thing, and in a brutal language which is, as it were, a photograph of its ugliness, the cast of its monstrous excrescences. The series which has made M. Zola famous is called *Rougon-Macquart*. He makes a cynical application to humanity of the law of natural selection and heredity. He follows through all their situations the descendants of one family, and shows them carrying along a first hereditary germ which gradually develops and is modified in a terrible struggle for life which gives no room to any pure, generous sentiment, to any remonstrance of conscience. The author paints to us, with an extraordinary relief, contemporaneous life, in the country as well as in the large cities, from the court of the Emperor Napoleon III. to the tavern where the workman becomes brutalized, under the purely materialistic influence of a gross existence. It is impossible for any one who has not read *l'Assommoir* to imagine a more odious abuse of a great talent. The language, purposely vulgar, surpasses all expectations. And such works are devoured by thousands of our contemporaries! M. Zola, however, has received a striking proof of the failure of his system in an artistic point of view. He must have seen that his realism will not bear being presented to a

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large assembly of men, and that it can only be relished in the solitude when one is alone to blush. When he has tried to bring *l'Assommoir* upon the stage, he has seen himself forced to come back to a quite ordinary drama, where vice is punished and virtue rewarded."

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF GERMANY.

THE most important event in the history of the German Churches during the past year is undoubtedly the meeting of the First General Synod of the Prussian State Church. The German Churches have been for several years in a state of transition. From the Reformation until the present time they have been, on the whole, governed by the sovereigns and heads of the State, and self-government has been almost unknown. For some time there has been a steadily growing demand in all the States of Germany for the introduction of a synodal constitution, which would secure to the Churches, though not an entirely independent position, at least the right of representation, and of the co-operation of her chosen representatives with the State authorities in the administration of Church affairs. In nearly all the smaller States the synods have been in operation for several years. The greatest obstacles had to be overcome in Prussia. An extraordinary General Synod of the Churches of the old provinces (those belonging to the monarchy before the acquisition of Schleswig-Holstein) was held at Berlin in 1873, and was on all sides regarded as an event of marked importance. The plan of establishing a periodical General Synod, as a permanent institution of the Church, was generally concurred in, but the actual meeting of the first regular General Synod has been repeatedly postponed. It finally took place on October 9, 1879. It was composed of one hundred and ninety-four members, of whom one hundred and forty-nine had been elected by the provincial synods, thirty had been appointed by the King, nine were Superintendents General, and six representatives of the theological faculties of the universities. Like its predecessor, the preparatory General Synod of 1873, it represented only the Churches of the old provinces of the monarchy. The Churches in the new provinces, Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, and Hesse-Nassau, have not yet been fully incorporated with the organism of the State Church. The religious complexion was different from that of its predecessors, and may have been a surprise to many outside of Germany, who have some vague idea of an entire relapse of the German Churches into rationalism and infidelity. In 1873 the majority of the extraordinary synod belonged to the so-called *Vermittlungspartei*, or party of mediation, which prevailed at the Prussian universities, and, as its name indicates, tried to find a middle ground be-

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tween the orthodoxy of the Churches of the sixteenth century and the rationalistic schools of the present age. At present this party is in a minority, and the two parties representing the theology of the sixteenth century are in a decisive majority. These two parties are: 1. that of the *Konfessionellen*, or the strict Lutherans, who stand up for the undiminished authority of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church, and desire to keep unimpaired the Lutheran character of that portion of the United Evangelical Church which at the time of the establishment of this Church was regarded as Lutheran; 2. that of the "Friends of the Positive Union," who claim an authoritative character only for the "consensus," or the common doctrinal points of the Lutheran and German Reformed Churches, but would allow no further latitude for liberal or rationalistic tendencies. These two parties disagree on every thing that is peculiar to strict Lutheranism, but they generally act conjointly in opposition to all propositions proceeding from the other parties. Together the two parties numbered about one hundred and twenty votes, and they therefore formed a considerable majority of the General Synod. The middle party, which has assumed the name of *Evangelische Vereinigung*, (Evangelical Association,) had about forty-nine regular members and a number of sympathizers. The adherents of the Protestant Union who hold decidedly rationalistic views constitute the insignificant party of the Left, numbering no more than eight members. The members of the high nobility, which are very numerous, belong mostly to the strict Lutheran party; among them are Herr von Kleist-Retzow and Count Krassow, the political leaders of the party; Herr von Seydewitz, the President of the German Reichstag; the Superintendent General Dr. Büchsel; the Consistorial President, Dr. Hegel, a son of the celebrated philosopher. The Friends of the Positive Union constitute the most numerous party in the House, because most of the members appointed by the King belong to it. The royal family before the establishment of the United Evangelical Church did not belong to the Lutheran, but to the Reformed Church and the personal sympathies of the present King, like those of his father and brother, the late Kings Frederic William III. and Frederic William IV., are with the party of permanent union rather than with the Lutheran party, the tendency of which is toward weakening and ultimately toward repealing the union. As some preachers of the court have obtained considerable influence in this party, it has by its opponents been sometimes called the Court Preachers' Party. The most influential man of this party is the court preacher, Dr. Kögel. Among other well-known members are the Superintendents General Dr. Wiessman, Dr. Erdmann, and Dr. Möller; Professor Gess, well known by several theological writings; Dr. Wiese, the author of a number of educational works; Count Bismarck-Bohlen, and a number of high State functionaries. The party of the Evangelical Association counts the largest number of theological writers of note; among them are the Professors Beyschlag and Dr. Köstlin, of Halle; the jurist, Dr. Hölschner; and Dr. Schrader, a distinguished writer on educational affairs.

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The General Synod elected as its President, by unanimous acclamation, Count Arnim-Boytzenburg, and the election appears to have given general satisfaction. His experience in parliamentary regulations, his extensive scholarship and familiar acquaintance with all the subjects discussed, and his thorough impartiality, are acknowledged on all sides. The Vice-President, Rübsamen, who is a Superintendent in Pomerania, belongs to the Lutheran party. The present Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Herr von Puttkammer, a brother-in-law of Premier Bismarck, strongly sympathizes with the orthodox majority of the General Synod, while his predecessor, Dr. Falk, was supposed to share the views of the Left, which is now but so feebly represented. The Government and the majority of the General Synod are fully agreed in desiring the restoration of the doctrines of the Reformation; they differ in regard to the position which is to be given to the claims of a strict Lutheranism. The resolutions adopted by the General Synod aim at the restoration of Protestant orthodoxy; the Lutheran question will come up for its solution at some future time.

The labors of the General Synod have been very extensive. The Supreme Ecclesiastical Council has prepared nineteen bills for discussion and adoption; besides disposing of these, the General Council passed a number of other important resolutions. Of special significance is the position which the Synod has taken with regard to the school question. The orthodox parties of the Prussian Church with great unanimity reject the principle of unsectarian schools, and favor the denominational character of the public schools. The General Synod has declared itself very emphatically in favor of a close connection between the State schools and those Churches which the State recognizes. Minister Puttkammer has publicly declared his concurrence in these views, and designated the question of denominational schools as one of those in which he entirely dissents from his predecessor, Dr. Falk. Government and Church will, therefore, make a united effort to arrest the progress which unsectarian schools have begun to make in Prussia, and re-establish the direct influence of the Church upon the school. A great excitement has been produced among the laity by the demand of the General Synod that the professors of the theological faculties teach in harmony with the faith of the symbolical books, and that the Church, through its representatives, co-operate with the State in examining the candidates for theological degrees. Of course this would mean for the near future the suppression of all but the orthodox tendencies at the theological faculties, and, in case the precedent of Prussia is followed by the smaller Prussian States, would give an entirely different complexion to German theology. The present theological faculties of the Prussian universities greatly dislike this proposition, and the University of Berlin has been induced by its theological faculty to enter a protest against it as inconsistent with the freedom of academical teaching. Another resolution aims at the introduction of a common *Buss-und Bettag* (day of fasting and prayer) for all the Protestant Churches of Germany.

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The next General Synod is to be convoked six years from hence. In the meanwhile a Standing Committee will represent the General Synod in all questions in which the Church or the General Synod has to co-operate with the State in questions of administration.

The meeting of this synod may be regarded as a turning-point in the history of the Protestant State Churches of Germany. The period in which these Churches were completely governed by the State is at an end; the new period of a synodal government has now been fully inaugurated in all the Protestant State Churches of Germany. If it is remembered that the Prussian State Church, with which a population of about twelve millions is connected, is, next to the Church of England, the largest Protestant State Church of the world, the importance of the Prussian Synod for the entire Protestant world cannot be doubted.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Among the important theological works that are announced as being in preparation is a collection of the Greek writers who, in the early period of the history of the Christian Church, attacked Christianity. It will be published by C. J. Neumann, under the title *Scriptorum Græcorum qui Christianam Impugnaverunt Religionem quae Supersunt.* The importance of these works for a thorough understanding of the early history of the Christian Church cannot be doubted, for they alone can explain to us the reasons which induced educated pagans to reject Christianity. Unfortunately, complete copies of these works are no longer extant. It is not correct that, as is commonly believed, the Emperor Theodosius II., by his decree of Feb. 16, 448, ordered all anti-Christian books to be burned. His decree only referred to the writings of Porphyry, which accordingly were completely destroyed. But all the others became soon very scarce, as they ceased to be copied, and thus are now likewise lost. Fortunately some of the Christian replies to the pagan attacks are completely extant; as the books of Origen against Celsus, the work of Eusebius against Hierocles, the ἀποκριτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας of Macarius of Magnesia, which has been recently discovered; finally, ten books of Cyril of Alexandria against Julian. These works embrace numerous fragments of the anti-Christian writers; other fragments are found elsewhere, as extracts from Porphyry in the *Præpan. Evangel.* of Eusebius, and in the commentary of Jerome to Daniel. All these fragments will be collected in Neumann's work. The first part will contain the true word of Celsus. A reconstruction of this work has recently been attempted by Keim in Germany, and by Aubé in France. But both have only given translations, not the Greek text. The publication of the latter requires a new critical edition of Origen's work against Celsus, which, therefore,

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will be prepared conjointly with the attempted reconstruction of the work of Celsus. The second part contains the fragments of Porphyry and Hierocles. A reconstruction of Porphyry, like that of Celsus, is not possible, because none of the works written against him have come down to our days. The material extant suffices, however, to acquaint us with the plan of the work of Porphyry, and the method of his polemics. The extensive fragments of the philosopher found in Macarius will be given in this part of the work. It is certain that these fragments do not belong to Celsus. Mr. Neumann expects to prove that the philosopher is not, as was assumed by Müller, identical with Julian, and that he must have been either Porphyry or Hierocles. An introduction to this part will sketch the development of the neo-Platonic polemics from Porphyry to Julian, and its relation to Celsus. The third part of the work will embrace the books of Julian. The first of the three (not seven) books of the Emperor can be almost completely restored from the ten books of Cyril of Alexandria. Several new manuscripts of this latter work have been compared. For a restoration of the second and third books of Julian much less can be done, because of Cyril's work the books following after the tenth are lost. All the fragments, however, which are preserved, either in Greek or in a Syrian translation, have been carefully collected. The latter have been copied by Dr. Nestle, in Tübingen, from the British Museum, and will be supplied by him with a Latin translation. Some fragments of Julian are found in the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia and of Photius. An introduction to this part will give a historical account of the work of Julian and the numerous replies to it, and will explain the attempt of restoring the book. As it is supposed that Julian's work will interest many others besides philologists, the edition of the Greek text will be followed by that of a German translation.

Another new work on and against the supremacy claimed by the Popes of Rome has been published by an Old Catholic theologian, Professor Friedrich, of Munich, (*Zur ältesten Geschichte des Primates in der Kirche.* Bonn: 1879.) Professor Friedrich, before the beginning of the Old Catholic movement, was regarded as one of the greatest Church historians of the Catholic Church, next to Döllinger. His Church history of Germany was well received both by Catholics and Protestants, and is still regarded as a standard work on the subject. Since then he has joined the Old Catholic Church, and published the best work extant on the history of the Vatican Council. A work from so prominent a historian on the history of the primacy of the Bishops of Rome will be sure to command the attention of the theological world. In the Roman Catholic Church it is now an article of belief that Peter received from Christ primatical powers over the entire Christian Church; that he was the first Bishop of Rome; and that his successors, the Bishops of Rome, inherited his primatical powers. Catholic historians, therefore, however learned, cannot be expected to investigate and discuss this subject impartially. Protestant historians have completely demolished all arguments that have been adduced to prove a supremacy of the early Roman

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Bishops over the entire Church, and have even made it very doubtful whether Peter was ever in Rome. One Orthodox German theologian, Dr. Uhlhorn, has recently undertaken to prove that James, the brother of Jesus, occupied a primatical position in Jerusalem, which extended far beyond the Churches of Palestine. Professor Friedrich adopts this view, and this new work is written for the special purpose of proving its correctness. He starts from an interpretation of the seventh canon of the Council of Nice, and shows that this Council forms a turning-point in the history of the Papal supremacy, and that before 325 there is no trace of it. He quotes in support of his theory a statement of Eusebius, according to which Clemens of Alexandria, one of the oldest Church writers, calls James the Just the first Bishop of Jerusalem, and the successor of the Lord himself. A number of passages of the New Testament are quoted as proving that James did, and that Peter did not, hold a primatical position. The first change in the supremacy of the Church of Jerusalem he assumes to have taken place after the second destruction of Jerusalem, in 135, when both Jews and Jewish Christians were forbidden to settle on the former site of Jerusalem. Then the authority of other apostolic bishoprics, especially Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, gradually rose. The gradual predominance of Rome over the other sees was secured by a number of falsifications and forgeries which are set forth in the book at full length and with great learning. The schemes of the Roman Bishops were strongly aided by the general tendency toward a compact centralization which sprang up in the old Church. The two agencies combined created the Papal system. The work of Professor Friedrich is of a strictly historical character, and draws no inferences from the attempted establishment of historical facts as to the theory of Church government. This will be done in a larger work, which the author is now preparing, and of which the present work is a forerunner.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Studies in the New Testament. By F. GODET, D.D., Professor of Theology, Neuchatel. Edited by the Hon. and Rev. W. H. LYTTLETON, M.A. 12mo., pp. 398. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1877.

Professor Godet is one of the leaders of the Evangelical non-Calvinistic Protestants of France, and is author of Commentaries on the Gospels, which have been translated into English. His writings are marked by a certain freshness of thought and the lucidity of style in which the French excel, with something of that diffuseness which is their failing. He first, here, surveys the Gospels, and furnishes not a few fine suggestions. He then gives a dissertation on "The Four Principal Apostles;" and in regard to Paul's

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predestinarianism makes the following decisive remarks: "There is no trace in Paul of a fatalistic predestination. Human free-will and responsibility are always presupposed and often asserted by him; and as to Rom. ix and x, we will undertake to prove that they contain precisely the strongest protest against that fatalistic predestination of which Israel audaciously made use as a reason for not receiving the gospel."—P. 267. As our own Commentary of Rom. ix is the only one that has taken this decided ground, we would rejoice to know how our French Professor handles the matter. He is copious and suggestive on the Apocalypse. In his exegesis we do not concur; but we are obliged to him for his refutation of the identification of Nero risen from the dead with any conception of the Apocalypse.

The argument for identifying Nero with the symbolic number 666 in xiii, 18, is based on what, if not a true identity, seems a very curious coincidence. That number it is said makes in Hebrew exactly the name *Nero Cæsar* as it is read in the Rabbinical writings. This name seems to have dawned upon the minds of four eminent scholars almost simultaneously, in 1836; namely, Fritzsche in Rostock, Hitzig in Zurich, Benary in Berlin, and Reuss in Strasburg. With a certain class of thinkers it seems to carry all before it. An almost conclusive proof of this name being the true solution arose from a very peculiar coincidence. Irenæus tells us that there were in the then extant manuscripts two different readings of the numbers; the older and more accurate was 666, but a later 616. Now there were, also, two forms of the name Nero, both used in Hebrew; one, after the Greek, was *Nerōn*, the other, after the Latin, *Nero;* and the former of these make the 666, and the latter exactly 616! Should not that settle the question?

To this one might reply that Irenæus tells us that the 616 was found only in later manuscripts, and so they could not have come from John. And how could copyists have adjusted their codices to Nero's name and Irenæus never have heard of that name as a candidate? Indeed, Irenæus' omission of that name in discussing the candidates is a powerful argument against its claim.

But Godet denies that 666 is the true number of the Hebrew name Nero Cæsar. Its true number is really 676 according to the spelling in St. John's day. The number 666 is spelled with the three Hebrew consonants K S R; the needed E of the first syllable being supplied by a vowel-point; whereas the true orthography of the word Cæsar, as identified by contemporary record, has four letters, requiring the E to be not a vowel-point

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but a full letter, thereby increasing the number by ten, making 676. This would entirely destroy the identification of the numbers with Nero. It is, indeed, given up by such rationalistic scholars as De Wette, Lücke, Bunsen, and Düsterdieck. We consider the Neronian solution of this name, like the Neronian date of the Apocalypse, a very plausible, yet entirely preposterous, fable.

There could be no very destructive inferences drawn from the partial identification of Nero with the beast, as symbol of the Roman Empire in its most persecuting phase, if the identification could be proved. Daniel said to Nebuchadnezzar, "Thou art the head of gold;" that is, Thou art the Empire of Babylon. And John could as truly have said to Nero, during Nero's reign, "Thou art the Roman Empire." Just so Louis XIV. could say, despotically, "I am the State." And so in Daniel, followed by the Apocalypse, *kings* stands for *kingdoms*. And as this identification of Nebuchadnezzar with Babylon did not at all affect the shape or nature of the great symbolism of empires in Daniel's image, so Nero's identification with Rome might leave the Apocalyptic interpretation untouched.

But the most untenable, as well as repulsive, part of the rationalistic exegesis is the making John base important Apocalyptic conceptions upon a contemptible whim of the Roman rabble. Nero was driven from the throne and had committed suicide; but the baser rabble, with whom the bloody despot was popular, cherished the hope that he had escaped, was truly alive, and would yet return to the throne. On this John is imagined by these commentators to have founded the image that one head of the beast received "a deadly wound;" that the wound was "healed," that he shall "ascend out of the bottomless pit and go into perdition." That is, the resurrection of the beast is to be identified with Nero's escape and return. But in point of fact the idea of a resurrection from the dead by Nero formed no part of the popular notion even of the Roman rabble at the time of the writing of the Apocalypse. All that the historians of the day or the contemporaneous literature say is that the fancy was current that Nero had escaped, would return, and would take a terrible revenge on Rome. It was not until a later generation, especially of Christians, remembering Nero as *the* typical bloody persecutor, identified him with the Antichrist, and found him in the Apocalypse. Augustine first mentions the idea of his resurrection, and later still Primasius is the first commentator that

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connects the idea of a resurrect Nero with the sacred texts. And that furnished a notable mare's nest for modern rationalism.

Gebhardt, admitting this discordance between John's conception of the beast's resurrection and the Neronian rumor of a mere *return*, nevertheless maintains that John modifies the rumor to his own purposes. The modification, we reply, is much the largest part of the modified subject. And if the nucleus was a miserable falsity, the modification enlarges it to an enormity. We cheerfully admit that John does often take a nucleus of fact and modify it to his own needs. We may admit that chap. xii abounds in such modifications. But we call attention to the most decisive fact, that *every nucleus John appropriates for such modification in his Apocalypse is drawn from the sacred records.* Hengstenberg has well shown, in discussing another point, that John never goes to classic or profane literature for any of his conceptions. He forcibly denies on that ground that the "palms" of chap. vi are borrowed from pagan customs. All John's imageries arise from within the sacred domain. Perfectly unendurable, then, is the thought that John goes to the slums of Rome and picks out from the very dregs of heathendom a base *canard*, overlays it with a wretched, lying superstition of his own, and brings it into the sublimest of all prophecies. We pity the moral taste of the man who, on a full survey of the case, does not repel such a notion with disgust.

But there are some points of peculiar significance both in the figures 666 and the combination of the Greek letters that form the number as they present themselves to the eye.

First, as to the significance of the 666: as seven is the perfect number, so 777 would be the trinal symbol of divine perfection, the Trinity. Three *half-sevens* would be the reverse of perfection; the directly bad. Three *sixes* are an attempt to attain or display the divine perfection, but are a failure, a falling short; and that perhaps by a divinely-imposed limitation. And thus in this 666 is numerically figured the antichrist.

And as to the combination of Greek letters that form the number 666, they are in John's Greek text χξς, that is, chi, xi, st. But striking out the middle letter, the remaining two, χ–ς, are the customary abbreviation in the manuscripts of the name *Christ*. Now let the serpentine ξ crawl in between these two letters, and what have we in χξς? A central serpent wearing the externals of Christ, a serpent-Christ, an antichrist! Nor, says Godet, must this be promptly dismissed as a puerility. The Orientals were

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thus accustomed to express conceptions in figured forms to the eye, as even in our modern West we have our coat of arms, and in our America our stars and stripes. An ingenious, reflective Oriental people, before books were ever printed, were inclined to shape a momentous thought into an impressive mnemonic form. Thereby we get coin stamps, monograms, signet-rings, abraxases, symbols pregnant with impressive import. There is certainly presented here a curious combination of agreements. They are a numerical name, *Lateinos*, that points to Rome; a trine number 666 that suggests the pseudo-divine; and a monogrammic triplet of letters χξς that imports a Satanic Christ. It has taken centuries of thought to unriddle this combination, indicating that νοῦς has been exerted here in large amount. The reader can decide for himself whether the combination was really planned by the νοῦς of John.

The Atonement in Christ. By JOHN MILEY, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Drew Theological Seminary. 12mo., pp. 351. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

It is the opinion of Dr. Miley that Arminianism has furnished much less discussion of the atonement than Calvinism. We think it is true that Arminianism has furnished, in proportion to its magnitude in the Christian Church, much less theological discussion generally than Calvinism. The contradictions of Calvinism, contradictions between its different dogmas and contradictions between its dogmas and "the universal common sense of mankind," have kept the Calvinistic mind ever restless and on the stretch for reconciliation. The whole system is like the Irishman's cane, "so crooked that it cannot lie still." Meanwhile we Methodists have held firmly and deeply to the atonement; have sung it in our most favorite hymns, have prayed it in our most fervent intercessions, have firmly preached its reality, and boldly claimed its universality and all-embracing mercy, without a great amount of critical analysis of its precise terms. There was room, therefore, for Dr. Miley's monograph, and that room he has well filled. His work is the result of an extended and searching analysis, crystallized into a very clear and symmetrical synthesis. The language is lucid; its brief and pointed sentences seldom or never obscure, generally even and level, yet now and then rising into a glow, and sometimes becoming eloquent. Our young ministry especially will, we think, find in its transparent pages a great aid in clearing their views and symmetrizing their conception of the whole subject. We recommend Dr. Miley's manual

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as a clear and conclusive exhibit of the Wesleyan-Arminian view of the atonement.

Upon the old oppressive doctrine of "Satisfaction," according to which the atonement covered the elect alone with a completed and perfect righteousness, by which they were justified and truly sanctified and saved, Dr. Miley is full and very conclusive. The doctrine usually embraces the absolute absurdity that by intrinsic justice one man can be righteously punished for another man's sin. If there be such a thing as a moral axiom, it is that guilt and penalty are untransferable. The clumsy evasion introduced by some thinkers, that the word *guilt* has two meanings, is here untrue. For what we are talking about is absolute justice and literal guilt, as seen by the intuitive faculty. Such *guilt* is one and sole; and it inheres solely in the personality of the agent in the guilty fact. To foist in here a secondary meaning of the word *guilt* is simply to introduce a gratuitous muddle into a discussion where clearness is an all-important desideratum. That second sort of *guilt* has no real existence.

And when the universal character of *guilt* is fully seen, and due perception is secured that Christ endured not literal *punishment*, but only took upon himself *suffering* for others, the atonement is brought into clear analogy with the course of things in the Providential system. When men are told that Christ was *guilty* of and *punished* for another's sins, the intuitive feeling is that it is absurd, impossible, out of the nature of things; but when they are told that he assumed *suffering* that another man might be relieved from the consequences of his guilty doings, it becomes one of an immensely large class of facts. Indeed, without the possibility of *suffering for others* the profoundest exhibitions of benevolence would be impossible in the world. Our skeptical friends are proud of Socrates. His death as a classic martyr is a thousand times rehearsed. But, with all his goodness and wisdom, to how much less he would amount were it not for his dose of hemlock. He died for others. Without that possibility he would sink nine tenths in the scale. Leonidas died to save his country, and oratory and song have for ages grown rapturous over the deed. But surely the highest ideal would have been wanting had it not been possible for One higher than all to have *died; died* not for the good, but for the criminal and condemned; died for those who inflicted his death; died not for somebody else, but *for us!* That is, indeed, *for us*, theme for eloquence and anthem.

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A Compendious and Complete Hebrew Lexicon to the Old Testament, with an English-Hebrew Index. By BENJAMIN DAVIES, Ph.D., LL.D. Carefully revised. With a Concise Statement of the Principles of Hebrew Grammar, by EDWARD C. MITCHELL, D.D. 8vo., pp. 752. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1879.

This Lexicon is founded upon those of Gesenius and Fürst, but is essentially a new work. Though the product of authoritative scholarship, it is adjusted to the wants of beginners. It claims to be at once "compendious and complete," having "over a thousand more Hebrew words or forms than appear in Tregelles' or Robinson's Gesenius, besides incorporating into the body of the work all the grammatical forms contained in Robinson's Analytical Appendix." The "Concise Statement of Principles of Hebrew Grammar" is placed in the beginning, under the persuasion that the better way for the beginner is to forego all intermediate "lesson books," and take to Bible and Lexicon at once, grammar coming in as a felt want to be directly applied. The "English-Hebrew Lexicon" is brought in at the end, embracing about forty-five pages, and contains the English word with a numeral reference to the page and place where the correspondent Hebrew word stands. It thus forms an aid for Hebrew composition. Both pupil and master will, doubtless, find the work a valuable part of the "apparatus."

History, Biography, and Topography.

The North Americans of Antiquity: Their Origin, Migrations, and Type of Civilization Considered. By JOHN T. SHORT. 8vo., pp. 544. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Though possessing little interest, either as history or romance, the antiquities of our more Northern America have awakened much enthusiasm of late as matter of science. Even as science their investigation scarcely crosses the path of the biblical scholar or theologian, and scarce passes out of the limits of archæology and anthropology. Yet every liberal inquirer must feel an interest in the question, Who and what were our ancestors on this continent? and must feel obliged for this thorough and convenient summary of the whole subject by Mr. Short.

Our Red Indian, whosesoever fault it is, persists in being a very uninteresting specimen. His predecessors, the Mound Builders, were better, but not very much. The Cliff Dwellers of the South-west had a slight touch of romance and a very faint hue of poetry to them. As to the question, How came they here?

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there can be little doubt that the true answer is, By the way of Behring's Straits. Mr. Short critically examines all the theories, especially the indigenous theory, and leaves this a well-settled question. As to the question of the time of their occupancy of American soil, beyond a few centuries it is all a matter of sheer guess. The trees growing on the mounds are some six hundred years old. Let us then give the Red Indian six hundred years and the Mound Builder six hundred more, and fling in six or seven hundred more *ex gratia*, and we arrive at the Christian era. Fling in a thousand or two years more, and we arrive at the time of Abraham. Sir John Lubbock limits his demand to three thousand years for the whole, and that is quite as much as any known data justify. American chronology, has, therefore, no significance for the biblicist.

Our palæontological friends have had hard grubbing in American soil. From the Floridian jawbone down to Dr. Abbott's drift flints in New Jersey, the geological man turns up a phantasm. They just get finger on his tail, and lo! *non est.* And even had they caught him, how would they show any historical connection between him and any living race? Scientists should not *guess.* Boasting of their grounds of *certainty*, they must give us demonstration, not conjecture nor prophecy. Dr. Dawson, in his "Archaia," twenty years ago stated the probability that *anthropoids* might be exhumed from the depths of our American soil; but anthropoids are not, of course, men. The fox-sized predecessor of our horse was not a horse. Far less are anthropoid apes real men. Man is not only body and life and intellect; he is also *spirit. The power to chip a flint does not prove a man.* But, as an eloquent negro bishop once said, "Whoever can lift his hands to heaven and say 'Our Father' is a man." The Adamic man was not only developed from the "dust" below, but endued with the divine "breath" from above, and no development from below, no genetic descent, could have made him an immortal *man* without the endowment from above. The anthropoids described by General Thomas as exhumed near the line of the North Pacific Railroad, with their receding frontals and long dog-like, or bird-like, aquiline snouts, may have been predecessors of man, genetic or typical, without being man. There may be missing logical links, as well as missing generative links, in the process of proving pre-Adamic man.

Our southward advance into the isthmus brings us to a region where archæology rises into something like a glimmer of history.

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Chiapa, Guatemala, and Honduras were the home of the ancient Maya race, whose architecture, especially at the ancient capital, Palenque, inspires us with wonder. We are also told, with solemn face, that its antiquity is "very remote;" that its growth is plainly "indigenous," and that traces of "development" are very evident. But its proofs of antiquity are not very frightful. Several very splendid architectures have come into existence and "developed" to perfection in Europe since the Christian era. Christianity created several new forms and styles. There is the Byzantine, which took its rise in Constantinople and attained perfection in the Church of St. Sophia. The Gothic arose some seven hundred years ago, and came to perfection in less than three centuries. The Saracenic sprang from the Byzantine, and produced the Alhambra in Spain. What proof that Palenque is older than Solomon's temple, or Herod's temple reconstruction, or than Diocletian's palace, or than the Moorish Alhambra? Whatever evidences of pre-Adamic, or pre-Mosaic, or pre-Christian antiquity the Maya civilization may present, we do not find them in the architectural remains.

The traditional testimony of the Mayas affirms that they are not an indigenous race, but that they came, as more usually said, from beyond sea and from the East. Mr. Short amply shows how they may have immigrated from the other hemisphere either by an eastern or western route. Especially interesting is his treatment of the Atlantis tradition. Plato tells us that the Egyptian priests declared that there was once a great island on the western coast of Africa connecting with a great western continent, which was submerged in the sea. A similar tradition exists among the Mayas. These concurrent traditions (as *we* infer) are quite a demonstration, not only of the fact of the submersion, but that the fact took place, partially at least, within the reach of human recollection. Strange to say, the modern sea-depth explorations have confirmed the truth of the tradition. A high submarine plateau runs from the north coast of Africa to America. But, apart from this lost natural bridge, the concurrent trade-winds and equatorial currents are powerful enough to precipitate the mariners' barks from the eastern to the western hemisphere with great ease. In the year 1500 Cabral started from Portugal with a small fleet for the Cape of Good Hope; but, passing the Cape de Verd Islands, he bore westward to avoid being becalmed on the Guinea coast, and in a few weeks found himself on the coast of Brazil. The distance from Africa to Bra-

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zil is but about fifteen hundred miles, a voyage none too great for Phœnician enterprise. The problem of immigration from the West is not much more insoluble. The numerous isles of the Pacific served as stages on the way; they were once more numerous than now, many having been submerged even during the human age. They were once populous, civilized, and near neighbors. The Pacific gulf streams even now wreck their sailors in considerable numbers annually upon our shores.

The civilization of Central America is unmistakably Hamitic. Shem was no colonizer by sea, and no architect. Japheth did not develop early on the Mediterranean or Atlantic. But Ham had three great descendants—Nimrod, or Assyria, (or Chaldea;) Mizraim, or Egypt; and Sidon, or Phœnicia; and each one of these has had share in setting an impress upon the American civilization. Ham was a sea-rover and a colonizer, and would easily cross to Chiapa; he was a builder,-especially in pyramids, and could readily have founded Palenque and Cholula. He was, like the Mayas, a sun-worshiper, a Molochian offerer of human victims. He bore the deluge tradition and the *crux ansata* to America. His Egyptian orientation and terracing of the pyramids are there. Thither Phœnicia has sent her serpent and her cosmogonical egg. Assyria has sent thither her "sun symbol," her bearded tree-worshipers, and her outspread sun-wings. Yet it is not so much from Egypt that America has imported her pyramids, which in fact are hardly true pyramids. Her truncated structures came from Babel and Babylon; are partially derived from the Jupiter Bel or Baal temples. In fact, these architectures almost seem to have traveled from Shinar eastward, and to have come round to America across the Pacific. So great a master of comparative architecture as Ferguson affirms that Burmah borrowed her architecture from Babylon; that farther east than Burmah the ruined cities of Cambodia show *teocallis* (pyramidal sanctuaries) like those of Mexico and Yucatan. Ferguson (as quoted by M'Causland) says, "As we advance eastward from the Valley of the Euphrates, at every step we meet with forms of art becoming more and more like those of Central America;" adding that but for the geographical difficulty no doubt would exist of the derivation of the American architecture from that origin—a difficulty amply solved by Mr. Short.

One record of the Mosaic deluge tradition Mr. Short finds so deeply imbedded in the native history that it cannot be rejected as an appropriation from the Christian missionaries without in-

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validating all existing Central American history. He summarizes the tradition in these words: "In a preceding chapter we have given the deluge tradition from Ixtilxochitl, who states that the waters rose *fifteen cubits* (caxtolmolctltli) above the highest mountains, and that a few escaped in a close chest, (toplipetlacali,) and after men had multiplied they erected a very high *zacuali*, or tower, in order to take refuge in it should the world be again destroyed. He further states that then their speech was confused, so that they could not understand each other, and that they dispersed to different parts of the earth." But the story of sending out three birds as weather explorers is, he thinks, so transparent an appropriation that he can hardly name it with "gravity." Change the names of the birds, and you have just Moses over again. And yet this very story is found, fully detailed, in the Assyrian account, as given by both Smith and Lenormant; and if here aboriginal, is, beyond all question, derived not from Moses but from Assyria. How can Mr. Short reasonably reject this striking passage as too servilely biblical, and yet accept the "fifteen cubits" as aboriginal? Though Lenormant half yields the bird tradition to the higher criticisms of Ramirez, we do not; for where one crucial passage of the flood-tradition is fully admitted there is a fair presumption in favor of other passages, which should check hypercriticism. The existence, also, of two records from distant quarters of the same passage, establishes a favorable presumption for the third. There is a valid probability that Assyria, Palestine, and America possess three copies of the same bird-tradition. And this is all confirmed by the fact that the courier birds of the flood so impress the human mind that they are constantly reappearing in the various traditions. Lenormant finds them in the Iranian tradition in Asia; the dove and olive branch are seen on the Arkite symbols at Apamea, Phrygia; and even among the Chippeway Indians Menabosha (which Lenormant suspects to be the Aryan Manu Vaivasvata) sends a bird out of his bark to know if land be dry, and thus restores our race.

Mr. Short quotes a document to disprove the common statement that the pyramid of Cholula is connected with the Tower of Babel. Our own conclusion is that his document, if admitted as good authority, confirms that connection. The document is simply a verbal narrative uttered by an old inhabitant of Cholula, and recorded by Father Duran, A. D. 1585. The story is, that creation being not quite completed, and the land being "all a plain without hill or elevation, *encircled in every part by water*,

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without tree or created thing," certain giants, fascinated with the glory of the new-made sun, endeavored to find his secret place of setting and rising. Defeated in their attempt, (the narrator says,) "they determined to build *a tower* so high that its summit *should reach the sky*. Having collected material for the purpose, they found a *very adhesive clay and bitumen*, with which they speedily commenced to build the tower, and having reared it to the greatest possible altitude, so that they say it reached to the sky, the Lord of the Heavens, enraged, said to the inhabitants of the sky, 'Have you observed how they of the earth have built a high and haughty tower to mount hither, being enamored of the light of the sun and his beauty? Come and confound them, because it is not right that they of the earth, living in the flesh, should *mingle with us*.' Immediately, at that very instant, the inhabitants of the sky sallied forth like flashes of lightning; they destroyed the edifice, and divided and *scattered its builders to all parts of the earth*." If criticism admits this as a true aboriginal document, Cholula is a second edition of Babel. The remarkable specialty "clay and bitumen" is a crucial proof. We then have the "tower," the purpose of building to the sky, the bituminous material, the parley of Jehovah in heaven, the defeat of the tower, and the *dispersion* of the builders through the earth. All this in a series of biblical phrases. The flood is, indeed, in the background. From a deluge by rain it has become a quiet submergence in the incompleteness of the creation. We submit that Cholula is Babel Junior.

Lectures on Electricity in its Relations to Medicine and Surgery. By A. D. Rockwell, A.M., M.D., Electro-Therapeutist to the New York State Woman's Hospital, Member of the American Neurological Association, Fellow of the New York Academy of Medicine. 8vo., pp. 100. New York: Wm. Wood & Co.

This little volume, from the pen of this well-known and prolific writer on the subject of electricity in its various applications for the alleviation and cure of disease, although addressed to, and especially intended for, the medical profession, commends itself to the general public as a concise exposition of the advances which have been made in the medical use of this subtle and mysterious agent within the past few years. Soon after the method of exciting electricity by friction was discovered, attempts were made by educated physicians to apply this powerful agent to the cure of disease, but with so little success that these attempts were finally abandoned by regular practitioners of medicine.

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Similar attempts followed the discovery of Galvanic and Faradic electricity, and with similar results.

It was found that these agents were powerful in their influence on the human system, but that their employment was quite as likely to injure as to benefit the patient. The scientific principles on which their successful use necessarily depends had not yet been studied out. Unscrupulous charlatans, however, found in electricity exactly what suited their methods of practice. By its use they made a profound impression, and now and then a marvelous cure. If they failed to benefit the great majority of their patients, and injured many more than they cured, they ignored their failures and boasted of their successes in such manner as to build up their own fortunes at the expense of their unfortunate patrons. This employment of electricity by charlatans served to bring its use in medicine still more into discredit than the failures of honest practitioners had before done.

Within the past few years, however, many well-educated physicians have been engaged in an honest, laborious, and thoroughly scientific investigation of the subject; and they have succeeded in studying out the principles in accordance with which electricity must be applied in order to make it uniformly of service as a remedial agent. Brilliant successes in practice have been the results of these studies. Duchenne and Remak in Europe, and Beard and Rockwell in this country, have been foremost in discovering and elucidating the principles in accordance with which electricity may be made a powerful remedial agent —Duchenne by his investigations regarding the localized use of Faradic electricity, Remak regarding the localized use of Galvanic electricity, and Beard and Rockwell by their studies and discoveries on the employment of general faradization, through which remarkable tonic effects are obtained, and of central galvanization, through which the brain and spinal cord are directly and beneficially influenced.

There can be no doubt, then, that electricity, as a remedial agent, is now as thoroughly understood as is any other remedy. Indeed, there would seem to be greater difference of opinion regarding the efficacy and proper use of drugs than in regard to the use of electricity as taught by the masters above mentioned. But it should be mentioned that even physicians make signal failures in the use of electricity as a remedy, until to a knowledge of anatomy and physiology and the general science of medicine, they add a special knowledge of the science of electricity, and much

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study and experience in its medical use. Hence it is that although the Lectures of Dr. Rockwell are of great interest to the general reader, their perusal will in no wise justify him in undertaking or advising the employment of this powerful remedy without the direction and advice of a competent physician.

History of the Christian Church from its Origin to the Present Time. By WILLIAM BLACKBURN, D.D, Professor of Church History, Chicago. 8vo., pp. 719. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

This magnificent volume is a not unsuccessful attempt to present Church history, with a living spirit, in a continuous readable style, so as to be easily contemplated as a comprehensive whole. It is written from the evangelical stand-point; and as regards the line that divides the evangelical Church into two doctrinal sections, by the predestinarian dogma, it is written, so far as we can judge, in a spirit of entire fairness. It begins from the apostolic founding of the Church, and ends with the present hour. It gives a completer sketch of the American Churches than any we have seen, and thereby suggests a repetition of what we have formerly said, that it is quite time that some scholarly men or set of men should give, in one or more volumes, a complete view of American theology as a whole. Dr. Blackburn has constructed several charts, or rather what might be called *maps in theological geography*, which present a great deal of history in a single page in an impressive and suggestive manner.

When the Wesleyan Arminian writes a Church history from his own specific stand-point, he will refuse to brand the essential Arminians of the Western Church in the Middle Ages with the epithet "Semi-Pelagian." They were neither Semi-Pelagian nor Semi-Augustinian; but were the true continuation of the primitive orthodoxy of the first three centuries, from which Augustinianism and Pelagianism were opposite aberrations. It was the earliest theology, and is bound to be the latest. Pressensé truly says that predestination was to the early Church a heresy, and Richard Watson well defines his Arminianism as being neither Augustinian, on one hand, nor Pelagian on the other. There never was an Augustinian Church until after the Reformation; and then came Calvinism, more Augustinian than Augustine, black fatalism itself.

The style of Dr. Blackburn is animated and often graphic, but wanting in graceful flow, abrupt, with occasional solecisms. Thus he says of Vincent of Lerins (misprinted Lerius) "his little

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'History of Heresies' does not contain his own name as that of a heretic, for *he thought himself sound"!* Of Faustus he says, "Pope Gelasius *put him and Cassian down* in the first Index of Prohibited Books." Page 697 says that Asbury "preached in private circles for a year, while Garrettson was flogged," etc. Our Bishops "itinerate, and are elected by the General Conference." We thought their election came before the itinerating. The following characterization of Dr. Olin is, we think, extravagant. "His successor, Dr. Stephen Olin, so attached to the Greek Testament, at home or in his tent by the Jordan, gave to Methodism a vigor which is manifest in ethical, scientific, theological, historical, biblical, and cyclopedic literature, thus holding fair rivalry with denominations which are credited with an earlier inheritance of scholarship." This is far from true of any one man among us, but nearer truth of Dr. Fisk than of Dr. Olin. Yet the sentence is good proof of the intentional fairness and liberality of the writer.

The History of England from the Accession of James the Second. By LORD MACAULAY. 8vo., pp. 609. Vol. I. Set of five volumes. New York: Harper & Bros. 1879.

The Rise of the Dutch Republic. A History. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L., LL.D., Corresponding Member, etc. 8vo., pp. 579. Vol. I. Set of three volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

These two stately sets upon our table from the Harper press are, of course, a necessary requisite for the completion of every historic library. Full tributes to each of these historians have lately been paid in our pages in articles from able pens. The histories are both written in the same modern spirit, detailing narratives of events impregnate with the modern spirit of enlightenment and advance. The Dutch history presents the development of a Republic in striking analogy with our own, but really advancing to a stage equivalent to our Confederacy before the formation of our national Constitution. This was owing to the death of that great hero, whose living character so remarkably resembled our Washington, and whose martyrdom by the hand of an assassin suggests our Lincoln. But while the Dutch history presents an analogy to our own, the English is truly and literally our own. For we are English, and not Dutch, and English history is the earlier part of our own history; and while in Motley we are among crude but genuine Republicans, yet they are comparatively strangers, with foreign faces and odd, pedantic Dutch-Latin names; whereas, in Macaulay, we are among old acquaintances, historically pioneering our own historic course, with our own

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faces in more beefy condition, talking our own language, and bearing our own or cognate names. We take our place on that wide area which an Englishman has called "the greater Britain," on whose wide and widening territory the language of Chatham and Daniel Webster is spoken. What a grandeur it is that a Macaulay and a Motley are able to address with proud acceptance so world-wide an audience!

Life of Rev. Thomas Brainerd, D.D., for Thirty Years Pastor of Old Pine-street Church, Philadelphia. By M. BRAINERD. 12mo., pp. 455. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. Price, $2.

It was about the year 1825 that Thomas Brainerd presented himself to be a scholar at Mr. Grosvenor's Academy at Rome, New York. With some rural traits in his appearance and style, he soon exhibited a manliness of port, a vigor of intellect, and a freedom of utterance easily rising into a flow of oratory, that commanded all respect. He was going to be a lawyer, a politician, a statesman, with an unlimited ambition. But in the good providence of God his path was intersected by Charles G. Finney. In a revival of most marvelous sweep, under the early ministrations of that wonderful evangelist, Brainerd was arrested, and a most unexpected turn was given to his life. It was not a change of ambition. It was an agonized surrender of his ambition to his sense of duty. He studied theology at Andover, and his clear ability soon brought him into association with such men as Lyman Beecher, Albert Barnes, and Charles G. Finney. The earlier part of his ministry was spent in Cincinnati, but during the many years of his maturer life he was one of the ecclesiastical "powers that be" of Philadelphia. His memoir, from the hand of his surviving widow, Mrs. Mary Brainerd, evinces how well he had chosen his partner in life. Eminent as was his career, it was not more eminent than was expected by his academic comrade.

Protestantism in Michigan: Being a Special History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Incidentally of Other Denominations. By ELIJAH H. PILCHER, D.D. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 464. Detroit: R. D. S. Tyler & Co.

Upon a history of Methodism and Protestantism generally in Michigan, Dr. Pilcher has been engaged, as time allowed, for twenty years, and has been enabled to bring his work to great fullness and apparent accuracy. It will be very acceptable to thousands, of the Peninsular State especially; and will form a very interesting and valuable part of the permanent religious history of both our Church and country. The narrative of the early

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start of Methodism in old French Catholic Detroit is very interesting. A hard soil it was; very hard, indeed, as is attested by the utter failure, in the first attempts, by such men as Nathan Bangs and William Case. The numerous personal sketches give piquancy and point to the narrative. At every advance we are cheered with advancing victory. The engravings recall to our memory the face of many a departed, or still living, friend. Eminent in the history, justly and truly, as early pioneer and faithful, loyal, and stalwart pillar, is the author, Dr. Pilcher himself.

The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism. By Dr. GERARD UHLHORN, Abbot of Loccum, and Member of the Supreme Consistory in Hanover. Edited and Translated with the author's sanction from the Third German Edition by EGBERT C. SMITH and C. J. H. ROPES. 12mo., pp. 508. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879.

A more precise title for this volume would be: A History of the Overthrow of Paganism in the Roman Empire by Christianity. It begins with the reign of Augustus, and extends to the total defeat of the last effort of paganism with the death of Julian. It consequently unfolds the greatest revolution in the history of mankind. And ecclesiastical history, if such purely it can be called, has seldom been clothed in so living a style. We have not the statistical dryness of Mosheim, nor the perpetual sarcasm of Gibbon, nor the dreamy diffuseness of Neander; but great events, characters, and principles portrayed with a fresh and vigorous power. It is written with a thoroughness of scholarship to satisfy the scholar, yet with a zest of spirit and a freedom of style that suit it for the popular reader.

The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Revolution in 1688. By DAVID HUME, Esq. A New Edition, with the Author's Last Corrections and Improvements, to which is prefixed a Short Account of His Life, Written by Himself. In six volumes. (In a box.) 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 644. Vol. II, pp. 652. Vol. III, pp. 618. Vol. IV, pp. 587. Vol. V, pp. 569. Vol. VI, with Index, pp. 527. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Hume's history is old, but not quite obsolete. Criticism has invalidated many of its statements, and present public thought largely rejects his general views of England's history, in which he strangely contrived to unite the bigotry of a high Tory with the looseness of a freethinker. Charles Fox said that "Hume so loved a king and Gibbon so hated a priest, that neither could be trusted where a king or a priest was concerned." That Hume is, in spite of all drawbacks, demanded for re-publication, is proof of the great intellect of the man.

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History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France. By HENRY M. BAIRD. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 577. Vol. II, with Index, pp. 681. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879.

Our readers are familiar with productions in our pages from Professor Baird's classic pen. The present work is, doubtless, a labor of love, portraying the tragic history of his spiritual and personal ancestry, the French Huguenots. The present volume traces their rise, and closes with an epic fitness with the memorable massacre of St. Bartholomew. The author has had access to a large amount of sources shedding new light on the history. A fuller review may be expected in our Quarterly.

History of the United Netherlands from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce—1609. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L., LL.D. In four volumes. (In a box.) With Portraits. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 532. Vol. II, pp. 563. Vol. III, pp. 599. Vol. IV, with Index, pp. 632. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland. With a View of the Primary Causes and Movements of the Thirty Years' War. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L., LL.D. In two volumes. With Illustrations. (In a box.) 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 389. Vol. II, with Index, pp. 475. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

These new and handsome editions of Motley, neatly boxed up and freshly issued, will be very acceptable to the reading public. Both have been amply reviewed in our Quarterly, and they only need announcement.

Educational.

A New Latin Dictionary. Founded on the Translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon, edited by E. A. ANDREWS, LL.D. Revised, enlarged, and in great part re-written, by CHARLTON T. LEWIS, Ph.D., and CHARLES SHORT, LL.D. 4to, pp. 2019. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

The best German and American scholarship is embodied in this work. And the American contributions, by both the late Professor Andrews and Professors Lewis and Short, have brought it with an admirable completeness to the latest dates. For, strange as it may seem to some, "progress" is as rapid and real (though not as flaring) in Latin lexicography as in other departments of thought. The following paragraph will suggest to our readers something of the nature of this progress:

> Great advances have been made in the sciences on which lexicography depends. Minute research in manuscript authorities has largely restored the texts of the classical writers, and even their orthography. Philology has traced the growth and history of thousands of words, and revealed meanings and shades of meaning which were long unknown. Syntax has been subjected to a profounder analysis. The history of ancient nations, the private life of their citizens, the thoughts and be-

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liefs of their writers, have been closely scrutinized in the light of accumulating information. Thus the student of to-day may justly demand of his lexicon far more than the scholarship of thirty years ago could furnish. The present work is the result of a series of earnest efforts by the publishers to meet this demand.

We expect a full review of the work from the hand of an amply competent scholar.

Literature and Fiction.

Literary Studies. By the late WALTER BAGEHOT. With a Prefatory Memoir. Edited by RICHARD HOLT HUTTON. Two volumes. London: Longmans & Green. 1879.

To most American readers Mr. Walter Bagehot, who died some two years since, was known only as a writer on politics and finance. His books on these subjects, "Lombard Street," "Physics and Politics," and "The English Constitution," were reprinted in this country, and the last named is used, we believe, as a text-book in several of our colleges. But these two volumes show that as a literary critic Mr. Bagehot had abilities of the very first order. A part of these essays were first collected into a volume some twenty years ago; and we are inclined to agree with Mr. Hutton, the editor of this edition, that "the literary taste of England never made a greater blunder than when it passed by that remarkable volume of essays with comparatively little notice." The essays are a series of studies upon the lives and work of some of the greatest English writers, including Shakspeare, Milton, Gibbon, Butler, Cowper, Shelley, Scott, Thackeray, and a half dozen others. What is first noticeable in them is their freshness of manner and wholly unconventional tone. Both in matter and in style they are delightfully original. It is a common observation that studious men, even though writers by profession, write dull books. They have knowledge and opinions, but they lack the art to communicate them. As has been wittily said, their hard reading is the cause of their writing what is hard to read. If one is to get the ear of the world, one must have the speech of the world; and this is not to be learned in the closet. In particular, the literary criticism of a professed critic is often tiresome reading; it is over subtle, and sometimes seems to be written in a kind of technical dialect. But Mr. Bagehot was a banker. And he wrote like a banker—which is as much as to say that, in most respects, he wrote exceeding well. The shrewd sense, the varied experience of men and things, the racy vigor and curtness of speech, the ready and pungent wit, the homely and striking illustration, these all mark the man of the street rather than of the study.

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Not that these essays show any lack of wide reading, or of keen critical insight. On the contrary, the range of Mr. Bagehot's reading and the catholicity of his taste are surprising. He wrote almost equally well of Beranger's Songs and of Butler's Analogy; and the pithy criticism upon men of widely different ages which is scattered incidentally through these volumes—upon Homer, Plato, Voltaire, Dante, Goethe, and Dryden, for example—show that he had somehow found time to familiarize himself with what is best in all the great European literatures. But his reading did not warp his originality nor make him bookish. Upon the most well-worn themes—Shakspeare, for instance—he had something new to say, and a fresh and forcible way of saying it. Few collections of essays contain so little second-hand opinion, so much that is new and yet true.

As for his acumen we have seen nothing in recent English criticism to equal it. But it never led him into fanciful or laborious analysis. It was constantly held in check by the practical temper of his thought. To use a phrase he was fond of, he could always tell you what a thing "came to;" and that is the office of criticism. By its easy rapidity, its manifold suggestiveness, and its versatility, the writing of Mr. Bagehot reminds one of that rare thing, the talk of a really good talker. It is uncommon to find so much depth and power of thought combined with such vigorous plainness of expression and felicity of illustration. Indeed, Mr. Bagehot seemed sometimes curiously rather afraid of his own penetration. After stating some principle of conduct or opinion discovered in the life or writings of the author under criticism, he had a way of saying, "Now, this may seem to many people like nonsense, but in reality it isn't. For,"—and then would follow some homely but conclusive examples of the principle in common life.

It is largely to this union of the speculative and the practical temper that we ascribe the humor which constantly played about Mr. Bagehot's pen. For humor, if any thing more than easy good-fellowship or the gush of animal spirits, depends upon the quick perception of contrasted relations. And this perception Mr. Bagehot had in a remarkable degree. The philosopher and the banker in him were always laughing at each other. Very suggestive of the nature and the source of his humor is such a passage as this:—

> There seems an unalterable contradiction between the human mind and its employments. How can a *soul* be a merchant? What relation to an immortal being have the price of linseed, the fall of butter, the tare on tallow, or the brokerage

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on hemp? Can an undying creature debit "petty expenses" and charge for "carriage paid?" All the world 's a stage;—"the satchel and the shining morning face,"—the "strange oaths,"—the "bubble reputation,"—the

> Eyes severe and beard of formal cut,
> Full of wise saws and modern instances.

Can these things be real? Surely they are acting. What relation have they to the truth as we see it in theory? What connection with our certain hopes, our deep desires, our craving and infinite thought? "In respect of itself, it is a good life; but in respect it is a shepherd's life, it is naught." The soul ties its shoe; the mind washes its hands in a basin. All is incongruous.

The essays are remarkably even. If we mistake not, however, those which deal largely with the relations of philosophy and religion to practical life are written with greater zest than the others. Those on Huxley, Coleridge, Arthur Hugh Clough, and Milton are excellent, but the best of the series is the essay on Butler. We do not remember to have seen in so brief compass such a clear and satisfactory statement of the character and limitations of Butler's work. C. T. W.

Periodicals.

The Popular Science Monthly. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

This magazine for April contains a translation of an article by G. De Mortillet, in the *Revue d' Anthropologie*, on "Early Traces of Man," written in a very positive style of faith in the geologic man, yet making some remarkable discriminations.

First, it maintains the absolute settlement of the question in favor of the reality of quaternary man. And the remains of this epoch are found as truly in the East, in Assyria, in Egypt, both lower and upper, as in America. It notices with peremptory contradiction the claim made by Mr. Southall that no traces of paleolithic man are found in Egypt and the Orient; maintaining that they have been discovered in positions decisive of their genuine geological antiquity. And of the vastness of the quaternary age he thus speaks: "All geologists are agreed that the duration of the period in which we live is as nothing compared with that of the quaternary period. It is as a day compared to ages, as a drop of water in a stream. All paleontologists understand what a length of time is requisite for the rise and decline of animal species—species which, while they have been upon the earth, have been lavishly distributed over an enormous area."—Page 795. On this we remark that, positive as paleontologists are of this stupendous length of time, the physicists as positively maintain that no such time can be allowed. As yet the physicists possess the field.

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But Mortillet is also sure not only of the tertiary man anterior to the stupendous quaternary, but even of the miocene. We do not quote his proofs, our main object being the certain discriminations above hinted. Was the fossil man the complete man of our present humanity? Or was he, in fact, a lower *species;* an anthropoid, and not a man. If so, the Adamic man may have no genetic connection with the pre-Adamite, and our race may have begun with Adam. On this point we adduce the following passages:—

But first let us understand what is meant by the terms quaternary man and tertiary man.

The fauna of the mammals serves clearly to determine the limits of these later geological periods. The tertiary is characterized by terrestrial mammals entirely different from extant species; the quaternary by the mingling of extant with extinct species; the present period by the extant fauna. The man of the early quaternary, he who made the St. Acheul hatchets and used them, is the man of Neanderthal, of Canstatt, of Enggisheim, of La Naulette, of Denise. He is indubitably a man, but differing more widely from the Australian and the Hottentot than the Australian and Hottentot differ from the European. Hence unquestionably he formed *another human species, the word species being taken in the sense given to it by naturalists who do not accept the transformation doctrine.*

Tertiary man, therefore, must have been still more distinct—of a species still less like the present human species—indeed, so different as to entitle it to be regarded as of distinct genus. For this reason I have given to this being the name of man's precursor. Or he might be called anthropopithecus—the man-monkey. The question of tertiary man should therefore be expressed thus: Did there exist in the tertiary age beings sufficiently intelligent to perform a part of the acts which are characteristic of man?

So stated, the question is settled most completely by the various series of objects sent to the Anthropological Exposition. . . .

It results, therefore, from the Abbé Bourgeois' researches, that during the middle tertiary there existed a creature, precursor of man, an anthropopithecus, which was acquainted with fire and could make use of it for splitting flints. It also knew how to trim the flint-flakes thus produced, and to convert them into tools.—Pp. 797, 798.

But if even quaternary "man" was not of the same species with our present man, then there properly is no quaternary *man.* And inasmuch as even "the man of Neanderthal, of Canstatt, of Enggisheim, of La Naulette, of Denise," is of very questionable character, how do we know that the being intelligent enough to split flints by fire or by tapping had a human form at all, even rudimentally? Quantitatively, the beaver and the bee have as great an amount of intelligence, although qualitatively in different direction. We are, therefore, unable to be sure that the flint-splitter was "the precursor of man." But even admitting his precursorship, he was still an animal, with animal body and intellect. The higher nature, the *spirit,* was wanting. The being may have possessed an animal body, and an animal soul, but have lacked the πνεῦμα, the transcendant humanity. For man was not only made

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of "dust" and "became a living soul," but he "became" so by the *inbreathing* of the Divine. We are still left, then, on this scientific admission, ample room to deny that the Mosaic history of the Adamic man is contradicted. The view of Tayler Lewis, and later of Mivart, is left unrefuted. Or, rather, we may say that the genetic connection between Adam and the geologic man remains entirely unproved.

The West African Reporter. Four folio pages. Vol. V, No. 68. Sierra Leone. April, 1879.

We have received and looked over with interest a few numbers of this paper that have flowed as if by spontaneity from Africa into our office. In the present number, in refuting the existence of "caste in literature," the editor says:—

> Professor Blyden, in his writings above referred to, has been recognized and welcomed as a co-worker by the ablest writers. His articles have been quoted and copied, and what is, perhaps, a greater compliment, plagiarized by periodicals in England and America. The Edinburgh, Contemporary, and Saturday Reviews in England have quoted from and reviewed them. Littell's Living Age and the Methodist Quarterly Review in the United States have copied some of them entire.—ED. W. A. F.

The Methodist Quarterly Review has copied none of Mr. Blyden's articles from English periodicals entire. Our Quarterly was the first to discover Mr. Blyden; and his article in our Quarterly was the first of his ever published, and, doubtless, the first article in any review or magazine from a man of his race. He has been contributor to our Quarterly ever since, and an article of his will be found in this, our January, number. The only article of his ever partially republished from England in our pages was written by him for our Quarterly, but intercepted in England and published in Frazer's Magazine.

Miscellaneous.

The Lesson Commentary on the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1880. By Rev. JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., and Rev. J. L. HURLBUT, M.A. 8vo., pp. 252. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Senior Lesson Book (Berean Series, No. 1) on the International Lessons for 1880. 16mo., pp. 166. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Berean Question Book (Berean Series, No. 2) on the International Lessons for 1880. 16mo., pp. 165. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Berean Beginner's Book (Berean Series No. 3) on the International Lessons for 1880. 16mo., pp. 160. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Boys' Pocket Library. Volume III. 24mo., pp. 288. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

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The Boys' Pocket Library. Volume IV. Popular Delusions. 24mo., pp. 258. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Boys' Pocket Library. Vol. V. Strange Stories about Strange People. 24mo., pp. 263. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Conrad. A Tale of Wiclif and Bohemia. By EMMA LESLIE, author of "Flavia," "Elfreda," etc. Four Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 293. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Margaretha. A Tale of the Sixteenth Century. By EMMA LESLIE, author of "Ayesha," "Leofwine the Saxon," etc. Four Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 324. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Cecily. A Tale of the English Reformation. By EMMA LESLIE, author of "Leofwine the Saxon," "Conrad," etc. Four Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 324. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Blossom Books. (Juvenile.) 10 Volumes in a Box. 4to. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The Princess Idleways. A Fairy Story. By Mrs. W. J. HAYS. Illustrated. 16mo., pp. 124. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Life of Rev. Thomas M. Eddy, D.D. By CHARLES N. SIMS, D.D. With an Introduction by Rev. BISHOP SIMPSON, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 592. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Methodist Year-Book for 1880. Edited by W. H. DE PUY, D.D. 8vo., pp. 88. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Young Folks' History of Rome. By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE, author of "The Heir of Redcliffe," "Little Lucy's Wonderful Globe," "Book of Golden Deeds," "Young Folks' History of Germany," "Greece," "France," "England," etc. 12mo., pp. 443. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

Mordecai's Tenants. By Miss A. D. WALKER. Two Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 142. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Glenwood. By JULIA K. BLOOMFIELD, Author of "Patient Susie; or, Paying the Mortgage," etc. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Young Folks of Renfrew. (In the Interest of the Missionary Cause.) By Miss M. ELLEN TANEYHILL, A.M., (Mrs. Dr. H. J. BEYERLE,) formerly Preceptress of Williamsport Dickinson Seminary, Williamsport, Pa. Three Illus. 16mo., pp. 239. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Illustrated Catholic Family Annual for 1880. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co.

The Mode of Man's Immortality; or, The When, Where, and How of the Future Life. By Rev. T. A. GOODWIN, A.M. 12mo., pp. 264. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1879.

English Men of Letters. Edited by JOHN MORLEY.—*Edmund Burke.* By JOHN MORLEY. 12mo., pp. 214. 1879.—*John Milton.* By MARK PATTISON, B.D. 12mo., pp. 215. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Art in America. A Critical and Historical Sketch. By S. G. W. BENJAMIN. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 214. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Boy Travelers in the Far East. Adventures of Two Youths in a Journey to Japan and China. By THOMAS W. KNOX. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 421. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

An Involuntary Voyage. By LUCIEN BIART. Translated by Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mr. John Lillie. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

A True Republic. By ALBERT STICKNEY. 12mo., pp. 271. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Lessons from My Masters: Carlyle, Tennyson, and Ruskin. By PETER BAYNE, M.A., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 449. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Afternoons with the Poets. By CHARLES D. DESHLER. Square 12mo., pp. 320. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

The Telephone, the Microphone, and the Phonograph. By COUNT DU MONCEL. With 70 Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 277. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

The American Bookseller for Christmas. 1879. Paper Covers. 8vo., pp. 592. New York: The American News Co.

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Readings from English History. Selected and Edited by JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., LL.D. Three Parts in One Volume. 12mo. Part I., pp. 152. Part II., pp. 152. Part III., pp. 140. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Shakespeare's Comedy of Twelfth Night: or, What You Will. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. With Engravings. Square 16mo., pp. 174. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Shakespeare's Comedy of the Winter's Tale. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. With Engravings. Square 16mo., pp. 218. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The German Principia, Part II. A First German Reading Book. Containing Anecdotes, Tables, Natural History, German History, and Specimens of German Literature, with Grammatical Questions and Notes, and a Dictionary. On the Plan of Dr. William Smith's *Principia Latina*. 12mo., pp. 263. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Analysis and Formation of Latin Words, with Tables for Analysis, List of Roots, etc. By FRANK SMALLEY, A.M. 12mo., pp. 87. Syracuse, N. Y.: John T. Roberts. 1879.

The Egotist. Essays of Life: Its Work and its Fortunes, its Joys and its Sorrows, its Success and its Failure. By HENRY T. KING. 12mo., pp. 270. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger. 1880.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.—Our last Quarterly contained a biographical sketch of Rev. Dr. Nelson, written by Bishop Harris, containing some remarks upon the "trying ordeal" through which the Book Concern had passed at the time of Dr. Nelson's election as Agent. It is proper to say that in these remarks it was not the intention of either the Bishop (as we say by his authority) or the Editor to express or imply any censure upon the then Junior Agent, Dr. Lanahan, or upon any other person who was engaged in officially moving or conducting the inquiries into the condition and management of the Concern. The only allusion was to unofficial and irresponsible persons who took advantage of the investigations to malign the Church.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1880.

ART. I.—THE GLORIOUS RETURN OF THE VAUDOIS.

Histoire de la glorieuse Rentrée des Vaudois dans leur Vallées: Paris: Grassort, 1879.

A NOTABLE book is that which we place at the head of this article. It was mostly written by Henry Arnaud, "Pasteur and Colonel of the Vaudois," a man who, preaching, praying, and fighting "for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," would have gladdened the heart of Cromwell, and who deserves to rank among the greatest heroes of history. The recent edition of the work is, as nearly a possible, a reproduction in form, typography, etc., of the original edition, issued about a century and three quarters ago. Its full title, almost literally rendered, is "The History of the Glorious Return of the Vaudois into their Valleys, in which it will be seen that a troop of these people, less than a thousand strong, sustained a war against the King of France and the Duke of Savoy; made headway against their army of twenty-two thousand men; opened a passage through Savoy and High Dauphiny; beat many times the enemy, and at last miraculously re-entered their heritage; maintained themselves therein, arms in hand, and re-established the worship of God which had been interdicted during three years and a half. The whole compiled from memoirs which have been faithfully made of all that occurred in this war of the Vaudois," etc.

We propose to narrate, though it must be in mere outline,

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the "Glorious Return;" but some preliminary pages are necessary. An American writer complains of the comparative ignorance of our Churches respecting the Vaudois—the most interesting people, perhaps, in the whole history of Christendom since the apostolic age. American Christians know in a vague way that somewhere in the mountains between France and Italy lived and still linger the "Waldenses;" that they have had a curiously antique history; and that, since the unification of Italy, they have been descending their mountains to propagate pure Christianity over the peninsula, for which they have peculiar advantages as Italians, with the national language for their vernacular. Only the best-informed minds among us know how surpassingly marvelous has been their history, and how equally marvelous seems their destiny; that in their valleys, up among the snows and clouds of the Cottian Alps, looking down to the south-eastward upon Italy, and to the north-westward upon France, they maintained their Church, pure in doctrine, morals and polity as that of Scotland itself, while all the rest of Europe fell away into paganized Christianity; that, according to their local traditions, their religious history dates from the time of Paul's preaching in Rome; that Paul himself possibly passed through their valleys on his way to Spain; that, at least, some of his Roman converts, or their early successors, fled at the outbreak of the persecutions to these mountains, and founded the faith which remains there to our day; that while, century after century, all the rest of the Christian world was sunk in moral death, and covered with the night of the "Dark Ages," the pure apostolic light shone undimmed on these mountain heights; that France on the one hand, Italy on the other, prompted by Rome, attempted age after age to break through the Alpine barriers and extinguish the strange heresy, as it was called; that the one terrible St. Bartholomew's of France went on here through successive generations, but in vain; that every valley, almost every cliff, has its traditions of martyrdom; that deeds of prowess by the mountaineers, hurling back whole hosts of Papal invaders, now on France, now on Italy, in at least thirty-three distinct wars, have given them an heroic history never surpassed in the military annals of any other people, dotting their territory with scores of Thermopylæs and Marathons; that, after centuries of

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praying, watching, and fighting for their faith, they stood, still in arms, amid the ruins of their homes and their churches, and laid down their weapons only when a solemn pledge from the enemy conceded their rights; that this pledge was immediately violated, nearly all their heroic men imprisoned in thirteen Piedmontese dungeons, their children put in Catholic schools, their women in nunneries; that the Vaudois were at last considered extinguished, their own historians, who had fled to other countries, declaring "the ancient Church of the mountains," the "Israel of the Alps," "obliterated," "irrecoverably lost," as one of them said; that of the fourteen thousand heroic prisoners of Piedmont all died of starvation or disease save three thousand, who, liberated at last, but forbidden ever to re-enter their valleys, made their way to Protestant Switzerland and Germany; that seven or eight hundred of them afterward combined under a vow to redeem their lost cause and country, armed themselves clandestinely, marched, under the command of their pastor, Arnaud, through the most intricate ravines of Switzerland and Savoy, under the shadow of Mont Blanc, along the cliffs of Mont Cenis, through passages in which only mountaineers could make their way, with no commissariat, each man carrying his own ammunition and food, the Catholic towns and villages rising against them, but quailing before them, as if a terror from God had fallen upon the land; that France on the one hand, Italy on the other, sent armies to arrest their triumphant march, twenty-two thousand men in all; that they rolled back the enemy in victorious fights, entered their ancient valleys "with singing and shouting," fought the Catholic foe from rock to rock through months, supplying themselves with ammunition only by their victories, destroying ten thousand of the enemy in eighteen victorious attacks, winning peace at last, restoring their old homes, schools, and churches, receiving their expatriated wives and children, sheltering even their persecuting sovereign, who had to flee from his enemies below to seek their protection; and that, re-established in their mountains and enfranchised by their government, they are now bearing the Gospel over Italy, and are thus displaying before the eyes of this skeptical age the providential meaning of their history.

Such are a few mere allusions to this remarkable history—

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the most remarkable, we are inclined to think, on record. We delay not to discuss the questions which have excited so much inquiry among European scholars respecting the date of the origin of the Vaudois, a date lost in the obscurity of remote time. We have mentioned their own traditions on the subject, as attested by Arnaud, in his history of the *Glorieuse Rentrée.* We know that centuries before the Reformation they were a pure Church; that their doctrines, forms of worship, Church government, show no traces of ever having been reformed, as they show none of ever having needed reform. We know, also, that as early as the fourth century St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, testifies that the Church corruptions of Italy had not penetrated these mountains, and that about one thousand one hundred and twenty-five Catholic writers allude to them as soiled by inveterate heresy. These evidences are sufficient for our present purpose, and we can now approach our main subject.

The *Glorieuse Rentrée* originated in the persecutions which attended the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Vaudois on the French side of the Cottian Alps were, of course, included in that most impolitic and disastrous measure of Louis XIV. The king was determined to extinguish Protestantism in France. According to the historian Capefigue, (himself no friend to Protestantism,) no less than two hundred and thirty thousand Protestants fled from their country to escape the persecution; nearly one thousand six hundred of these were preachers, two thousand three hundred were elders of the Churches, fifteen thousand were "gentlemen," the others mostly merchants and artisans—the best in the kingdom. Capefigue's figures were taken from official statistical returns made at the period; the emigration continued years later. Charles Coquerel says that the Revocation "kept France under a perpetual St. Bartholomew's for about sixty years," and that more than a million of the best citizens were either driven abroad, or put to death, or sent to the galleys or to dungeons. A single province (that of Languedoc) was officially reported to have sacrificed a hundred thousand by the wheel, the gibbet, or the sword. Three years before the Revocation the Protestant pastors reported to the Government one million eight hundred Protestant households in the kingdom; in about twenty-five years after the Revocation the king declared that

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Protestantism was exterminated in France. His bigoted and ferocious policy had struck disastrously the best interests of his country, but it had laid the foundations of the manufacturing and commercial prosperity of the Low Countries, of England, and of much of Germany, and had given to the American colonies some of their best families, from New Rochelle to Savannah. The emigration comprised some twenty-one thousand Protestant soldiers and sailors, and six hundred military officers. Most of these entered foreign service, and avenged on France in many a battle the wrongs of their brethren. Thousands helped to save the Protestant throne of England by fighting in Ireland against the attempt of Louis XIV. to restore the apostate Stuarts. They conquered their old persecutors at the battle of the Boyne, and on other Irish fields. Marshal Schomberg was one of them. Their descendants in Germany, still bearing their ancestral names, were among the best heroes of the last war with France; and Jules Simon, the French statesman, had occasion to show his country that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had given at least eighty eminent officers of the German staff of the terrible invasion of 1870, by which France was trodden in the dust.

The king's assertion, that there were no more Protestants in his realm, was apparently, though not really, correct. The Protestant temples were all either demolished or given to the Catholics. Protestant pastors were hanged or broken on the wheel all over the south. None remained except in concealment, and with the certainty of death if they were discovered. Their people could worship only in caves, or in recesses of forests. Never was there a more studiedly minute or more diabolical edict issued by a government than the Act of Revocation, and its accompanying acts. They reached all classes and all interests of the Protestant population. It was death if they were found worshiping in public; it was the galleys for life if they were heard singing their hymns in their own houses. It was five hundred *livres* fine if they did not send their children to the Catholic priest for baptism. Protestant marriages were illegal, and their children illegitimate. All children more than five years old were to be taken by the magistrate from Protestant homes. Protestant midwives were forbidden to assist their Christian sisters in childbirth. Protestant physicians,

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surgeons, druggists, lawyers, notaries, school-teachers, librarians, booksellers, printers, grocers, were all suppressed—and there were hundreds of thousands of them. All Protestant schools, charitable, public, or private, were closed. Protestants could no longer be in any government employment, even as workingmen on the highways. All Bibles and Protestant books were to be publicly burned. "There were bonfires of them," says a good authority, "in every town." Protestants were not allowed to seek employment as servants, nor Protestant families to hire them, the penalty being the galleys for life. Protestant mechanics were not allowed to work without certificates that they had become Catholics. Even Protestant washerwomen were interdicted the common washing-places on the rivers. "In fact," says Samuel Smiles, our best popular authority on French Protestantism, "there was scarcely a degradation that could be invented, or an insult that could be perpetrated, that was not practiced upon these poor Huguenots who refused to be of the king's religion." Such was the persecution of the infamous Revocation. According to Coquerel's figures, it drove a million of the French out of their country, and surpressed a thousand pastors, one tenth of whom were either put to death or, worse, consigned to the horrors of the galleys.

When the king supposed his work of extermination done, he was reminded of the humble Vaudois, hid away in the ravines of the French sides of the Cottian Alps. The atrocious work could not be pronounced complete while these remained. The light might again stream down from these heretic heights upon the plains and towns of southern France. They were one in faith, and in every other respect, except political allegiance, with the Italian Vaudois of the other side of the mountains. The king, therefore, demanded the co-operation of the Duke of Savoy in the extermination of both. The duke hesitated; blood enough had flowed in these mountains, and but thirty years before, fourteen thousand of their devoted population had been massacred in vain; they appeared invincible; but he had to yield to the superior sovereign, who threatened to do the bloody work himself and to appropriate the territory as his own. Thus began the thirty-third war against these unconquerable mountaineers. The armies of both nations made si-

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multaneous invasions; terrible struggles ensued at three or four different points, but we cannot here detail them. On Easter Monday, 1686, a general attack was made. The pastor, Arnaud, became on this day first known as a hero—the hope of the persecuted people for the future, if not for the present. The Duke of Savoy led one attack; Catinat, with his French, another. Both were hurled back the first day; on the next, Catinat destroyed the little force opposed to him, and massacred men, women, and children. The commanders of the Italian troops sent messengers to the Vaudois at other points, assuring them that their brethren in the Valley of St. Martin had surrendered and received pardon; the positive promise of the duke, assuring them of their pardon, their lives, and liberties, was declared to them, and on this pledge they all laid down their arms, surrendering impregnable positions. Immediately the pledge was violated; they were loaded with irons, and fourteen thousand of them, according to Arnaud, were incarcerated in the prisons of Piedmont. "Their children," says the historian Mustan, "were carried off and dispersed through Roman Catholic districts; their wives and daughters were violated, massacred, or made captives. As for those who still remained, all whom the enemy could seize became a prey devoted to carnage, spoliation, fire, excesses which cannot be told, and outrages which it would not be possible to describe."

The great aim of the Revocation was now supposed to be accomplished. Louis XIV. declared, as we have seen, that there were no more Protestants in his realm. One of his officers in these mountains wrote that "all the valleys are now exterminated; the people all killed, hanged, or massacred." "Rome," says Smiles, "rang with *Te Deums* in praise of the final dispersion of the Vaudois." The Pope congratulated the Duke of Savoy in a special brief. Roman Catholics were settled in the valleys on the lands of the dispersed Protestants. It was now that one of their historians, a refugee in London, wrote, "The world looks upon them no otherwise than as irrecoverably lost and finally destroyed." But the Vaudois Church was inextinguishable; it was still alive in the thirteen dungeons of Piedmont. Of the fourteen thousand prisoners there, many were daily perishing by hunger, thirst, or disease, mar-

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tyrs for their apparently lost cause; eleven thousand thus perished, according to Arnaud, and the three thousand that at last came forth to wander in foreign lands looked, he says, "more like shadows than men." On reaching Protestant Switzerland they were, he adds, but "moving skeletons." The people of Geneva were affected with deepest pity for them, and as they moved along, some to Lausanne, some to Berne, to Basle, to Neufchatel, and into Germany, they were not only fed and sheltered, but many of the feebler sufferers were borne in the arms of the good citizens. Some died on the route. The scene reminded the generous Swiss of the hosts who, in the days of their fathers, had filled their highways, fleeing from the horrors of St. Bartholomew's in France, and many a devout heart sent up the appeal to heaven, "How long, O Lord! how long!" They dared not dream that these "moving skeletons" were soon to rise up like those of the "valley of vision," and bear again to their ancient mountain heights the standard of the faith, and thence march down at last with triumphant hymns to Rome itself.

Assuredly such a purpose, in such circumstances, must have been a superhuman inspiration. In the heart of the heroic Pastor Arnaud, and many others, it was strong at this very moment. The strangers were allotted settlements in several places in Switzerland and Germany, but Arnaud had whispered the bold design to some hundreds, who therefore declined remote invitations, and kept together as much as possible, to be ready for the coming hour. There was no visible hope of it, but these men had as much faith as valor. Could the cause of their Lord Christ suffer any final defeat? Why had they been sustained, fighting successfully through more than twelve hundred years against the attempted invasions of Papal corruption and trained armies? Why was almost every valley, every cave, every cliff, of their country consecrated with martyr blood? Was there no providential design in these things? Could not the Lord God of hosts raise up unknown means of salvation for them? Had not a great man, one Oliver Cromwell, the greatest sovereign who had ever ruled England, made France and Italy tremble when he threatened to interpose for them? Had he not refused to sign a treaty with France till the alarmed Mazarin consented

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to join his intervention? Had not a greater man, his secretary, one John Milton, the greatest poet of the nations, written for them, and thrilled Europe with his indignant words:

> "Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold," etc.?

And was there not a great man rising, in the Protestant North, William of Orange, the enemy of their enemy, and one who could aid them? But what if no help were apparent? Could God's "almightiness," as John Milton delighted to say, could this fail? Had he not rescued their valleys time and again? Therefore they silently, but bravely, passed the word along their new, scattered settlements: "The valleys can and shall be rescued again. We can march into them under the Captain of our salvation—and, if need be, under him alone." They found in Geneva "the old Vaudois hero, Javanel, who had done many a brave deed in the valley. He was now too aged, and too disabled by wounds, to return, but he planned their campaign, and bade them fight it out. "You will be told," he said, "that all France and Italy will be gathered against you. But were it the whole world, and only yourselves against all, fear ye the Almighty alone; he is your protection."

The secret must be sacredly kept, for the Protestant Governments which now sheltered them had delicate relations with France and Savoy which ought not to be compromised. Three faithful men were sent to spy out the land and report on the route. Arnaud went to Holland and consulted William of Orange, and obtained funds for the outfit of arms, and other provisions. Twice they started on their march, and had to abandon it and return—their own Protestant friends, the cantonal authorities, interposing and warning them back. Arnaud, though of undaunted courage, had a sagacious eye, and saw that the hour had not yet come; but he did not allow them to disperse the second time without inspiriting their hope by a sermon at Bex on the text, "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

They now waited more than a year, to allay public suspicion, before resuming the attempt. But at last, in August, 1689, they secretly assembled in a woods back of Nyon, on the northern shore of Lake Leman, and, with prayer and preaching

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from Arnaud, hastily organized. Between eight and nine hundred were there. The secret had been well kept, but the neighboring peasants were wondering at the strange gathering, and reports would immediately get to the municipal authorities. Curiosity to learn what was going on in the forest attracted some fifteen boats to the neighboring shore. Arnaud saw his opportunity. After prayer, at the head of the little army, he ordered the boats to be seized; their owners were compelled to row them across the lake to the Savoy shore. The first passage was successfully made by two o'clock on the night of August 16–17, but the boatmen, fearing for their lives on the Catholic coast, on returning for the remainder escaped up and down the lake. There could be no delay for the waiting two hundred; the transported little force, now but about seven hundred, were in the enemy's country. They were arrayed in three divisions—main column, vanguard, and rear guard—comprising nineteen companies under select captains. They had plenty of officers, but Arnaud was effectively their leader. They were near Yvoire, and they knew that the alarm would be spread by daylight through the country. They must pray and march immediately. One of their three pastors went in search of a guide, but was taken prisoner by the authorities and sent to Chambery. They immediately summoned Yvoire to surrender, threatening to burn it if it did not; it had to open its gates and give up three of its functionaries as hostages, to be marched with the Vaudois to the next town, and to be sent back only when they could be substituted by new hostages—a policy which was maintained throughout the campaign.

And now commenced this wondrous march, the *Glorieuse Rentrée*—compared with which Xenophon's "Retreat of the Ten Thousand" was an insignificant feat. The little army had no commissariat, as we have said, each man carrying his own provision of food and ammunition—they had no animals—none but chamois could go where they had to go; had no drums—even these would have been an incumbrance; their only music was that of trumpets and psalms. It reminds us of that night when the Hebrews began their march for the Holy Land, "that night of the Lord, to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations."

They moved rapidly, but in unbroken order and with un-

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shakable resolution; and their determined bearing struck with awe the hostile populations through which they advanced. They knew that they must sometimes use desperate expedients, but they hesitated before none that were necessary; they must seize their food as they passed, but they scrupulously paid for it with the money sent them from Holland. They could take no prisoners, save hostages; for how could they feed them or guard them through the Alpine passes? and they might soon be more numerous than themselves. They must dispatch them on the spot, and give no quarter in battle. Their whole route lay through the territory of the Catholic Government which had attempted their extermination; woe to any man who should challenge them! Few words, decisive acts, were all that could be possible. A desperate Puritanic rigor was their only policy, and it was grimly expressed in all their features and bearing. The Catholic populations could not mistake them, and recoiled, or obsequiously supplied their needs. Even the priests sometimes laid down their stores before them, and bade them go on "in the name of God." From town to town they took the nobles of the castles, the priests, or the leading citizens, as hostages; it was submission or death; the first alternative was always chosen, for there could not be a momentary doubt of the determined earnestness of the Vaudois. They sometimes had forty or more hostages, and had no little trouble with the *curés* and *fat friars*, who puffed and halted in their difficult mountain climbings. On the first day of the march four "gentlemen," or Savoyard knights, "on horse, well armed and followed by peasants," confronted them, demanding wherefore they advanced in this array, and proudly commanding them to lay down their arms. There was but one reply: "Down from your steeds and march with us, our hostages!" Mounting a hill, they saw two hundred armed peasants awaiting them, commanded by a Savoyard nobleman. They dispersed them at a blow, broke to pieces their arms, and took some of them as guides, "with the menace," says Arnaud, "of being hung to the first tree if they should be found unfaithful." Their commanders wrote to the municipalities beyond that the Vaudois were honest, paying for all they took, demanding only a passage. They prayed their fellow-citizens not to sound the tocsin, and not to appear in arms. Accordingly, during this

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day the people on the way met them with provisions. They halted at Viû, where they were treated with bread and wine, and then resumed their march in the moonlight. At St. Jayre the frightened magistrates had rolled out a hogshead of wine for them into the street, but "some drank not, fearing it was poisoned." They marched on till midnight, when they sent back their hostages, and, taking a brief sleep on the ground, after prayer, were early again on their way; for it was necessary to hasten; all the country was now in alarm, and the French and Italian troops were in motion to intercept them. They reach the town of Cluse, in the valley of the Arve. Mont Blanc towers sublimely above them. The town is walled, and the people hostile; the municipal authorities threaten them, and bar the gates; "but it is necessary," says Arnaud, "to traverse this town." The inhabitants are under arms and line the *fosses*, and the peasants are descending the surrounding mountains with resounding shouts. There is but a prompt word from the Vaudois; they must pass, if they have to break the walls, and go on by fire and sword. Their hostages, fearing for their own lives, write to the municipality to save them; the gates open, and the little troop marches in triumph through lines, on either side of the street, of awe-struck citizens under arms. Beyond the town bread and wine are sent to them; the Vaudois send back money in payment. The leading citizens, admiring their chivalry, or glad for their own escape, send a polite invitation to the officers to return and dine with them; but there is no time for such courtesies. They forcibly take new hostages, and march on for Salanches. They defile through a narrow valley, inaccessible mountains on one side, the Arve, swollen by rains and impassable, on the other. "Stones rolled down the steeps could," writes Arnaud, "have wiped out an army." Here they face a town, a castle, and a force of armed peasants, but the latter are content to let them pass unmolested, though they bear off the nobleman of the chateau and his priest as hostages. They have now twenty of these necessary incumbrances—the first men of the country hitherto.

As they approached Salanches they heard the tocsin ringing; they must cross a bridge to reach the town, and it was defended by armed men. They rushed forward, and the enemy fled. Once across, the Vaudois formed in order of battle, for six hun-

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dred troops were before them. Terror fell upon the town and its defenders. Four monks were sent to parley with them, and offered them passage and two hostages if they would release the forty now with them and hasten away. This was all the Vaudois wished; but when the two hostages appeared they were found to be poverty-stricken townsmen, *deux miserables*, says Arnaud. The monks, seeing him indignant, attempted to escape; he seized two of them and "enrolled them in the company of hostages," and "it is proper to say," he adds, "that they were of great advantage to us afterward, for their remonstrances, prayers, and intercessions with the enemy on our farther passage were so efficacious, we were astonished at the power of these good fathers over their co-religionists." Threatening now to burn the town, they were allowed to pass on, and encamp a league beyond, where they slept under a drenching rain, but "thanking God," says Arnaud, "that the storm probably kept the enemy from rallying" in pursuit of them. The next three days were terrible, by the weather and the steeps they had to climb. French troops awaited them in the valley of the Isère, and they must evade them, if possible. Purchasing ample provision from the peasants, they resolutely moved on, sometimes passing through villages which were deserted by their frightened inhabitants; at others, meeting armed populations which fled before them. The rain drenched them; they waded through snow "up to their knees;" they scaled Lez Pras and Haute Luce mountains, seven thousand feet above the sea; on the latter they were lost in the clouds, "by which God hid the Vaudois from the eyes of their enemies." The "good and holy exhortations of Arnaud animated," says one of his companions, "the courage of the troops under all sorts of miseries in this place, mounting and descending on steps cut in the rock, where twenty persons could have overthrown an army of twenty thousand." They ascended, or rather, says the history, "crawled up the Col Bonhomme, knee-deep in snow, the rain on their backs," and, standing at last on the heights of the Alps, beheld the valley of Isère, in which the French troops were prepared for them. Descending to it, they turned into the valley of Tignes, and thus escaped the enemy. Arriving at the base of Mont Iseran, they thanked God and rested a few hours, Arnaud having had no sleep for about a

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week. Besides all the horrors of the weather and the mountains which they passed through in these days, they encountered in some places hostile peasant forces; they heard the tocsin, "a horrible clatter," says Arnaud, "of all the steeples;" they had to break over barricaded paths guarded by armed mountaineers; they passed over fortifications which had been erected in anticipation of their former advance; they were now deserted, but they were so situated that a small force could have annihilated the little army—their failure a year before had saved them.

The next day, as they passed over Mont Iseran, word reached them that troops awaited them at the foot of Mont Cenis. "Instead of alarming us," says Arnaud, "this news inflamed our hearts, for, knowing that the strength of our arms depended absolutely on God, for whose glory we fought, we doubted not that he could open our way against all who should attempt to close it." They advanced to Besas, where an insolent mob defied them; they seized their chatelain, their priest, and six of the people, and marched on. The seventh day (Friday, 23) they ascended Mont Cenis; some of their scouts seized the baggage mules of the Cardinal Ranuzzi, the papal nuncio in France, who had passed on another route to Rome to assist at the election of a pope. The spoils were rich, but all were given back to the muleteers, except some papers which exposed the designs of the French king. The loss of these documents defeated, it is reported, the hope of the cardinal for the papacy, and he died of mortification, exclaiming, "*My papers, O my papers!*"

The little army traversed the Grande and the Petite Cenis through appalling suffering—"surpassing the imagination," says Arnaud. The snow was deep, they lost their way, were enveloped with clouds. They were overtaken by night, and not a few sank down exhausted and were left behind, but rejoined the main body the next day in the Valley of the Gaillon. Again climbing the steeps, they could see the mountain outposts of their native valleys. They were approaching the large and fortified towns. Before them stood Exilles; to their left, Susa. The struggle onward had been terrible thus far, but now came the real tug of war. Twenty-two thousand French and Italian trained troops were before them, and the seven hun-

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dred must soon encounter their outposts. But the heroic band advanced, says Arnaud, "with intrepid courage." They attempted to evade the garrison of Exilles through a lateral ravine, but the French troops and peasants fired from the steeps upon them, and rolled down rocks; the way became impassable; they lost several men, and had to retire, and attempt to turn, in another direction, the heights occupied by the enemy. They soon heard drums, and saw the garrison marching to intercept them. Descending the valley of the Doire, they saw before them, on and beyond a bridge, nearly four times their own number, twenty-five hundred troops, with all the provisions of war. What was now to be done? They must pass through this force or go back. The night was falling; could they dare to rush across the guarded bridge and plunge into this armed host in the darkness? They counseled and prayed together. Forward was the final, the only, word. They advanced in the darkness, and encountered a formidable body of French at the bridge, under the command of Colonel de Larrey. They heeded not a shout from the enemy to halt; they received a volley, and three fell; they rushed on the bridge, sweeping all before them. Arnaud's sharp eye saw on the other side the main body preparing to fire, and quickly cried out, "Down!" They bowed, and the volley passed over them. "Forward, the bridge is ours!" cried one of his captains, and the Vaudois leaped to their feet, and pressed onward under the fire of the whole French force. They threw themselves upon it, broke its line, and prostrated it every-where. The day, or rather the night, was gloriously won. The whole two thousand five hundred French were dispersed or killed, for no quarter could be given. "Is it possible," cried the commander, a French marquis, "that I have lost both the battle and my honor!" He escaped wounded, and was carried to Briançon. Seven hundred of the enemy lay dead on the earth when the moon, breaking through the night, enabled the victors to survey the field—one for every man of their own force. The latter had lost but fifteen killed and twelve wounded. Valor and impetuosity had made up for their lack of numbers. They had taken the camp of the enemy, and were thus supplied abundantly with ammunition and other provisions.

And now occurred a memorable scene. The Greeks erected

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monumental trophies on the fields of their victories; these mountaineers cared for no such commemorations; but there, under the shadow of the everlasting hills, in the moonlight, they threw up a trophy befitting the occasion—a pyramid of all the baggage and arms of the enemy beyond what they could carry, over barrels of powder, and withdrawing, after touching a match, saw the heavens illuminated and felt the earth tremble under an explosion which sent among the heights reverberation such as the Alps probably never echoed before, nor since. It was heard, says the history, even in the city of Briançon, in France. As the echoes rolled along the mountain peaks the trumpets sounded, and the victors "threw," writes Arnaud, "their hats toward heaven, and made the air resound with the shout, 'Glory be to the God of armies, who hath given us the victory over all our enemies!'"

All but six of their forty hostages escaped in the confusion of this battle. The little troop needed rest, for during three days they had marched "day and night;" but there might arrive new foes at any hour; they employed, therefore, the remainder of "this glorious night to climb, by the favor of the moon, the mountain of Sci," and penetrate to the valley of Pragelas. They would thus be in the Vaudois mountains.

They had, in one week and one day, made their way through a hostile country, through the most difficult mountain passes, through rains and snows, and through armed enemies, to the very gates of their own mountains. On the ninth day, Sunday morning, they stood far up on the heights, looking down upon Fenestrelles, and before them lay their ancient homes, their consecrated valleys, now occupied by Papists, and desecrated by more than twenty thousand French and Italian troops waiting for their coming. Arnaud ordered the force to be gathered around him, and pointed to the peaks of their beloved mountains, "exhorting them to thank God, who, after they had passed through such miraculous deliverances, permitted them once more to see their old homes." He then offered a prayer "which animated them all anew." Forthwith they marched down into the valley of Pragelas, and encamped before the church. Though it is the Sabbath, there is no mass to-day in all the valley, for the "priests, thinking only of their own safety, had taken to flight." They march on toward

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the valley of St. Martin, driving before them some of the dragoons of the enemy, and spend the night on the highest settled point of the Col du Pis. The next morning they discover, at the foot of the mountain, Italian troops, "well arrayed." They pause that Arnaud may pray, which he does "with loud voice and great devotion," and then they move in three columns on the enemy, who take to flight, leaving all their baggage to the Vaudois. The pass was thus opened to the strongest hold in all their mountains, the "famous Balsille," a natural mountain fortification, with but a single approach, with three almost inaccessible terraces, with caverns cut into its rocky sides, the old asylums of the persecuted mountaineers, now convenient barracks and magazines, and with fountains of good water. Hardly had they reached this important refuge when they perceived a company of Italian troops appearing in another part of the valley to hold the pass. The Vaudois rushed upon them, took them, and, after a council of war, "exhorting them to pray to God," slew them all—a half hundred men, lacking two. It was a grim, an atrocious policy, but the enemy had necessitated it by establishing it. All the Vaudois who had been taken prisoners had been immediately hanged; no rights of war were allowed them. If they were not disposed to retaliate, they nevertheless had no means of guarding their prisoners, and to release them was only to reinforce the enemy.

The twelfth day is entitled in the history the "Day of Consolation," for they advanced to Pralis, and, after burning a new Catholic chapel, took possession of one of their own old churches, and, divesting it of its Romish paraphernalia, worshiped there again the God of their fathers for the first time since their expulsion. They sung the Seventy-fourth Psalm, an appropriate war-song. Arnaud stood in the door-way, addressing them, within and without, from the One Hundred and Twenty-ninth Psalm: "Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, may Israel now say: many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, yet they have not prevailed against me. . . . Let them all be confounded and turned back that hate Zion." Arnaud writes, It was remarkable that this first public worship of the returned Vaudois was in the temple served by Pastor Leidet, who three years before was hanged

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for the faith in the fort of St. Michael. The whole force sang the Psalm upon which Arnaud preached, and prepared to march onward.

On the next day, August 29, after prayer, they advanced for the valley of Luzerne, and had to pass over the Col Julian. They captured on the way the Marquis de Parelle, an important officer of the enemy. All the country was now swarming with the hostile troops. They soon met their vanguard, who shouted to them, "Come on, come on, ye barbets of the devil; we have seized all the forts, and are more than thirty thousand." But the Vaudois drove them back, charged on the fortified position of their main force, and in half an hour dispersed them all, taking their camp, baggage, and ammunition, even to the "rich habits" of their commanders, and losing but one of their own heroes, whose name the historian deems worthy to be recorded, Joshua Mandan, a "valiant man," whom they buried with honors "under a rock." The victors pursued the flying foe as far as the "Passarelles de Julien," and took and slew thirty-one of them. They found, also, the horse of the commander, with his pistols yet on the saddle; the overthrow was complete. The pursuit was continued on the next day, driving them out of Bobi, where the heroes took possession of their ancient homes, expelling the Catholic intruders who had occupied them some three years. "Thus," says Smiles, their English historian, "thus, after a lapse of only fourteen days, this little band of heroes had marched from the shores of the Lake of Geneva, by difficult mountain passes, through bands of hostile troops, which they had defeated in two severe fights, and at length reached the very center of the Vaudois valleys, and entered into possession of the promised land."

Here an impressive solemnity ensued. The next day was Sunday, September 1; a pulpit was extemporized on the rocks, and one of the pastors, (Montaux,) mounting it, preached on Luke xvi, 16. Arnaud then proclaimed "with a loud voice" an oath, to which all responded, "lifting their hands to God," and swearing "before the face of the living God and at the damnation of our souls" not to succumb, "even if reduced to three or four men," but to persist in "re-establishing the reign of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, even unto death." They stood on the hill of Silaoud, and the surrounding mountains—

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the witnesses, through centuries, of the persecutions of their fathers—reverberated their chant of the Seventy-fourth Psalm, "sung to the clash of arms."

Meanwhile they knew that their worst trials were yet before them. The enemy was pressing in upon them from all sides. It would not do for them to shut themselves up yet in any stronghold; not even in the nearly impregnable Balsille, for they could be starved out. They must march and fight through all the country; either they or the multitudinous enemy must apparently be utterly overthrown before the unparalleled struggle could end. The latter was the only alternative they thought of amid the tremendous odds. The combined armies of France and Italy were not only more than twenty thousand strong, but the Catholic peasants were impressed into their service. The little force must fight back nearly thirty-five times their own number. Their only commissariat must be foragings on the herds and stores of the Catholic usurpers of their old lands. They must fight the enemy with the enemy's own ammunition, won by incessant assaults. Never did heroes confront worse odds than those now before them. The narrator may well wax dithyrambic over such a story. But how can we go on with it in our restricted limits? We have been, thus far, gleaning only salient facts from a hundred and fifty pages of Arnaud, the pastor-colonel; more than two hundred of his most thrilling pages remain; but we have followed the gallant little army into the very heart of their old mountain homes; we can only summarize the remaining and the bravest part of their campaign.

They had struggled through half a month; they were to struggle on through nearly ten months more. "The war now became," says Smiles, "one of reprisals and mutual devastations, the two parties seeking to deprive each other of shelter and the means of subsistence. Armies concentrated on the Vaudois from all points. They were pressed by the French on the north and west, by the Piedmontese on the south and east, furnished with all the munitions of war." They fight from valley to valley, from cliff to cliff, "now in one place, and perhaps the next day some twenty miles across the mountains, in another, with almost invariable success. It seems little short of miraculous." They divide their small force to carry

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on the struggle in separate valleys, sometimes without knowing each other's fate for weeks together. Their clothing has become rags; they often scale heights on their hands and feet; they are sometimes famishing by lack of provisions. They take many prisoners who have to die; but one of them they discover to be a surgeon; him they spare, providentially for him and themselves; they retain him for their own wounded, and he serves them well, for he knows that instant death would be the consequence of any unfaithfulness. At another time, while Arnaud is praying, the sentinels see the enemy moving to secure a necessary post on the mountain of Vachère; the pastor abridges his prayer, and sends a detachment, who "made such diligence and bore themselves so well that they gained the post in the face of the enemy, slaying a hundred of them without losing a man." At one time their leader, Arnaud, is separated from them and seems lost, but "after praying three times with six soldiers who remain with him, he is able to rejoin the band on the mountain of Vendalin." His fellow-pastor, Montaux, is not so fortunate; he is captured and sent to prison in Turin, where he languished till the end of the war.

A sadder trial came upon them; most of the French Vaudois gave up in despair, and retired with Turrel, their chief, down into France. Turrel had been the nominal head of the army, though Arnaud was its real leader, its Leonidas. The retreating band were nearly all captured by the enemy, and killed or sent to the galleys, where they and their leader perished. Smiles can almost apologize for them. "Flesh and blood," he says, "could not endure such toil and privations much longer. No wonder that the faint-hearted began to despair." But the Italian Vaudois knew no despair. Arnaud prayed and preached on, and their diminished numbers fought on and conquered almost from day to day.

Winter was at hand, and they must provide for it. They cut their way through the enemy toward their ancient stronghold of the Balsille. They never could have reached it again had it not been for their knowledge of the mountain passes, and their ability to climb; the enemy was waiting for them in all the surrounding valleys, but they scaled the intervening heights by night, and stood in the dawn on the Balsille, above all the hostile hosts.

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Here they immediately laid in provisions by foraging on the neighboring farms, and prepared for the winter and for their fiercēst struggle. They made stronger every point of their naturally strong position by barricades and intrenchments one above the other. The winter begins early in these mountains, and lasts long; it was now November; it is difficult for armies to operate at any time in the valleys; it was now next to impossible; but the honor of two great sovereigns was concerned in the desperate struggle; among their troops were regiments who had won distinction on historic fields; they were led by eminent officers, who were mortified by the superior valor and success of these "devil's barbets;" and, above all, the faith was dishonored. It would not do to give up, and the contest went on more or less amid the indescribable horrors of an Alpine winter. "Through six months the Vaudois beat back every force that was sent against them." Arnaud "preached twice," says the history, "every Sunday, and once every Thursday, and prayed with them every morning and evening, very seriously, all kneeling with their faces on the earth." "They had an unshakable resolution to await with firm foot the enemy, and to no more fatigue themselves in wandering from mountain to mountain, as they had done." The repeated assaults of the enemy failing, they had to retire to Maneille and Perier for a season, confounded and profoundly chagrined. They burned all the houses and barns around, to deprive the Vaudois of provisions, and cried in departing, "You shall see us again at Easter." The Vaudois, now only four hundred, by the absence of some of their brethren in a distant valley, "commenced to respire again." "They could say with reason," adds Arnaud, "that the eternal God had declared himself for them."

Meanwhile favorable overtures are made to them, but they know too well the treachery of the enemy to accept them. They send out frequent detachments for forage; they slay the enemy at his outposts and burn his outer barracks. At last, on April 30, 1690, while Arnaud is preaching, the foe is seen thronging up the valley and on all the neighboring summits. Their position was entirely surrounded. The struggle was recommenced "under the directions of General Catinat in person." "The enemy," says Arnaud, "to the number of twenty-two thousand, (ten thousand French, and twelve thousand Ital-

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ians,) sent a detachment of five hundred men, selected by Catinat to open the attack. On May 2 they reached the first bastion, which had been covered with prostrate trees. They supposed that they had only to draw away the trees and their way would be clear, but they found them made sure by heavy stones. Then commenced so grand a fire from the Vaudois that they prostrated the assailants to the earth. It was a thing surprising, the hail-storm of balls which filled the air; the younger Vaudois recharged the arms, while the older fired, insomuch that there was a continual fire, abyssing the enemy, "while a snow-storm played upon them." At last the Vaudois made a sortie, and slew the whole assaulting column except ten or twelve, who escaped without hats or arms to report their defeat to the mortified Catinat. "We must sleep in these barracks to-night," had said in the morning their commander, Colonel de Parat; he was now wounded and taken prisoner, and, after being kept some time in the Balsille, was put to death. The enemy lost a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and other officers—twenty in all. Not a single Vaudois was killed or wounded on this "bloody day," as Arnaud calls it. "The French retreated in astonishment to Macee; the Piedmontese, who had been spectators of the bravery of the Vaudois, holding their only way of escape, retired to Champ la Salse." Arnaud preached after the victory, the tears flowing from his eyes, and his flock weeping around him.

General Catinat was not willing to risk his honor by risking another defeat; he was hoping for the marshal's baton, and it evidently could never be earned here; he committed the desperate work to the Marquis de Fenguieres, who determined on thorough measures, and was saluted beforehand as "the conqueror of the barbets." By May 12 the position of the Vaudois was again surrounded; the neighboring mountains were planted with artillery completely commanding it, and threatening to batter it to fragments; all the outletting valleys were occupied. Five corps of disciplined troops bore down upon it, each man preceded by a pioneer, who bore for him a protection against the fire of the Vaudois. The day of consummate trial for the little corps had now come, and they could fully appreciate it; but they swerved not; God had been with them, would he now desert them? They could see no way of escape, but

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had it not seemed that the angels of heaven had protected them, that the very "stars had fought for them in their courses," and could they not still expect miraculous deliverance? A French writer, in contemplating their condition, says, "We know not in all history a more striking illustration of the phrase, 'Nothing is impossible to him that believeth.' Faith transformed them into heroes, and rendered them invincible." Each man knew that defeat now meant death for each. Yet no man spoke of capitulation. The Marquis de Fenguieres, having arranged all his positions for an overwhelming attack, again sent overtures to them. "What is your demand?" asked the Vaudois of the messenger. "That you surrender at once," was the reply; "if you do so, you shall be accorded passports to a foreign country, and five hundred *louis d'or* each; if you do not you must all perish." "That shall be as the Lord will," was their answer. The commander wrote to Arnaud again, offering favorable terms, but declaring that if they were declined every man taken alive should be hanged. Arnaud wrote back: "We are not under your French king; he is not master of this country; we can make no treaty with your messieurs; we are in the heritage that our fathers have possessed in all times, and we shall, by the help of the Lord God of armies, live and die here, should there remain only ten men of us. If your cannon fire, our rocks will not be frightened, and we know how to return your fire." That very night the Vaudois made a sortie, slaying a number of the enemy. The marquis ordered his guns to be pointed on Mont Guigneverte, his most formidable position, and hung out a white flag, and soon after a red one, to signify that there would be no hope after he began to fire. Finally, on May 14, the guns began to play destructively upon the Vaudois' position; it had been gallantly held for nearly seven months, but the rocky defenses were now crumbling under powerful artillery. The assailing columns attacked the Vaudois at three points, "pouring upon us," says Arnaud, "an incessant hail-storm, so thick that, after a hundred thousand shot, we had to abandon our lowest terrace." It was no longer tenable, but they ascended to a higher one, under protection of a thick mist, which saved them from the fire of a redoubt, which might have swept them to destruction. They fought on till nightfall, but it was now seen that the

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stronghold would be battered into ruins and overwhelmed; they must escape or be lost. How to escape was the question. They were encompassed by tens of thousands of troops and hostile peasants; all known passes were occupied by the enemy; if seen the next day attempting to escape, their little troop could be instantly annihilated. "The night fires of the enemy," writes Arnaud, "were blazing all around; the obstacles seemed invincible. In fine, we saw that the hand of God could alone deliver us. Committing ourselves to him, we learned very soon that he who had rescued us from so many dangers had now led us into this extremity only the better to show in what manner he could save us." One of their number was a native of this very region; he reported to them that he knew a solitary and very perilous path through which he might be able to guide them. The enemy's watch-fires enabled him to see from the Balsille that there was no other outlet for them. "It was," says the history, "along a frightful precipice." But how were they to get out of the Balsille and reach it, under the universal fire which they might expect from the enemy? "Precisely," says Arnaud, "at the moment which seemed fatal with a cruel and appalling death, a thick mist (such is common in these mountains) fell upon them," and rendered their movements invisible to the enemy. They marched silently out of the Balsille, under their mountain guide, Captain Paulat—"under the protection," continues Arnaud, "of heaven and the guidance of this brave captain." Stealthily they crept along the precipice of the ravine, "on hands and knees, taking hold of shrubs to rest at moments and take breath; those in front carefully feeling the way with feet and hands to be sure of safe footing." Paulat had to order them to take off their shoes, lest the enemy's outposts should hear them, for they had to pass close by some of these. A slight noise actually brought back the challenge of a sentinel, "Who goes there?" It was a critical moment for them; they maintained breathless silence, and the sentinel, hearing no reply, supposed he had deceived himself, and did not repeat his *qui vive.* They pressed forward, scaling a part of the Guigneverte, and drawing toward Salse—the friendly mist still covering them until ten o'clock in the morning, when they were out of danger. They had encountered an outpost of the enemy on a slope of the Guigneverte, but

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the alarmed soldiers fled in all haste to their main force; for no one knew what to make of them, all supposing the Vaudois to be hermetically sealed up and doomed in the Balsille. Unutterable was the mortification of the French when, at the rising of the mist, they approached the Balsille to take it, and found that their expected prey had all escaped. "Looking," says Smiles, "across the valley, far off, they saw the fugitives thrown into relief by the snow, amid which they marched like ants, apparently making for the mass of the central Alps." The enemy had written to the city of Pignerol that they might look there for the Vaudois as prisoners to be hanged the next day; the expectant people saw arrive instead only wagons loaded with wounded and dying.

This was the grand crisis of the *Glorieuse Rentrée*—its climax. After many fights in most of the valleys, after repeatedly hurling back the combined forces of Italy and France from the Balsille, through long months, they still stood triumphant on their mountain tops.

No man of them could now doubt that the God of armies was leading them, and would lead them, however mysteriously, to a successful issue. And yet they could discern no signs of that issue. Their country was still thronged with armed enemies. They themselves were but a handful—though apparently invincible. What next? was the anxious question. But that belonged to the responsibility of their Divine Commander. They must leave it to him; what they had to do was still to pray, march, and fight. They go on, mounting precipices by steps which they cut in the hard snow. On the summit of Mont Galmon they pause for rest, review their forces, and, sending their sick and wounded under care of a surgeon to a secret shelter, descend hastily into concealment in the woods of Serrelemi to await the night. Another thick mist providentially covering them, they resume their march, and attain a height where they expected to find water with which to boil their food, for they have fasted long; but there is none there. "Heaven," says Arnaud, "seeing our need, compassionately sent us rain." The next day, having early extinguished their fires that the enemy might not discover them, they advance to Prajet, where they conceal themselves in deserted barns for rest, but without daring to make fires; there, after prayer by Arnaud, a spy is

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sent out to see if troops are near; he finds them at Rodaret. Another fog favoring them, they hasten forward; at intervals, when it breaks, they lie extended on the earth till it thickens again, and thus make their way to Fayet by midnight, having "suffered incredible pains, creeping along dangerous precipices, and holding on to bushes to prevent falls into the abysses."

They afterward descended into the village of Rüa, where they found the enemy with all the inhabitants intrenched in the church cemetery. Arnaud led an attack upon them, slaying fifty-seven, taking their commander, the Sieur de Vignaux, and three lieutenants, prisoners, and burning down the village. The Vaudois supplied themselves here abundantly with cattle, and marched on to the mountain of Angrogone. There, with no apparent end to their perplexities and conflicts, but equally no end to their resolution, astonishing news reached them. The God in whom alone they trusted had confounded all their enemies. The two sovereigns who had combined to exterminate them, given up to "judicial blindness," had quarreled, and had declared war against each other. A strange, an incredible providence it at first seemed, even to these praying heroes, whose faith, like their valor, had hitherto seemed superior to any surprise. Now messages were sent from each hostile party, entreating their alliance and aid. They took sides with their own sovereign, badly as he had treated them. The Italian officers were soon with them, hearty in congratulations and friendship. The remainder of their fighting was side by side with their late Italian foes, against the French, and it was not long before they swept the latter out of all their mountains. Arnaud hastened down into Italy, to the camp of his sovereign, where he was received with honors. All the Vaudois prisoners, both in the mountains and below, were set free and rejoined their brethren to fight the French; "and our joy was redoubled," says the history, "when one of them brought word that, among other kind things said to them by the duke, he assured them that henceforth they might preach their faith every-where, even in his capital of Turin." "It is the work of God," exclaimed Arnaud; "to him alone be the glory!" "Eight persons out of every ten who hear these surprising and miraculous things will," he later wrote, "consider them as fables and tales of the old times."

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A remarkable historic coincidence had been taking place. William of Orange, the friend of these heroes, had ascended the throne of England, and, while they were confounding with miracles of faith and valor the troops of the royal author of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in these mountain heights, their Huguenot brethren, refugees from France, led by Marshal Schomberg, himself a refugee, were fighting for William, in Ireland, against the attempt of Louis XIV. to restore the Stuarts and Popery in England. On the very day in which Arnaud stood in the camp of his reconciled sovereign, the representative of his delivered people, the battle of the Boyne was fought, July 1, and the hopes of the Stuart dynasty extinguished forever.

On July 5 Arnaud was in the capital, Turin, and wrote to a friend in Switzerland: "His royal highness gives us complete liberty, and desires only the peace of the country. We wish, therefore, all our people immediately to return. Great miracles has God wrought for us in the last ten months. None but he alone knows, or ever can know, the struggles we have had, the horrible combats; but our enemies have failed; when they supposed we were theirs, the great God of armies has always given us the victory. We have not lost thirty men in these battles; our enemies have lost about ten thousand."

Their friends and most of the outer world had known little or nothing of their fate during much of the time, but supposed they must perish. One of them, who had kept a journal of their movements, had been captured and sent to prison in Turin. His journal was secretly conveyed to Switzerland, and excited such enthusiasm that an army of a thousand Protestants, ambitious to share in their heroic deeds, was soon moving to fight its way to them in the mountains; but it failed, and was not needed.

The victorious mountaineers had sustained at least eighteen distinct attacks. But three hundred and sixty-seven of them held the Balsille during the eight months' siege, "shut in," says Arnaud, "by ten thousand French and twelve thousand Piedmontese, living on little bread and herbs," hurling back assault after assault, and at last escaping, "when the enemy had provided executioners and mules loaded with cords in order to hang them."

But the trial was over; the *Glorieuse Rentrée* was accom-

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plished. The "Israel of the Alps" was saved. The Vaudois families returned from Switzerland, Germany, Holland. Their temples and schools were re-opened, and their mountains re-echoed again their ancient hymns. Their own sovereign, suffering at first reverses in his war below, had to fly to them for refuge, and was loyally protected in their valleys. Their Catholic country had reason to be proud of them. In 1848 a petition was signed by Cavour, Balbo, d'Azeglio, and hosts of other Italian patriots, demanding and procuring their complete enfranchisement, for they were among the best citizens and best soldiers of the country. With the emancipation and unification of Italy they commenced what seems to be their great destination and mission, the design of their unparalleled history—the evangelization of the peninsula. They have been marching down from their mountains, planting Churches and schools all over the land, from Piedmont to Sicily, from Genoa to Venice. They have chapels, Sunday-schools, week-day schools, charity schools, hospitals, a printing-house, a theological seminary, and periodicals. Palaces have been given them for their theological school and printing operations, and, in some cases, for chapels. They have districted the whole country into five sections, that of Rome and Naples comprising eleven stations. They are the most legitimate religious reformers of Italy. Their remarkable story affords a lesson to the Church in all the world and for all ages. "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches."

Art. II.—EQUATORIAL AFRICA.

Long: *Central Africa.* Harpers. 1877.
Cameron: *Across Africa.* Harpers. 1877.
Stanley: *Through the Dark Continent.* Harpers. 1878.

Among the most recent books on Central Africa are the three placed at the head of this article. The first two might be characterized as records of failure as to the objects proposed, yet both furnish agreeable reading and valuable information. Neither Long nor Cameron added much to what readers of Burton, Speke, and Livingstone already knew about Victoria and Tanganyika lakes, and Stanley superseded both with later and fuller

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information; yet the observations of both have a comparative value as confirming or differing from the pages of Livingstone, Stanley, Baker, and Linant.

C. Chaille Long is an American — Southern, Frenchized, Egyptized, *jeune et brave*, an officer in the Egyptian army, "more a soldier than a *savant*," "chief of staff to the expedition of Colonel Gordon, Governor-General of the Equatorial Provinces," "the territories surrounding the Victoria and Albert lakes," "annexed to Egypt" by Baker in 1872, after the most approved style of English and American annexation (or appropriation) of the lands of the semi-civilized or savage. In the spring of 1874 official duty called him, in company with Colonel Gordon, to Gondokoro, where, after the return of his chief, he philanthropically determined to gratify "the impatient desire of the world to know something of that mysterious region, the source of the Nile," "to connect the two lakes, Victoria and Albert, the unfinished work of Captain Speke," and to "visit and confer with that great African king, Mtésa or M'Tsé, of whom only vague accounts had been given by Speke."—P. 36. It is six hundred miles from Gondokoro to Victoria Nyanza the first two hundred and fifty of which, to the frontier outposts Fatiko and Foueira, he had military escort. This far Baker had penetrated. Beyond this Long wended his way almost alone, with one indifferent white companion, two black soldiers, and a few porters, to the capital of Uganda, on the northern shore of the now famous lake. He traveled during the rainy season, and his account of his fifty-eight days' trip is as lugubrious as the season. His itinerary runs, "rain and misery by day, and misery and rain by night;" "perpetual rain, fever, and misery;" "the route lay, day after day, through rain, bog, slime, and marshy earth, ravine, and slough, from whence the foulest odors arose, that nearly asphyxiated us." He "cannot concur in Sir S. Baker's eulogy of the Fatiko country as the 'Paradise of Central Africa.'" He has "never seen in all Africa any views of landscape that merit notice except the scenery on Lake Victoria Nyanza." "Central Africa is a deadly, pestiferous country ("a hell on earth," he says in one place) in spite of the 'trumbash' to the contrary of travelers," who "bid for sympathy for the negro"—"a popular theme"—and who "must 'keep up with the procession,' though

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it be at the sacrifice of truth." Much of the book wears this tone of bilious depreciation of Africa, of the negro, of other travelers, of the efforts of African philanthropists, of things in general, except self, of whom, on all suitable occasions, the author is, of course, modestly laudatory. To captivate our candor he titles his volume "Naked Truths of Naked People," oblivious to the fact that the civilized have no special fondness for nakedness, but prefer, like the natives of Uganda, to see full dress, and do not object to a traveler's furnishing a reasonable amount of clothing to hard realities. Nature riots in imaginings, and clothes creation with a thousand deceptive appearances in motions, parallaxes, refractions, and complementary colorings. Long himself colors or rough-sketches, clothes or leaves naked, as suits his subject or his humor.

There is a good deal of good reading in his easy, unpretending narrative, open as it is to criticism. Why he should call the Mississippi muddy and the Missouri limpid, (p. 23,) or write Ugunda when every other author has Uganda, is not evident. That he knew nothing of the beautifully ingenious structure of the languages of Central Africa, affording by a few simple sound-prefixes to words an infallible key to their meaning, would be no disparagement to him and no blemish to his book had he not unfortunately attempted, on page 119, to enlighten his readers on this subject. "The Ugunda," he says, calling the people of the country by the name of their country, "prefix M'—M'Ugunda, to designate the 'country of.'" (!)

The most cursory reader of books on Africa that have been for a dozen years before the English-speaking public knows that "U" prefixed signifies "country of;" "Wa" prefixed means "people of;" "M" prefixed, "a person of;" "Ki" prefixed, "language of." Take an example from Speke, and find a similar one in Stanley, "Through the Dark Continent," vol. ii, Appendix: "Ugogo signifies the country of Gogo; Wagogo means the people of Gogo; Mgogo is a man of Gogo; Kigogo, the language of Gogo."

The differences between Long and Stanley in putting Uganda words into English letters, or the endeavor to express African sounds by English vowels and consonants, are no greater, perhaps, than those of the inextricable jumble of orthographies given to Indian words by the first settlers of this country, or to

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Chinese words by the makers of Anglo-Chinese vocabularies. Besides the vocal differences that no written signs can express, there is, in human hearing and in human judgment of phonetic differences, something that is analogous to color-blindness, which wholly incapacitates some individuals for distinguishing sounds and rendering them into their nearest English equivalents. Comparing Long's vocabulary of "Ugunda" words with Stanley's after the above abortive attempt at philology, we should naturally incline to give Stanley's the preference.

We smile when he writes, on his arrival at the court of the sable chieftain, Rionga, "At night a dance was given in my honor," with as much complacent gravity as if he were reporting a grand ball in honor of an embassador of the Khedive at the Court of St. James; but he taxes our credulity when he would have us believe that the Emperor of Uganda struck off thirty heads, by his executioners, "to crown in blood the signal honor of the white man's visit to M'tsé!"

We are obliged to Colonel Long—breveted "colonel" by the Khedive for his valor and enterprise—for some glimpses along the Nile made familiar by other voyagers, from Khartoom to Gondokoro, and from Gondokoro to Lake Victoria, ground traversed in part by Burton, Speke, and Baker, as well as for confirmation of Schweinfurth in the West, on the Mittoo and Niam-Niam.

In June, 1874, Long made his entrance into "Ugunda," where, being the first man ever seen on horseback, he was regarded, like Cortez in Mexico, a veritable centaur. Speke and Grant visited this despot of Central Africa in 1862, twelve years earlier, and Stanley and Linant in 1875, ten months later. Here, then, we reach ground where comparison is possible. As long as a traveler describes regions and tribes which he alone has seen we have no means of testing the accuracy of his statements. Here we have descriptions of Uganda and likenesses of the "son of Suna" by different hands, bearing a general resemblance, but colored and shaded according to the taste of the individual artist, and displaying the relative powers of the limners for sketching and picturing.

February 19, 1862, Speke writes: "One march more, and we came in sight of the king's palace. It was a magnificent sight,

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a whole hill covered with gigantic huts such as I had never before seen in Africa."

June 20, 1874, Long says: "Ascending a high hill, I stood facing an elevation not five hundred yards away, the palace of M'tsé, King of Ugunda."

April 10, 1875, Stanley says: "We saw the capital, crowning the summit of a smooth rounded hill, a large cluster of tall, conical grass huts, in the center of which rose a spacious, lofty, barn-like structure. The large building was the palace, the cluster of huts the imperial capital."

Speke, the first white visitor to this capital, in the youth and regency of this usurping and bloody chieftain, was assigned to remote and uncomfortable huts outside of the royal premises, and had great difficulty in getting near the court, perhaps on account of mingled fear and jealousy of so singular a visitor. Mtesa is now better acquainted with white men. Long and Stanley, with their suites, seem to have been at once assigned to pleasant quarters within the royal inclosure. The semi-civilization of this born barbarian, his aroused ideas, his rude reachings after something better and higher, his desire to learn, his anxiety to know about every thing foreign, seem to have impressed most profoundly the few travelers who have hitherto visited him. Each has given us a pen portrait. Speke penciled him, Stanley photographed him, and wood-cuts have made us as familiar with his form and features as we are with Schweinfurth's King Munsa. Speke, at his first interview with African royalty, describes "a good-looking, well-figured, tall young man of twenty-five." Long's portrayal is, "A man of majestic mien, scarcely thirty-five years of age; more than six feet high; face nervous, but expressive of intelligence; large, restless eye, from which a gleam of fierce brutality beams out that mars an otherwise sympathetic expression; features regular; complexion a light copper tint." Stanley pictures the "foremost man of Central Africa," at first meeting, as "a tall, clean-faced, nervous-looking, thin man, probably six feet one inch high, and slender; intelligent, agreeable features; fullness of lips; general expression of amiability blended with dignity; large, lustrous, lambent eyes; color dark red-brown; of a wonderfully smooth surface; interested in the manners and customs of European courts, and enamored of the wonders of civilization;

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ambitious to imitate the ways of the white man, according to the best of his ability." Long betrays jealousy and is guilty of injustice when he says "only vague accounts" were given of Mtésa by Captain Speke. The discoverer of Victoria Nyanza, Ripon Falls, and the lacustrine sources of the Nile, spent over four months of chafing captivity with this capricious chief, and devotes over one third of a volume of five hundred and fifty pages to a minute diary of his stay in Uganda.

Long was there one month; let him tell us how: "Ill and helpless;" "so weak as to be scarcely able to walk; flesh nearly transparent; once muscular arms and legs mere skin and bone." Arrived June 21, and on the 25th "ill and suffering, and, supported by two soldiers, responded to a pressing invitation of M'tsé to go to the (straw) palace." So sick as to be unable to stand, he was invited to sit in the presence of the king, "an honor never before accorded to any mortal!" On the 29th, "fever and dysentery merged into delirium;" "till the 6th of July unable to move from my hammock." Is it any wonder that he dipped his pen in the bile of his own liver, and wrote, "The country has nothing, absolutely nothing, of that grand and magnificent spectacle depicted by the pens of some enthusiastic travelers, who would make, to willing readers, a paradise of Africa, which is, and must ever be, a grave-yard to Europeans?"

Long's great object was to get to the lake. Speke and Grant had seen it at a distance, and skirted its edges, but no white man had been permitted to survey it or to float freely on its bosom. Mtesa at last granted his request, and rounded off his permission with the butchery of seven men, "the bloody price paid that the world might know something of this mysterious region!" It is hard to believe this. Livingstone did not credit Speke's reports about the bloody brutality of Mtesa, and Long takes credit to himself for vindicating Speke at the expense of Livingstone.

Like all Asiatic and African despots from the earliest times, Mtesa held public court, daily or periodically, and the subjects of the autocrat were brought before him for judgments, accused of various crimes, as before a police judge holding his court in London or New York city. No troublesome jury intervened; there was seldom any defense attempted or allowed,

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the interval between the accusation and the sentence, and between the sentence and its execution, was brief, often only a moment. Fines and imprisonments were rare; capital punishments for what we deem venial offenses were rife, as under the Jewish or old English law. Long's hallucination, fostered by lying interpreters, was connecting all these executions of public offenders, State criminals, with himself!

There is no doubt that but little value is set upon human life in Africa; no doubt that power of life and death is regarded as one of the prerogatives of royalty by both kings and people. Mtesa told Speke he had "killed a hundred in a single day." Men, women, officers and private subjects, wives, concubines, were ordered to execution for trifling offenses. On one occasion the impatient king "took upon himself the executioner's duty, fired at a sentenced woman, and killed her outright." In Speke's time, when firearms were new to him, he "gave a loaded carbine to a page and told him to go out and shoot a man in the outer court," a wanton "affair that created hardly any interest." Long, to show how little progress Stanley had made in civilizing and christianizing this heathen monarch, quotes Linant as saying that after the departure of Stanley the brutal "Mtesa, to show the accuracy of his aim, leveled his gun deliberately at one of his female attendants and blew her brains out!"

As the outcome of a good deal of urging and petitioning, Long was at length allowed to spend a day or two on the lake. "Twelve hundred men were detailed to escort me." Was this a traveler's guess, or did he see the muster-roll of this merry regiment? In vain he tried to induce the racing blacks to row across the lake. "Weak and in an almost dying condition," he could not break away from his escort and solve the lake question alone, and so its solution was delayed for another year and reserved for another hand.

Colonel Long made some interesting observations on his way back to Foueira, and sums up "the following results, submitted [by him] to the Government of Egypt."

1. "M'tsé, King of Ugunda, had been visited, and the proud African monarch made a willing subject, [astounding statement!] and his country, rich in ivory and populous, created the southern limit of Egypt!" [Annexation with a venge-

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ance! entering a man's house as a guest, and claiming his premises as your own!]

2. "The Lake Victoria Nyanza had been partially explored; not thoroughly, owing to my helpless and almost dying condition at the time."

Nyanza explored! Much as a hospital patient would explore Cape Cod bay or the Chesapeake by paddling a day in the harbor of Boston or Baltimore!

The sum of this Americano-Egyptian traveler's observations is that "Central Africa is no paradise, but a plague-spot, and that the negro, the product of this pestilential region, is a miserable wretch, often devoid of all tradition or belief in a Deity, which enthusiastic travelers have endeavored to endow him with. This is the naked truth, in contradiction to all those clap-trap pæans which are sung of this benighted country."

From these dismal views we turn to the more hopeful Stanley. His title is shadowy—"Through the Dark Continent"—but his pages are sunshine. Few men are more sanguine, cheery, and full of abounding life, than Henry M. Stanley. The exuberance of his spirits communicates itself to his style, which is rather that of the off-hand newspaper reporter than of the thoughtful book-maker for the reading of thoughtful men. Descriptive, overflowing with good feeling, conversational, declamatory, dramatic, and poetic by turns, his is just the style for popular use, while the grand achievements to which he was providentially led would atone for any defect in the telling, and make stupidity itself eloquence. His "tale would cure deafness."

The definite settlement of the Nile sources, the open problem of twenty centuries, and the determination of the course of the Congo, known only at its mouth for the last four hundred years, are the great geographical feats of the century. They place Stanley in the first rank of explorers. A traveler needs two things—power to see, and power to make others see what he has seen; and both these Stanley possesses in a remarkable degree. Favorable circumstances and a rare combination of personal endowments have made of a New York newspaper reporter the foremost African discoverer of the age. A holiday expedition with General Napier to Magdala, the mountain

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stronghold of the fierce Theodore in 1868, his trip in search of Livingstone to Ujiji in 1871, his venturous raid with Sir Garnet Wolseley into malarial Coomassie in 1873, were Stanley's apprenticeship in African travel, customs, climate, and adventure.

It is one of the incidents of the times that an enterprise which in former times would have required the patronage of royalty and princely treasures was boldly undertaken by a couple of daily newspapers. Bennett, of the "Herald," spent twenty thousand dollars in the expedition to find Livingstone. In May, 1873, Livingstone died on the southern shore of Lake Bangweolo,* and a year later his remains were buried in Westminster Abbey. Stanley was one of the pall-bearers at the funeral, and here we have the inception of his last great enterprise. The first few sentences of "Through the Dark Continent" tell the story of the inspiration, how he caught the falling mantle of his revered predecessor and model. Livingstone was Stanley's ideal moral hero. All through his volumes one cannot help noticing how thoroughly the sturdy Scotchman had impressed himself upon the sanguine and enthusiastic young American. The half-divine man of your imagination draws to himself your love and reverence, molds your being, shapes your future, invests your spirit with his spirit, becomes one of whom you think at every new fork in the highway of life, and of whom you ask, as Stanley was ever asking of Livingstone, "What would he think of my course, and which road would he in similar circumstances have chosen?" Stanley writes: "Livingstone was dead, and the effect which this news had upon me was to fire me with a resolution to complete his work. I bought over a hundred and thirty books on Africa, and studied the subject night and day with the zeal of a living interest and the understanding of one who had already been four times on the continent."

Zeal is infectious, and the editor of the "London Daily Telegraph" caught a portion of Stanley's enthusiasm, the result of which was consultation with the "New York Herald," and the origination of an expedition with three specific objects in view: 1. To explore and map Lake Victoria Nyanza, and con-

* Long, with his accustomed accuracy in African matters, writes the name of Lake Bemba "Bageolowe."

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nect its waters with the Nile, not by hearsay and conjecture, as heretofore, but by positive information. 2. To finish the coast circuit of Lake Tanganyika, and settle the question of outlet. 3. To follow Livingstone's Lualaba, and see whether it eventuated in the Nile, in the sands of the desert, in some central lake, or in the Congo, each of which had been conjectured or foretold by easy-chair, stay-at-home geographers, whom Livingstone sarcastically calls "theoretical discoverers" and Speke "hypothetical humbugs." No expedition, except perhaps Baker's, at the expense of the creditors of the lavish Khedive, was ever more generously fitted out. For his march to Ujiji, in 1871, Stanley started with six tons of African pocket money, wire, cloth, beads, etc., loads for one hundred and sixty porters. In 1874 the total weight of goods, stores, tents, ammunition, boat and fixtures, photographic apparatus, scientific instruments, and articles too numerous to mention, was over eighteen thousand pounds, nine tons, requiring three hundred carriers. In the absence of the trained elephant, buffalo, giraffe, zebra, Africa's own hints at future burden-bearers, human porters, supplemented by a few asses, are the traveler's only dependence, his prime necessity. In the Anglo-American expedition, as it set out from the coast, were six riding asses, five dogs, thirty-six women, wives of porters or soldiers, ten boys, three Europeans, Fred. Barker, Frank and Edward Pococke, (Thames boatmen,) soldiers, and porters—in all three hundred and fifty-six souls. Stanley is his own historian. Making all due allowance for the sanguine pen of a good-natured, good-hearted, imaginative young man, bubbling over with philanthropy and thoroughly saturated with reverence for Livingstone, bound to make the best of every thing and to tell the best side of every story, the reader of Stanley cannot help feeling, in view of what he accomplishes, that he is a born organizer, a brave and skillful leader, Bonapartish in rapid decision, energy and skill, and Wellingtonian in his power and management of detail. With all the resources of modern science and invention at his disposal, he is to act the scientific explorer; to mark the course and rate of travel; the course, depth, and velocity of rivers; the geology, geography, botany, and natural history of the countries traversed: he has to be astronomer, linguist, photographer, cartographer, meteorologist, journalist,

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doctor, nurse, director of all, sympathizer with all, father of all, brains for all. Above all, he is to bear a charmed life, one of those favored ones whom Providence permits to open new doors to human knowledge, who succeed where others have failed, and who are immortal till their special mission is accomplished. Discovery is successional. Revelation is an eternal process. Not to any one man is it vouchsafed to turn more than a single leaf, to show his fellows more than a single new page. Livingstone, the prince of African explorers, spent as many years on the continent as others spent months, and died, a veteran, with his hands full of works completed, and as many problems unsolved. Neither Livingstone nor Cameron could get beyond Nyangwé. Stanley was commissioned to bear a torch "through the Dark Continent." The five small maps with which his volume opens tell the whole story of African discovery for the last two hundred years. They show how crude were our ideas of inner Africa down to the last twenty years, and how rapidly discoveries have multiplied within that period.

Starting from Bagamoyo November 17, 1874, Stanley followed the beaten track toward Ujiji till he reached Ugogo, two hundred and eighty miles from Zanzibar, and then (January 1, 1875) struck off to the north-east, in the direction of the Victoria Nyanza. Here the expedition met the first severe penalties of African travel. "The cold winds, chilly atmosphere, feverish feeling, the extortions of the natives and their insolence, all combine to render the land of Ugogo hateful and bitter to the mind."—Vol. ii, p. 517. Just two months from the date of starting they experienced their first severe reverse in the death of young Edward Pococke. A week later, in the midst of sore famine and distressing sickness, they were attacked by the natives of Ituru, and lost twenty-one men in a single day. Stanley prefaces his account of this "three days' fight" with the remark, often repeated in substance, "We were strong disciples of the doctrine of forbearance, for it seemed to me then as if Livingstone had taught it to me only the day before."

The 27th of February they entered a "wretched-looking, rude village" on the borders of the lake, where, after making his men comfortable in camp, under the control of Fred. Barker and Frank Pococke, and enlisting a crew for the "Lady

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Alice" of ten men and a steersman, Stanley boldly set out on a voyage to trace the outline of the unknown lake. Coasting along the southern shore, the first important object was the mouth of the Shimeeyu River, "the extreme southern reach of the Nile waters." The total length of this southern and second principal affluent of the Nyanza, "as laid out on the chart, is three hundred miles, which gives the course of the Nile a length of four thousand two hundred miles: making it the second longest river in the world." The whole of the month of March was consumed in coasting along the eastern and north-eastern portion of the lake, and, after a variety of adventures and a skirmish or two with hostile natives, the voyagers reached Ripon Falls and saw the northern outlet of the lake into the Nile, and shortly after entered Uganda, the empire of Mtesa, where, says Stanley, the voyager "is as safe and as free from care as though he were in the most civilized State in Europe."

Mtesa and his subjects appear to have been a genuine surprise to Stanley, and his stay and seven months' acquaintance with this "extraordinary monarch and extraordinary people" an agreeable episode, quite unexpected, and not thought of in his original programme. After months of intercourse with pure barbarians, scantily clothed or absolutely naked, armed with spears or bows and arrows only, he comes suddenly upon "six beautiful canoes," manned with rowers "dressed in white," the commander arrayed in "a bead head-dress, above which a long cock's feather waved, and a snowy white and long-haired goat-skin, while a crimson robe depending from his shoulders completed his full dress." "As we neared the beach volleys of musketry burst out from long lines of military dressed in crimson and black and snowy white, while two hundred or three hundred heavily loaded guns announced to all around that the white man had landed." "Numerous kettle and bass drums sounded a noisy welcome, and flags and banners and bannerets waved," and "thousands of people" "gave a great shout." He is naturally "very much amazed at all this ceremonious and pompous greeting."

Linant's reception, a week later, described by himself, was similar to Stanley's. "On entering the court of Mtesa's palace I am greeted with a frightful uproar, a thousand instruments,

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each one more outlandish than the other, produce most discordant and deafening sounds." "At each pillar of the grand reception-room a narrow hall, sixty feet long by fifteen feet wide, stands one of the king's guard, wearing a long red mantle, a white turban ornamented with monkey skin, white trousers, and black blouse with a red band. All are armed with guns."

Long, gotten up in "gold lace" "tunic and red pantaloon," a "howling swell," and mounted, "was greeted by shouts of enthusiasm, that were re-echoed by the distant hills now covered with human beings," and, "at the head of an immense *cortége*, preceded by banners and music and the general-in-chief of the army, proceeded to the royal palace, where he was met by Mtesa, "dressed in a long cloak, the texture of blue cloth, trimmed with gold; around his head, in graceful folds, was wound a white turban; his waist encircled by a belt in gold, richly wrought, from which is suspended a Turkish cimeter; his feet encased in sandals of Moorish pattern procured from Zanzibar." "The din and noise from horn and drum were deafening."

On his first introduction to this extraordinary monarch Stanley's enthusiasm was kindled to flame. The same evening he wrote in his diary, what subsequent intercourse seemed to him fully to confirm, "Mtesa has impressed me as being an intelligent and distinguished prince, who, if aided in time by virtuous philanthropists, will do more for Central Africa than fifty years of Gospel teaching unaided by such authority can do. I think I see in him the light that shall lighten the darkness of this benighted region; a prince well worthy the most hearty sympathies that Europe can give him. In this man I see the possible fruition of Livingstone's hopes, for with his aid the civilization of Equatorial Africa becomes possible."

In his diary on the spot, in letters written to the newspapers in 1875, and in his volumes published in 1878, since his return, Stanley pursues the one theme with sanguine zeal and expectation, the conversion to Christianity of Mtesa, who has already been converted from paganism to Mohammedanism.

Colonel Long has no faith in the convert or the missionary. He intimates that Stanley was "the dupe of the artful savage." He believes that Egypt is Africa's hope for civilization. "Egypt alone has within her domain a population fit for the

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perilous service of exploration of these countries; and it is to this element rather than to costly foreign expeditions, whose sacrifice of life and money are (is ?) greatly in disproportion to results obtained, that recourse must be had by the ruler of Egypt, by the philanthropist, and by the trader. If Providence has ordained that the regeneration of Central Africa is to be wrought by human means, it is thus, and thus only, it can be accomplished."—Pp. 314, 315. Colonel Long is not alone in the opinion that the route to conversion for the African is through Moslemism to Christianity.

Stanley disclaims being, in any sense, Mtesa's "dupe." He regards the savage chieftain as a "most fascinating and peculiarly amiable man, and should the traveler think of saving this pagan continent from the purgatory of heathendom, Mtesa must occur to him as the most promising to begin with, as his intelligence and natural faculties are of a very high order, his professions of love to white men great, and his hospitality apparently boundless."

His "conversion," like that of pagan Constantine in the fourth century, is not very deep or thorough. "A few months' talk about Christ is not enough to eradicate the evils of thirty-five years of brutal, sensuous indulgence," only "the paternal watchfulness of a sincerely pious pastor," an "earnest, patient, assiduous, zealous, self-denying missionary," can effect this work. "The grand, redeeming feature of Mtesa is his admiration for white men." Yet white men, as yet, appeal only to his self-interest and greed. They trade, like the Arabs, or give boundless presents, like Speke and Stanley. To the self-denying resident missionary only "Mtesa would bend with the docility of a submissive child, and look up with reverence and affection." "Mtesa is the most interesting man in Africa, and one well worthy of our largest sympathies; and I repeat that through him only can Central Africa be Christianized and civilized."

We must take Mr. Stanley's opinion for what it is worth. It is the opinion of those, and they are many, who believe that the heathen are to be approached with a gospel of materialistic betterment; that improvement of physical condition must precede or accompany spiritual instruction; that savage races must be taught to clothe and feed the body before attending to the wants of the soul, all of which is measurably true. To Asiat-

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ics and Africans, white Christians, particularly European and American Protestants, the leaders of the van of modern civilization, are bringing a gospel of steamers, clipper ships, railroads, telegraphs, comfortable houses, rich clothing, gold and silver watches, and infinite treasures in iron, steel, wood, glass, spinning-jennies, power-looms, and friction matches.

"How long," soliloquizes Stanley, (vol. i, pp. 222, 223,) "shall the people of these lands remain ignorant of Him who created the gorgeous sunlit world they look upon? . . . How long shall their untamed ferocity be a barrier to the Gospel, and how long shall they remain unvisited by a teacher! when shall all the land be redeemed from wildness, the industry and energy of the natives stimulated, the havoc of the slave-trade stopped, and all the countries round about permeated with the nobler ethics of a higher humanity! O for the hour when a band of philanthropic capitalists shall rescue these beautiful lands, and supply the means to enable gospel messengers to come and quench the murderous hate with which man beholds man in the beautiful lands around Lake Victoria!"

After two weeks' detention in Uganda Stanley re-embarked in the "Lady Alice" to finish the exploration of the western coast of the Victoria Lake. We cannot dwell upon his conflict with the treacherous natives of Bumbireh, the publication of which caused such howls of disapprobation when his letters from the Nyanza first appeared in the public prints, nor how he conducted his expedition to the eastern shore of the still unknown sheet of water called the Muta Nziga, and how he was here turned back, as so many luckless African travelers have been turned back, from the very threshold of discovery by the duplicity and faithlessness of the natives, which all the threats and commands of Mtesa were powerless to prevent. During his absence another of his white men, Fred. Barker, died and found a grave on the shores of the Nyanza.

Speke estimated the surface of the Victoria Nyanza at 29,000 square miles. Stanley made it, by actual survey, 21,500 square miles, half the size of Lake Superior, the greatest of all the known fresh-water lakes. Baffled at Muta Nziga, he made his way to his second objective point, Tanganyika, devoting one whole octavo volume of five hundred pages to the Victoria Nyanza and its surroundings.

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Another chieftain, remarkable in his way as Mtesa, one who held the Arab traders at bay, and inflicted on them, as well as on other African chiefs and tribes, immense damage, was Mirambo, whom Stanley met on his route to Tanganyika. He came with about twenty-five of his principal men. "I shook hands with him with fervor, [characteristic of Stanley,] which drew a smile from him as he said, 'The white man shakes hands like a strong friend.' His person quite captivated me, for he was a thorough African gentleman in appearance, very different from my conception of the terrible bandit who had struck most telling blows at native chiefs and Arabs with all the rapidity of a Frederick the Great environed by foes." "I had expected to see something of the Mtesa type, but this mild, inoffensive man presented nothing of the Napoleonic type except the eyes, which had the steady, calm gaze of the master."

Mirambo "preferred boys or young men in war. He never took middle-aged or old men, as they were sure to be troubled with wives or children, and did not fight half so well as young fellows, who listened to his words. Young men have sharper eyes, and their young limbs enable them to move with the ease of serpents and the rapidity of zebras, and a few words will give them the hearts of lions. In all my wars with the Arabs it was an army of youths that gave me victory, boys without beards. Fifteen of my young men died one day because I said I must have a certain red cloth that was thrown down as a challenge. No, no; give me youths for war in the open field, and men for the stockaded villages."

"On the 27th of May, 1876, at noon," writes Stanley, in closing the first volume of "Through the Dark Continent," "the bright waters of the Tanganyika broke upon the view, and compelled me to linger admiringly for a while, as I did on the day (November 10, 1871) when I first beheld them." There were few changes in Ujiji. "The house where Livingstone and I lived has long ago been burned down, and in its place there remain only a few embers and a hideous void. The lake extends with the same grand beauty before the eyes as we stand in the market-place. The opposite mountains have the same blue-black color, for they are everlasting. The surf is still as restless and the sun as bright; the sky retains its glorious azure and the palms all their beauty; but the grand old hero whose

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presence once filled Ujiji with such absorbing interest for me was gone!"

Stanley's discovery of Livingstone, in 1871, and safe return to Zanzibar, broke up a well-organized and well-furnished British "search expedition" starting out from the coast with the object in view which he had by stealth so successfully accomplished. Out of the wreck of that expedition, in order to use up the material collected and the means subscribed, grew another, commanded by Lieutenant Verney Lovett Cameron. Cameron left Zanzibar February 2, 1873, accompanied by Lieutenant Murphy, who turned back before reaching Ujiji, Dr. Dillon, who shot himself in delirium of an African fever within ten months after starting, and a grandson of the veteran South African missionary and father-in-law of Livingstone, Dr. Moffat, who also fell an early victim to the terrible African climate. Alone, after fearful sicknesses, after meeting the dead body of Livingstone in its route from Lake Bemba to the coast, and in the teeth of difficulties almost innumerable, Cameron reached Ujiji February 18, 1874, and circumnavigated the southern arm of Lake Tanganyika.

Burton and Speke had discovered this lake just fifteen years before: Livingstone and Stanley had tracked out portions of its coast, and two years later Stanley was again on its waters, making the "Lady Alice" do the same duty she had done on the Victoria Nyanza. We need not follow the detail of the circumnavigations. Cameron thought he had found an outlet to the lake in the Lukuga creek or river, a channel which would lead any excess of water into the Lualaba, a hundred and fifty miles distant. Cameron's conclusion is that "in the dry seasons, or when the lake is at its lowest level, very little water leaves by the Lukuga." Stanley opines that the Tanganyika is "steadily rising," and that when it has risen three feet above its present level its waters will flow out to swell the volume of Lualaba, *alias* Livingstone, or Congo. Cameron, page 191, says, "According to the accounts given me by the guides, the lake is constantly encroaching upon its shores and increasing in rise." Instead of being connected with the Nile—as was suspected before Livingstone and Stanley, in 1871, found the Rusisi river flowing into the northern end of the lake—Tanganyika promises to be one of the future lacustrine feeders of the

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Congo. Of the singularly bold and picturesque scenery of the mountainous coast of Tanganyika the reader will find effective illustrative cuts from drawings and photographs in both Stanley and Cameron. The healthful upland regions of inner Africa seem destined at no distant day to become centers of missionary operations, like those already inaugurated in Uganda.

From Tanganyika, Cameron, and two years later Stanley, followed Livingstone's route north-east to Nyangwé, on the Lualaba, "a mighty river," says Livingstone, "three thousand yards broad and always deep, current about two miles an hour to the north," "color very dark brown." (March 31, 1871.)

August 1, 1874, Cameron, "after two marches, came in sight of the mighty Lualaba . . . . a strong, sweeping current of turbid yellow water fully a mile wide, and flowing at the rate of three or four knots an hour."

October, 1876, Stanley came suddenly upon the "majestic Lualaba, about fourteen hundred yards wide, a broad river of a pale gray color, winding slowly from south and by east."

"At last," says Cameron, "I was at Nyangwé, and now the question before me was, what success would attend the attempt at tracing the river to the sea?"

Stanley, two years later, with characteristic confidence, writes: "A secret rapture filled my soul as I gazed upon the majestic stream. The great mystery that for all these centuries Nature had kept hidden away from the world of science was waiting to be solved. For two hundred miles I had followed one of the sources of the river, and now before me lay the superb river itself! My task was to follow it to the ocean!"

Cameron, like Livingstone, in the wish and endeavor to explore the Lualaba, was destined to disheartening defeat. "I tried every means to persuade the people to sell me canoes, but without avail." Unable to go north, Commander Cameron, by the aid of natives, Arabs, and Portuguese, ultimately found his way to Benguela, crossing, at Lake Dilolo, Livingstone's track *en route* (1854) for St. Paul de Loanda, being the first white man that had ever crossed Africa from east to west. Pluck, common sense, disposition and ability to make the best of circumstances, a plain, full style, scientific and cultivated tastes, and thorough gentlemanliness, characterize Cameron and his narrative. His recorded experiences and observations form a

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valuable chapter in African exploration, and his name will go down to posterity as a bold and energetic explorer.

"The greatest problem of African geography," says Stanley, "was left by Cameron exactly where Livingstone had left it. Neither could obtain canoes." "Want of canoes, and the hostility of the savages, and the reluctance and indifference of the Arabs, were the causes that prevented the exploration of the river." How was Stanley to overcome these difficulties? His first operation was to secure the escort of an Arab caravan down the river north, sixty marches for $5,000. The natives of Nyangwé will not sell canoes; he hopes to come across a tribe lower down the stream who will. If not, we will buy up axes and "make our own canoes."

He consults his only remaining white companion, Frank Pocock. Frank proposes to "toss up," and the coin six times forbids. Straws drawn as lots were all against the trip into the dark unknown. At the end of the protracted game of lots, so frequently resorted to by John Wesley, all the Stanley came out in the explosive words, "It is of no use, Frank! in spite of rupees and of straws we will face our destiny. I will follow the river!" The contract with the Arabs was completed. About one hundred and fifty people, constituting the expedition, mustered, and on the 5th of November, 1876, the momentous start was made. "The object of the desperate journey is to flash a torch of light across the western half of the dark continent. Eastward, "along the fourth parallel of south latitude, are some eight hundred and thirty geographical miles discovered, explored, and surveyed; but westward, to the Atlantic Ocean, are nine hundred and fifty-six miles which are absolutely unknown."—Vol. ii, p. 127.

On the 6th of November they "drew near to the dread, chill, black forest, and, bidding farewell to sunshine and brightness, entered it." In ten days' time the fearful struggle with innumerable obstacles so disheartened the Arab escort that they wished to annul the contract. It was modified from sixty marches to twenty. The terrors and difficulties of the forest were braved for a few days longer, when, all of a sudden, as if it had been a new revelation, the idea strikes Stanley in one of his sentimental meditative moods, "Why not build canoes and take to the water?"

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"It is our work! It is the voice of fate. The One God has written that this year the river shall be known throughout its length; we will have no more forests and hideous darkness. We will take to the river and keep to the river. To-day I shall launch my boat on that stream, and it shall never leave it until I finish my work. I swear it!"—Vol. ii, pp. 149, 150.

With Stanley to resolve was to perform, and the "Lady Alice" was taken from the shoulders of discouraged and worn-out bearers and launched in her own element, to run the gauntlet of poisoned arrows, spears, cataracts, and cannibals, and be laid up on the rocks when the expedition again took to land-journeying within hail of Atlantic civilization. The very outset of their perilous voyage was greeted with the savage war-cry, and they were at once plunged into stern conflicts with cannibals, which in most cases could be settled or terminated only by the successful issue of battle. A desperate fight with the natives, in which they had four killed and thirteen wounded, put them in possession of over twenty canoes. They parted with their Arab escort and embarked Dec. 28, 1876, and paddled toward the unknown "wide open to us. Away down, for miles and miles, the river lay stretched in all the fascination of its mystery." From the hour when the Anglo-American expedition was fairly afloat on the face of the Congo, few romances possess such thrilling interest as attaches to the narrative of their adventures. The barometer told a startling tale. They were, according to its record, sixteen hundred and fifty feet above the sea! Will the river take a mighty sweep to the northward and westward and descend into the Congo, or is it the Niger, or is it the Nile? "If the Congo, there must be many cataracts," and cataracts they found; but, before the cataracts, hordes of murderous cannibal savages! There was no end to Stanley's ingenuity, expedients, and devices. By saving the shields of the savages they converted their canoes into floating forts. The natives beat their war drums, sounded their war horns, and shouted their cannibal cry, "Meat! meat!" but the peaceful expedition answered, "Peace! peace!" sometimes with pacific effect, but oftener with no effect at all other than to embolden the barbarians by show of non-resistance and forbearance. Some of the tribes were peaceful, but most of them were hostile. Sometimes they obtained food in exchange

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for cloth, beads, or wire, and sometimes they were hungry to the borders of starvation. By the 29th of January, a little more than a month after leaving the Arabs, they had "fought twenty-four times! and had captured sixty-five door-like shields, which, in fights upon the river, the women raised, so that forty-three guns were of more avail than one hundred and fifty riflemen unprotected." "In these wild regions our mere presence excited the most furious passions of hate and murder."

February 3, 1877, Stanley writes in his Journal: "Livingstone called floating down the Lualaba a fool-hardy feat. So it has proved, and I pen these lines with half a feeling that they will never be read by any man; still, as we persist in floating down according to our destiny, I persist in writing, leaving events to an all-gracious Providence. Day and night we are stunned with the dreadful drumming which announces our arrival and presence in their nation. Either bank is equally powerful. To go from the right bank to the left is like jumping from the frying-pan into the fire. As we row down among the islands, between the savage countries on either side of us, it may well be said that we are 'running the gauntlet.'"—Vol. ii, pp. 280, 281.

February 6, "the river," which had for hundreds of miles held a northerly course, "for the first time deflected west."

February 8, they heard for the first time the welcome name "Congo."

February 14, they beat off the "Bangala," the "Ashantees of the Livingstone River." A few days before they had "discovered four ancient Portuguese muskets, at the sight of which the people of the expedition raised a glad shout." It was an intimation of the sea. Musket shots now took the place of the whizzing of arrows and spears, but the weapons were old and the gunners awkward; they were no match for Sneider rifles, elephant guns, and explosive balls.

February 18, 1877. "For three days we have been permitted, through the mercy of God, to descend this great river uninterrupted by savage clamor or ferocity."

February 19. "Regarded each other as the fated victims of protracted famine or the rage of savages."

March 15. "The people no longer resist our advance. Trade has tamed their natural ferocity, and they no longer re-

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sent our approach like beasts of prey." Henceforth, falls and cataracts; canoes over falls and down plunging cataracts; canoes hauled over land around falls and cataracts; through forests and over mountains; Kalulu, the boy taken by Stanley to England, precipitated over a dangerous fall in a canoe and lost; and, worst of all, Frank Pococke, the young Englishman, fellow traveler over three fourths of a continent, drowned June 8, 1877, in the fool-hardy attempt to shoot a fall! All these fatalities Stanley chronicles with a dramatic pen. Abating something for exuberance of fancy and expression, his versatility as a describer is equal to his versatility as a leader or commander. The last pages of "Through the Dark Continent" read like the concluding act of a tragedy. It is impossible to read them without tears. "Fatal June, 1877," writes Stanley:

"The full story of the sufferings I have undergone cannot be written, but is locked up in a bosom that feels the misery into which I am plunged neck-deep. O, Frank! Frank! you are happy, my friend. Nothing can now harrow your mind or fatigue your body. You are at rest for ever and ever. Would that I were also!"

July 28. "The freshness and ardor of feeling with which I had set out from the Indian Ocean had by this time worn quite away. Fevers had sapped the frame, overmuch trouble had sapped the spirit, hunger had debilitated the body, anxiety preyed upon the mind. My people were groaning aloud; their sunken eyes and unfleshed bodies were a living reproach to me; their vigor was gone, though their fidelity was unquestionable; their knees were bent with weakness, and their backs were no longer rigid with the vigor of youth, life, strength, and devotion. Hollow-eyed, gaunt, sallow, unspeakably miserable in aspect, we yielded to imperious nature, and had but one thought only—to trudge on for one look more at the blue ocean."—Vol. ii, p. 435.

July 31. "We received the good news that Embomma was only five days' journey from us." "As the object of the journey had now been attained, and the great river of Livingstone had been connected with the Congo of Tuckey, (1816,) I saw no reason to follow it further, or to expend the little remaining vitality we possessed in toiling through the last four cataracts." "At sunset we lifted our brave boat, the 'Lady Alice,' and

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carried her to the summit of some rocks five hundred yards north of the fall. After circumnavigating Victoria and Tanganyika lakes, and floating down the Congo fourteen hundred miles, and after a journey of seven thousand miles over broad Africa and its waters, she was consigned to her resting-place above the Isangila Cataract, to bleach and rot to dust."

August 4 every thing useless was abandoned, and they began their last overland journey, "a wayworn, suffering, feeble column, nearly forty men sick with dysentery, ulcers, scurvy—the victims of the latter disease steadily increasing." "Only three days off from food!" "Next day, when morning was graying, we lifted our weakened limbs for another march. Up and down the desolate, sad land wound the poor hungry caravan; in melancholy and silent procession, voiceless as sphinxes, we felt our way down into a deep gully, and crawled up again and camped. It was night before all had arrived." They could go no farther, apparently. In this extremity Stanley resolved to send a letter to the coast, and three of his men volunteered to carry it. In two days an answer came from the residents of Boma, and with the answer, food for the starving expedition. They were saved, and the solution of the problem of the centuries was revealed to the civilized world.

Stanley and Cameron had each a similar experience as they approached the Atlantic coast. Stanley converts it into drama; Cameron tells the tale of suffering and deliverance in his usual matter-of-fact way.

"The marching powers of my men had gone from bad to worse, and I saw that some decisive step must be taken or the caravan would never reach the coast, now only one hundred and twenty-six geographical miles distant. Upward of twenty men complained of being unable to walk far or to carry any thing, swelled legs, stiff necks, aching backs, and empty stomachs being the universal cry." He resolved to throw away every thing, tent, boat, bed, every thing but books and instruments, and, with a few picked men, make his way to the coast, and send back relief for the remainder. After a few days of forced marches the forlorn hope came in sight of the sea, and, when utterly exhausted and worn out, he dispatched a note to Katombéle, and received as hearty a welcome from the residents as Stanley received from the merchants at Boma. Cameron,

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nearly dead of scurvy, sent his men in a schooner to Zanzibar by way of Good Hope, and himself took passage for England.

Stanley accompanied his expedition, or the relics of it, back to Zanzibar, every-where lionized, at Embomma, at St. Paul de Loanda, at Cape Town, at Zanzibar, in England, and in America. It is with just pride that he records, in the Preface to his volumes, the honors showered upon him by every learned Geographical Society in Europe, and that his achievement was crowned by a unanimous vote of thanks by both Houses of the Congress of the United States, an "honor more precious than all the rest." Of the expedition one hundred and fourteen died; eighty-nine were returned to Zanzibar; fourteen were drowned; fifty-eight died in battle. Small-pox and dysentery were the two most destructive disorders.

On the 17th of November, 1874, the expedition took the "first bold step for the interior; on the 26th November, 1877, the relics of it went ashore at Zanzibar." How did Stanley part with his black followers? "Sweet and sad moments those of parting." "Through what strange vicissitudes of life had these men not followed me!" "What noble fidelity these untutored souls had exhibited! The chiefs were those who had followed me to Ujiji in 1871." "For years to come there will be told in many homes in Zanzibar the great story of our journey, and the actors in it will be heroes with their kin. For me, too, they are heroes, those poor ignorant children of Africa, for, from the first deadly struggle in savage Ituru to the last staggering march into Boma, they rallied to my voice like veterans, and in the hour of need they never failed me." Stanley has unbounded faith in the future of the black man. He is (at this writing) again in Africa. What is his errand? He has told no one. Something he will doubtless accomplish, and African soil may yet become the resting-place of the mortal remains of the indefatigable traveler.

Present appearances afford just ground for hope that the nineteenth century will not close without adding to its numberless triumphs in science, art, discovery, wealth, and civilization, the thorough exploration of the entire continent of Africa, said by Malte-Brun to be the "last portion of the civilized world which awaits at the hands of Europeans the salutary yoke of legislation and culture." Savage Central Africa is being

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brought to the knowledge of geographers, bit by bit, with a rapidity paralleled in our own West, so rapidly that we need not be ashamed of ignorance of the latest phase of African discovery if an intelligent Bostonian could innocently ask "in what State Montana is situated!" Let the remaining twenty years of the century be as fruitful in discovery as the last twenty, and but few of the squares made on the map by intersecting meridians and parallels will longer tantalize by their blank whiteness; lake coasts, mountains, and rivers will not longer be laid down from unreliable native and Arab information, the dotted lines of doubt will be replaced by the firm tracings of actual survey or personal inspection.

Railroads and telegraphs will intersect the lands. Slavery will be blotted out. Munsas, Mtesas, Mirambos, and Riongas will be civilized by the united influences of commerce and Christianity. The three great enemies to the progress of Christianity in Africa are slavery, rum, and gunpowder. Mohammedanism, with its slavery and polygamy, is but a slight advance on pure heathenism. To the Christian Africa is one of the most interesting portions of the globe to-day. Some of its tribes are quite advanced in civilization and the arts, and some are fearfully low and degraded. Arab slavers have cursed one side of the continent, and Portuguese the other; but slavery is coming to an end. Probably but few more costly exploring expeditions will be fitted or needed to settle the few geographical questions that still remain unsettled. Merchants and missionaries will gradually extend the area of geographical knowledge, and colonies may yet be projected on the borders of interior lakes and rivers, and the African, in the providence of God and the order of events, will yet emerge from childhood, and develop all the powers and capacities of the fully civilized man.

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Art. III.—THE BASLE SESSION OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

Siebente Hauptversammlung der Evangelischen Allianz, gehalten in Basel vom 31 August bis 7 September, 1879. Berichte und Reden herausgegeben in Auftrag des Comité der Allianz, durch Christoph Johannes Riggenbach, D.D., 2 Bände, Seiten 1054. Basel, 1879.

The small is always bringing to pass the great. Christianity, with its measureless productive power, seems to delight in its easy potency to measure the long distance between the little mustard seed and the great sheltering tree. One day in May, 1839, while the New York anniversaries were in progress, a few persons met in a room of the American Tract Society, and formed themselves into a group for the purpose of promoting brotherly union among all evangelical Christians. Having taken an organic shape, the society purchased several hundred copies of a thin volume with the title, "Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches," which were distributed gratuitously among leading ministers and laymen in the various Churches of the country. The association was short-lived. It lacked cohesive power, and its plan seemed at least visionary. But it was the first effort of which there is any record, in any country, of an attempt to group the Protestant Churches into a sisterhood, with the avowed object of accomplishing work and realizing results desirable alike by all. Good thoughts never die, and this one crossed the Atlantic, and took shape almost simultaneously in England, Germany, and France. Even the failure of the first attempt in New York did not discourage further effort at organization, for, in 1845, the late Rev. Dr. S. S. Schmucker prepared an address on Christian Union, and, having obtained the assent and promise of co-operation of about fifty ministers and laymen, placed their names to his address, which he termed an "Overture for Christian Union," and called a meeting during the anniversary week of 1846.

Meanwhile a society had been formed in London, in the Wesleyan Centenary Hall, in February, 1845, and in June following held its first public meeting. Arrangements were there made for the first general meeting, to be convened in London in August, 1846. Invitations were extended to the American Churches to co-operate, and these were promptly accepted.

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The conference called by Dr. Schmucker in New York did not take place, but was dropped by common consent, as not now necessary. When the London meeting occurred, it was found that the leading European Churches were represented, that there were delegates from the United States, and that the popular interest far surpassed all expectations. It was at this gathering that a confederation was formed, bearing the name of the Evangelical Alliance. From that time to the present its object has been definite and unchanged, and the work it has accomplished has entered into the positive gains for our common Protestantism.

The doctrinal basis of the Evangelical Alliance was laid down at the first general session of the Alliance in London, and was afterward approved by all the European branches, and by the American branch in January, 1867. It is as follows: 1. The divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the holy Scriptures. 2. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of holy Scripture. 3. The unity of the Godhead, or the trinity of the persons therein. 4. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall. 5. The incarnation of the Son of God, his work of atonement for the sins of mankind, and his mediatorial intercession and reign. 6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone. 7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner. 8. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked. 9. The divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

There have been thus far eight general sessions of the Alliance: London, August, 1846; Paris, August, 1855; Berlin, September, 1857; Geneva, September, 1861; Amsterdam, August, 1867; New York, October, 1873; and Basle, September, 1879.

The Basle session was different in many respects from all its predecessors. There was a degree of confidence and hopefulness as to the work to be done, and the part to be taken by the Alliance in the great future of Protestantism, which could hardly be expected of the body in its earlier period. As might

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be expected, the Basle session was far more cosmopolitan than the one in New York, which, by general consent, had exceeded all others in popular enthusiasm. But there was comparatively a small representation of Europeans in New York, owing chiefly to the hesitation of the continental theologians to cross the Atlantic. At Basle there was not this defect. No Protestant field in Europe was without its strong delegation. The very place itself served to add to the interest of the occasion. The rich historical associations impressed the stranger at once. The quaint buildings, the narrow, winding streets, and the antique character of the older part of the city, contrasting strangely with the rapid flow of the ever-youthful Rhine, seemed to suggest that ancient Basle (Basileia) had yet its queenly work to do for the great present and the greater future. It was not forgotten that away back in the mediæval period a Council had been held there for the reform of abuses in the Roman Catholic Church, and that it had spoken the strongest words ever uttered by a papal body in favor of purity of life and doctrine.*

The Roman Catholics, as a body, have endeavored to give a spurious character to the Basle Council, and it actually adjourned without a positively beneficial bearing on the body which had convened it. But it performed one permanent service to Switzerland and to Europe. It filled the air with a hunger for greater purity. Moreover, it inaugurated measures for the founding of a university which was in full progress when the Reformation began, which passed promptly over to the Protestants, became one of the disseminating forces of Protestant learning for all Europe, and for three centuries and a half has been the leading evangelical university south of Germany.

*The Basle Council passed decrees for freedom of election in Churches, against expectancies, usurpations of patronage, reservations, annats, and other exactions by which Rome drained the wealth of the Church; against frivolous appeals, the abuse of interdicts, the concubinage of the clergy, and the burlesque festivals and other indecencies of the Church service. It laid down rules for the behavior of the Popes. The Pope was to make his profession with some additions to the form prescribed at Constance, and at every celebration of his anniversary it was to be read over to him by a cardinal at the service of the mass. The number of cardinals was limited to twenty-four, and they were to be taken from all Christian countries, and to be chosen with the consent of the existing cardinals. All nephews of the reigning Pope were to be excluded from the college. Comp. Robertson, "History of the Christian Church," vol. iv, p. 423.

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At the Alliance there was hardly a delegate from any country to whom the city did not suggest very precious memories. The Spaniard could not forget that, in that same Basle, Francis Enzinas, a born Spaniard, had lived a length of time, and had translated and published his Spanish New Testament, which was sent to Spain, distributed throughout the country, and did invaluable service in propagating Protestantism. The representatives from New Italy were reminded that they were treading the streets of a city which, three centuries before, had been a hospitable place of refuge for exiled Reformers from the plains of Lombardy, and even the banks of the Tiber. The German knew he was in the adopted home of his own Œcolampadius, who had preached Protestantism fearlessly to Swiss hearers, and had brought it to pass in the very church where the Alliance was holding its sessions. The Dutchman thought of his own great Erasmus, who had studied long in the cathedral cloisters, and had prepared in Basle his version of the Greek Testament, which became the textual foundation of the Reformation in every European land. The Frenchman could hardly forget that, three hundred years previously, that same city had welcomed a band of foot-sore Huguenots, who were fleeing for life from the far-off banks of the Moselle; and the President of the Alliance during its session in Basle, Mr. Carl Sarasin, was a direct descendant of one of those way-worn Protestant fugitives. The Englishman could call up many bonds of union between his country and Basle, and especially the fact that when Mary came to the throne this Swiss city welcomed and entertained a large colony of English refugee Protestants, and that such Englishmen as John Hooper, Thomas Lever, John Burcher, Lawrence Humphrey, and John Fox, author of the "Book of Martyrs," made Basle their second home.

Basle, too, was a reminder of one of the universal laws of religious history, that welcome to a fugitive for conscience' sake proves a blessing to him who extends it. When this Swiss city gave a home to the exiled Huguenots, the question was, What could they do toward their own support? They were silk weavers at their old home, and might be in this new one. So they began in a humble way, just to get bread, the weaving of silk ribbons, which, in time, developed into a vast

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industry, and for many years has been the chief source of financial prosperity to the whole city and suburbs of Basle. When Hanau, in the Valley of the Main, one day entertained the tired and hungry Dutch Protestant fugitives from the cruelty of the heartless Spanish Alva, it little dreamed that these men had the rare skill of working in gold and silver, and much less could it prophesy that down to the last of the nineteenth century this industry would be the chief employment of the working people of Hanau, and that the gold and silver ware from this place would find its way along the arteries of commerce throughout the world. Even England is not without this lesson. The Dutch led the trade of Europe in the manufacture of cutlery, and when a number fled for safety to England they went as far north as Sheffield, and established the manufacture of cutlery there. From that time the Sheffield cutlery has taken the lead in all lands, while in Sheffield itself one can still see on the sign boards, over the places of business, (the Wostenholms, for example,) the traces of the welcome to the Dutch cutlers in the sixteenth century.

The proceedings of the Alliance were introduced on Sunday evening, August 31, by a reception of members and fraternal salutations, in the great Hall of the Vereinshaus, which corresponds to our Young Men's Christian Association Building. The addresses were in different languages, Pastor Ecklin, of Basle, opening the cordial salutations in the German; Pastor Viguet, of Lausanne, in French; and Rev. Dr. Schaff in English. On Monday, September 1, however, the formal session began, with Councilor Carl Sarasin as President. The day was devoted to representations of the religious condition of the various countries of Christendom. Switzerland was described by Dr. Güder, of Berne. This little country has 2,500,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,500,000 are Protestants. There are twenty-two independent districts or cantons. Seven of these are Roman Catholic, twelve are divided between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, and three are exclusively Protestant. Each canton has its separate constitutional and cantonal government, and none can interfere with its neighbor. Three languages are spoken, according to the geographical position—the Italian, German, and French. In the Engadine Valley there is still a fourth, the Romance language, which is the nearest

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living remnant of the old Latin tongue, and which has several local newspapers, and a limited, curious, and overlooked literature. The pastors in Protestant Switzerland are chosen by the congregations for a period of four to six years, after which they can be retained or dismissed by a similar vote. Within the last twenty-five years an important change for the worse has taken place in Swiss theology. Until about 1850 the tone was evangelical, and in harmony with the opinions of such men as Nitzsch, Tholuck, Dorner, Julius Müller, Hagenbach, Hundeshagen, Schneckenburger, and Vinet. But shortly afterward the shadows came. Rationalistic preachers and laymen gained the upper hand in nominations for vacant professorships and pastorates, and separate theological groups began to organize themselves. These are three in number, and have continued down to the present time. The *Reformers* deny the authority of the Scriptures, reject the supernatural, and regard the Church as chiefly a good moral agency for the conservation of society. Their organ in German Switzerland is the "Zeitstimmen," (Voices of the Times,) edited by H. Lang, in Zurich, and in French Switzerland the "Alliance Libérale," (Liberal Alliance,) published in Geneva. The *Mediatories* seek a harmony between science and revelation, and, while making too important concessions to the prevailing skepticism, endeavor to secure a popular support for evangelical sentiment. Their organ is the "Volksblatt für die Reformirte Schweiz," (Popular Journal for Reformed Switzerland.) The *Evangelicals* adhere to the old Helvetic Confession, allow no laxity in the interpretation of the Scriptures, believe in a divine call to the ministry, and claim a supernatural origin for the Church. Their organ for German Switzerland is the "Kirchenfreund," (Church Friend,) and for French Switzerland the "Semaine Religieuse," (Religious Week.)

The Reformers have both extremes of society on their side. The politicians are with them, and the legislature is in their interest. The illiterate are likewise skeptical. Among the common people are frequently heard such expressions as: "My heaven is six feet below the ground," "I give my money for schnapps instead of for the Bible," and "I do not keep my Sunday in church, but in bed, in the forest, and in the beer-shop." The churches are scantily attended. The highest rate in the attend-

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ance at church is one in every ten of the population. The communion service is sadly neglected. The sentimental socialism of the Russian type is in great force still. For example: In 1876 there were 1,102 cases of divorce; in 1877 there were 1,036. By comparison, it is found out that there are five per cent. more divorces than in any other country in Europe.

This is a sad picture of religious life in Switzerland. One would suppose that an evangelical Christian would be glad to welcome to the vales and mountains of the land of Calvin and Zwingli and Farel an earnest worker from any part of the Christian world. Yet not so with even the evangelicals, of whom Dr. Güder reckons himself one. He pays a very unwilling compliment to the energy and success of our Methodist preachers in that country when he says: "The Methodists, with that disturbing vulgarity peculiar to them, have in twenty years gained a very respectable footing in the midst of the State Churches. In every large city they have a very handsome chapel, and in the rural regions they have very neat places of prayer and hired places of worship." With such a testimony to the results of our labors in two decades we can afford to pass by the charge of vulgarity.

Germany was described by Dr. Cremer. His picture was not encouraging. Skepticism reigns supreme in many classes, and only in certain directions are there traces of the coming light. The thinking of the masses is unchristian, while the Roman Catholic Church is actually making inroads on German Protestantism. The skeptics welcome the Roman Catholics, as calculated to aid them in the general disintegration. Socialism is of incalculable injury to evangelical Christianity. Still, there are hopeful indications. There is greater unity than heretofore among Protestants. In the universities there is a more decidedly evangelical sentiment than in former years. France was represented by Pastor Babut, of Nimes. In the republic there are 650,000 Protestants. They have had to contend with great opposition on every side, but have made decided progress during the present century. In 1806 there were only 171 Protestant pastors, and the Protestant Church had no schools or religious or charitable associations. To-day it has 850 pastors, and, if Alsace and Lorraine were still French, would have 1,100. There are 1,250 Protestant schools and 30 religious journals.

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M. Lelievre, the Wesleyan editor of *L'Evangeliste*, reported on the evangelistic movement now in progress in France. He groups the Protestants into six classes, as follows: The Reformed Church, with its membership of 560,000; Church of the Augsburg Confession, (Lutheran,) with its 80,000 members; the English Free Church, with 43 church edifices and 5,000 members; the Wesleyan Methodist Church, with its 28 pastors, 18 evangelists, its theological seminary, at Lausanne, and 175 preaching places; the Baptist Church; and the English Society of France. His account of the evangelistic work of Mr. and Mrs. M'All reads like a romance. A few days after the disasters of the Commune in Paris, in 1871, these two English people went about Paris, and witnessed the wretchedness of the common people, and especially the religious destitution of the ouvriers, or working people. They held a little meeting, and during its progress a voice spoke out in broken English: "Sir, I have something to say to you. Every-where in this quarter there are thousands and thousands of workmen. We wish no more Romanists. We cannot accept a commanded religion. But if any one will come to us and tell us of another religion, a religion of liberty and equality, many among us are ready to hear." This Macedonian cry struck deeply. Mr. and Mrs. M'All returned to England, expecting to remain, but could not do so. God called them back again to Paris. They began to organize meetings among the ouvriers. At the first meeting there were 45 people; at the second 100, and at every additional meeting the number increased. During the year 1878 not less than 85,000 people attended the services. At the Sunday-schools there are 13,000 teachers and 42,000 scholars. Already the work has spread beyond Paris, into the remote parts of the country. The movement is under the protection of the government, inasmuch as there is no disposition to found a Church, but only to promote morality among the laboring classes, "moraliser les ouvriers," as it is mildly called by the government and the police.*

The religious state of Great Britain was described by Rev. E. V. Bligh. Ritualism, according to him, is only skin-deep. In all parts of the country there are hopeful indica-

* For a minute account of M'All's great religious work in Paris and elsewhere in France, see Bonar, "White Fields of France." New York: 1879.

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tions. Even in Ireland there are signs of returning spiritual life. All over England efforts are made for the evangelization of the masses. Street-preaching is frequent in all the larger towns. The labors of Moody and Sankey produced permanent effects. In Glasgow alone there are to-day 7,000 members of Churches as fruits of their meetings. The home mission in London is of great scope and success. The Sunday-schools are constantly increasing in numbers and spiritual influence. The Sabbath is observed as a sacred day, and there is no disposition to compromise it. In Holland, according to Dr. Van Oosterzee, Rome is making rapid progress, and is lavishing her gold in every part of the Netherlands. Even the architecture is taking on the Roman Catholic type every-where. The priesthood are making their threats that Dutch Protestantism is at last dying out. Close beside Romanism, as a bitter foe of Protestant faith, stands the cold spirit of Rationalism. Its advocates call themselves the *Moderns*. Many of them have a moral seriousness, but reject the supernatural basis of Christianity, and are terribly afflicted with the fear of doctrines. Large groups of them are discussing the question whether Jesus or Buddha is deserving of the higher veneration. The *Middle Party* consists of the modified continuation of the Gröningen theology. They stand on supernatural soil, but are distrusted by the evangelical theologians because of their warm sympathy with the Moderns. The *Orthodox School* is too extreme, and goes over into narrow literalism. It stands upon the decrees of Dort, adheres to Calvinistic predestination, and "Christ for the elect." A mechanical and literal inspection is its shibboleth. Dutch theology, as a whole, is not encouraging. The Church is on the defensive, and so great is the scarcity of clerical candidates that one half of the pulpits are without pastors. Christian life here presents some hopeful indication.

The Rev. Dr. Schaff, of New York, presented an account of Christianity in the United States. His remarks needed to be compressed into a half hour, but in published form they make a rich pamphlet of sixty-seven octavo pages.* America is a continuation of the better Europe. The nationalities of the Old World have commingled in the New, and thrown off many

* "Christianity in the United States." Document XIV of "The Evangelical Alliance." New York, n. d.

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of the worse features of European life. The American Republic has solved the problem of a free Church in a free State. It has had a Christian coloring from the beginning. Marriage is a civil contract. Sunday is regarded as both a civil and religious institution. The public schools are a part of our civilization, and will never be given up. The denominationalism of the United States is a normal type of ecclesiastical life, best suited to our civil polity, and only possible to American conditions. The Protestant evangelical denominations rank as follows, in the order of numerical strength: Methodist Episcopal family, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Protestant Episcopal and Reformed Episcopal, Lutheran, Friends, Irvingites. Then comes the Roman Catholic Church, and, after it, the Heterodox communions—Unitarians, Universalists, Christians, Swedenborgians, and Mormons. Our theological schools are constantly gaining in strength, and especially in the power of original production. No important theological movement abroad fails to receive just attention here. The American Sunday-school has undergone a marvelous development. The American Churches of America spend more men and money for the conversion of the heathen than those of any other country except England. Our religious press is of great power, and is worthy of the influence it wields. The temperance reform belongs to the more remarkable phenomena of our late Church life, and is destined to continue its successful operation. The work of caring for the Freedmen, the Indians, and Chinese is carried on with sacrifice and energy. The Church of the United States has great burdens resting upon it, but shows no lack of spirit to bear them well.

The account of the religious state of Scandinavia was given by Dr. Von Scheele, of the University of Upsala. The chief Church government consists of sixty members, half lay and half clerical. Its sessions are irregular. It has convened but three times since 1865. Professor O. F. Myrberg, of the University of Upsala, represents the skeptical movement now going on in Sweden. He rejects the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, and selects what he pleases from the Bible as worthy of credit. He goes on in his work as professor, and neither Church nor State interferes with him. For a time Walderström was a warm evangelical leader, but he has recently veered round, and

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now denies the atonement. The missionary spirit is on the increase, especially in behalf of the Lapps. A new Swedish translation of the Bible is at present in progress, under the direction of Professor C. A. Toren. The attendance at the universities is increasing. In Upsala, for example, there are 1,400 students, of whom 400 study theology. In Norway there is some progress in Christian life, though the skeptical preachers are doing all in their power to sow the seeds of doubt. There are the same general classes of unbelief as in Sweden. Singularly enough, there has been a resolution adopted for the employment of lay preaching throughout the country. This is a great innovation upon the old conservatism of the country. In Denmark there is considerable religious activity, and no little stir in the theological world. Martensen, Nielsen, Madsen, are the leading theologians.

Why do these representatives from Scandinavia—and we might say the same of those of Germany—not make a clean breast of the religious life in their countries? Why do they not also say that their decrepit State Churches are in a desperate condition, and that the chief signs of real religious life are from the "hated sects" that have come in from abroad? Take away the Baptists and the Methodists from Sweden, and there is but little left from Hammerfest all the way down to Malmö that inspires hope for the future. Even the wiser minds are beginning to see this. Polenz, the author of that remarkable work on French Protestantism "Der Calvinismus in Frankreich," wrote a pamphlet, which we have in our possession, in which he attempts to show that the only ground for expecting a more earnest religious life in the Fatherland, is that the sects which have come from America and Great Britain may be able to infuse their own fervor into the lame and halting Churches that are devoid of congregations and all popular confidence, and which would be without pastors if the State treasury did not furnish them with a salary. This silence at Basle, by the continental participants, as to the sublime part now taken in Germany by representatives of the Wesleyans in Great Britain, and the Baptist and Methodist Episcopal Churches of the United States, is highly significant. It means that the State Church theologians are not yet ready to acknowledge the service of these voluntary and successful workers for the Master.

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By and by they will see that they are not Greeks, making a present of a fatal horse, but messengers of the word of life to their brethren in the bonds of religious indifference and skeptical darkness. The present generation is too near to take in the full measure of such far-sighted work as the American effort to aid Germany in reaching up to the light once more. But the time will come when justice will be done. There is an equipoise of justice, a calmer judgment on the great historic forces, which only the marching years can give. No man can measure the vastness of St. Peter's by sauntering over the great aisles, or standing on the piazza in front; but let him go to the Pincian Hill, or, still better, ten miles off, to the Rubra Saxa, where Constantine saw his vision of the cross, and then he will see the majesty and vastness of Michel Angelo's wonderful creation in mid-air.

The state of Italy was described by Professor Comba. Protestants from many lands have concentrated there, and especially in Rome. Since 1820 there has been a forward movement, Italy striving to revive herself. The States of the Church have passed from the map of the world for the first time and the last in a thousand years, and the Bible is printed and circulated in Rome itself. Seven Protestant denominations are represented in the city of Seven Hills, and their motto is, "Here we are, and here we shall stay,"—*Siamo a Roma, e ci resteremo.* The Waldenses, who stand to-day in the front line of heroes, with the scars of thirty persecutions on them, number in all Italy 56 churches, 32 mission stations, 15,000 communicants, a theological school, 55 pastors, 50 teachers, and 4,400 scholars in the Sunday-schools. The Free Church, founded in the volcanic year 1848, has 8 congregations and 30 stations. The Free Italian Church, beginning in 1865, has 10 pastors, 1 theological school, 606 scholars in Sunday-schools, and 1,649 communicants. The Wesleyan Methodist Church, formed in 1861, has 22 pastors, 6 helpers, 6 evangelists, 1,276 communicants, and 704 Sunday scholars. The Baptist Church, established in 1855, has 9 pastors, 155 members, and 5 Sunday-schools. The Methodist Episcopal Church began in 1873, and now numbers 6 pastors, 9 evangelists, 1 colporteur, 5 Bible readers, and 437 communicants. In Rome itself there are 53 Protestant schools of the various denominations. In the stormy theological part of the

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session there was a gratifying absence of the critical spirit. The skeptics were less considered than the positive side of the truth. The speakers were intent on a steady advance over new ground, and instead of seeking foes, simply took them on the way in their straight march toward untrodden fields. They seemed to think with the Concord minstrel:

> "Life is too short to waste
> In critic peep or cynic bark,
> Quarrel or reprimand:
> 'Twill soon be dark;
> Up! mind thine own aim, and
> God speed the mark!"

The subject of Christian defense against skeptical attacks was presented by Prof. Orelli, of Basle, and Dr. Godet, of Neuchatel. There was a decided contrast in these two men. The former, in his youth, represents the young evangelical sentiment of Germany and German Switzerland; the latter, the veteran heroes who have been fighting for a half century against the knights of doubt. Orelli's address was the most inspiring part of the whole week's programme. He carried all hearts with him, and left an influence akin to an overwhelming awakening sermon. The gospel, he said, which the apostles proclaimed to the world, is established in Christ's atoning death and the resurrection, the former testifying to the accomplishment, and the latter being the pledge of our final salvation. To the atonement and the resurrection the Christian doctrine is bound indissolubly for all time, so that every estrangement of the doctrine from them prevents their saving effect on the soul. The Gospel of Christ has, at all times and in all departments of the human family, proved its saving power. The fact of sin and the sense of guilt are stamped on our humanity. Nothing but divine grace imparted to the soul can save from God's wrath and final perdition. While this line of thought was followed in a measure also by Godet, his treatment was rather from the stand-point of scientific theology than from that of experience. The permanence of the Gospel is dependent on the person of Christ. You cannot detract a particle from the personal divinity of the Saviour without violating the religious and moral force of the Gospel. Christianity, thus weakened, could never have triumphed over its two old enemies, pagan

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materialism and Jewish deism. The duty of every evangelical Christian is, therefore, to give firm testimony to the personal divinity of the great Head of the Church.

The general subject of education in relation to the Church, and the special one of the final training of the Christian ministry, were treated by Zillisen, De Pressensé, Court-Preacher Baur, Bachofner, Wiese, Paroz, and Count Bismarck-Bohlen. The want of biblical instruction in the German schools was greatly lamented. To this source many of the evils of the present German Church were attributed. Bismarck-Bohlen, an earnest Christian man, cousin of Prince Bismarck, and a member of the personal staff of the Emperor William, said these strong words: "Not only in the common schools, but also in the higher schools and universities, an evangelical training should be firmly maintained. One of our greatest evils is that you can seldom find a gymnasium where a truly evangelical spirit prevails. Our youth are overcrowded with merely human knowledge, so that in the past year three young men have, in their despair, committed suicide. Had there been a vital Christianity in these schools, those poor young men could have borne their burdens safely. Pray, take this evil to your hearts! We must have a Christian State and a Christian school, for by this means alone can we solve many of our difficulties of faith!"

De Pressensé's address on the Christian and anti-Christian influence of the press was one of the most notable parts of the entire programme. He held that the Protestant Christianity of the nineteenth century must accept the fact of a necessary publicity of thought. Romanism adheres to secrecy and suppression, but Protestantism demands freedom and individuality of action in order to continue the great Reform of the sixteenth century. The Christian press must defend spiritual Christianity, and all the more so because of the gross materialism of the secular press. There must be no want of combative power in the press of the Church. It must oppose the despotism of monarchism and the papacy. See what Roman Catholics are doing to make the press subserve its unholy purposes! In Rome alone there is a congregation of the press, at whose head stands a cardinal. This man presumably controls two hundred newspapers, with the "Civitta Cattolica" as their leader.

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"The Gospel and liberty"—this must be the watch-word of the Protestant printing-press.

In the intervals of the main discussions in the German and French languages in the St. Martin's Church, the sessions of the Anglo-American Department were held in the French church in the English language. This is a modest little building in the new part of Basle, and to the Americans and English it became a Bethel. Here they met in friendly Christian intercourse, exchanged salutations without much formality, and consulted as to the great common interests of Anglo-Saxon Christendom. Each of the papers was afterward discussed by voluntary speakers, and some of the formal addresses in the St. Martin's Church were here epitomized in English, and their strong points emphasized. Vischer Sarasin, in behalf of the general committee, made a touching address of welcome to his English and American brethren, in which he thanked the descendants of the first Christians of the British Islands for sending to Switzerland the men who evangelized her vales and mountains, and brought them within the Christian fold. Prebendary Anderson, of Bath, spoke on Christian brotherhood. Dr. Pope, of Didsbury College, was prevented by illness from presenting his paper on the same subject, but Dr. William Arthur took his place, and made an exceedingly touching address on the same subject. He was followed by Dr. Rigg, of London, on the "Present Condition of Religious Liberty throughout the Continent." We have seldom heard a clearer or more powerful address from any rostrum than this one. The subject was vital to the interests and aims of the Evangelical Alliance. He gave a calm view of the continental countries in order, and finally came to the most delicate subject of the entire session, namely, the persecution of Protestants now going on in Bohemia. His charge against the despotism of Austria was simply terrific. He had something more than theories. He presented facts and figures. The Rev. Mr. Barrett, superintendent of the Wesleyan missions in Germany, sat at his left, and Dr. Rigg turned to him, and quoted him as his authority. Well he might, for Mr. Barrett, through the Wesleyan missionaries on the spot, had gathered up a great number of cases of persecution, and furnished them in writing to Dr. Rigg. This was unexpected testimony, and singularly corroborative

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of the documentary testimony of other ministers in Bohemia, and the persecuted Protestants themselves, which had already been circulated in pamphlet form among the members of the Alliance, and were rapidly producing a sympathetic sentiment.

The culmination of this feeling took place on Saturday, the last day of the session. The Anglo-American Committee resolved to bring up the case before the general session, and test the sense of the Alliance as to protesting against the iniquity. Each of the speakers on Christian union to whom the programme gave the whole time of the last formal session—Plitt, of Germany; Fallot, of Paris; and Hurst—received on Friday evening a courteous note from President Sarasin, requesting them to abridge their addresses as much as possible the following day, as the grave question of Austrian persecution was to be presented. The sessions, contrary to expectation, had increased in interest from the beginning, but on the last day there was not even standing room for the vast multitude. The president read some letters relating to the persecution, and was followed by Drs. Schaff and Riggenbach, who urged the Alliance to take action in favor of the persecuted Protestants. When the charges against the Austrian government were presented there was a silent pause of some length. Permission was given, before a vote was taken, to hear any who might be disposed to defend the persecutors, and to give reason why the protest should not be made. No one said a word. It was a scene of intense interest. Then a vote was taken, when all on the great platform arose, and those in the immense congregation also who were sitting arose as one man, and stood for some time in perfect silence. Many wept audibly. Great numbers were descendants of the Huguenots and Dutch fugitives from Spanish intolerance, and they were now stretching forth a helping hand toward their brothers in sorrow in this late nineteenth century. When a negative was called for, not one person voted. The decision was thus unanimous, and a committee was appointed to wait in person on the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, and protest against the continuance of the persecution. That committee has done its work. It had to go as far as Hungary to get an audience with the emperor. He promised to give the subject his careful attention. It remains to be seen whether

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he will do it, or permit Romanism still to hound to death, in the Bohemian fastnesses, the descendants in faith of the brave John Huss. We believe this voice and outstretched hand of the Evangelical Alliance to persecuted Protestants cannot be without effect, and that the chains will be broken. The word that has delivered the many persecuted believers in Spain and Italy, the Protestants of the Baltic Provinces, and the Bulgarians in Turkey, is not likely to fall on deaf ears. No action of the Alliance, at any of its sessions, has been more important or farsighted than this. It means the unity of Protestants, and their readiness to defend their companions in doctrine and experience the world over.

All the sessions of the Anglo-American department were marked by well-considered addresses, and will be remembered longest by all attendants at Basle whose native language is the English. Dr. T. D. Anderson, of New York, and Sir Charles Reed, of London, spoke on Sunday-schools. Dr. E. A. Washburn, of New York, discussed the delicate subject of Socialism, and gave, as a solution of the dangers which threaten society at the present time, these three grounds of hope: free discussion of the present dangers by Christian men, sound home training and education in the schools, and a wise co-operation of all possible methods for relieving the working classes of the evils which oppose them. Drs. O. H. Tiffany and John Hall, of New York, presided at two of the Anglo-American sessions, and by their wise words and impartial supervision added largely to the success of the proceedings.

The subject of missions was treated in the general sessions by Drs. Theodore Christlieb, William Arthur, Pastor Barde, and Murray Mitchell. The first speaker presented the most voluminous paper of the whole week of the Alliance. It constitutes one hundred and sixty-four octavo pages in the published proceedings of the session. He compared the former condition of the heathen world with the present success of missions; and then described the missionary genius of the Christian Churches, first among barbarous peoples, and then in civilized nations, and closed with a statement of the great missionary task before the Church at this hour. Dr. Arthur had but a limited time to speak, but, brief as it was, he made the strong point that the success of missions in far-off lands depends upon

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the spirit and life of the home Churches, which send out their men to lead the nations in darkness to Christ.

The closing day of the regular proceedings of the Alliance was Saturday, but a communion service was held in the cathedral on Sunday, and there was a fraternal leave-taking in the evening in Association Hall. This communion service was a remarkable meeting. The building itself was calculated to awaken lively memories of the heroic days of Swiss Protestantism. It dates back to A. D. 1010, and in a side room of the great edifice the secret sessions of the Council of Basle were held over four centuries ago. It was a stronghold of Romanism when its power was undisputed from the frozen North Cape to sunny, vine-clad Sicily. Its grotesque and lavish stone carvings; its stately and minute wooden figures; its dark crypt and stately pillars; its strange mixture of the Byzantine and Gothic orders of architecture; its double towers, that, in the sisterly companionship of the centuries, throw their shadows down into the hasty and cheerful Rhine; its stiff but significant mounted statues of Saints George and Martin, that tell the story of Hapsburg power, and have kept ward at the doorway through the long pilgrimage of both Roman Catholic and Protestant generations; and, above all, those rich cloisters, around whose quadrangle Erasmus loved to walk and think before he ever saw English Cambridge, and sauntered along the arcadian terrace of Queen's College, force one back to the elder days, in spite of the free and hopeful present. The music from the many voices and the great organ had more than the usual lesson of Christian love to teach. The sermon was preached by the senior pastor, Dr. Stockmeyer, after which the administration of the Lord's Supper began. About two thousand persons were supposed to participate in this singularly impressive communion. Preachers and laymen approached the altar together, and it was fully three hours before the service was ended. The only reminder of nobility which one could see was the single badge of the iron cross worn by Count Bismarck-Bohlen, who sat in the altar, with other members of the Alliance. The parting services in the evening called out such a large congregation that another meeting, in an adjoining room, had to be held. At the principal meeting the speakers were Drs. Riggenbach and Arthur, and Count Bismarck-Bohlen, in the

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German language; Dr. Godet, in French; and Pastor Cocorda, in Italian. Here, as in all the preceding meetings, the hymns were sung from a book prepared especially for the session, and which seemed to be in every worshiper's hand. In this little volume the great singers of nearly all of the Protestant communions were represented. The hymns were in the four chief languages of Europe and America—German, French, English, and Italian. "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," "Grand Dieu, nous Te Bénissons," "There is a Fountain filled with blood," and "Del Forte di Giacobbe," were sung by Christian people from every quarter of the compass.

An important question in connection with the Alliance was the relation of the organization to the foreign Churches which are now represented by active operations and growing influence in Germany and Switzerland. The Wesleyans of England, and the Baptists and Methodists of the United States, have succeeded so far that now they are regarded as threatening forces to the power of the State Churches. The leading theologians in the latter manifest little sympathy with them, and look on their work with suspicion, and in many instances with a want of fraternal feeling. There was, however, at the Basle session a just recognition of the right of our American missionaries in those countries to participate in all matters that concern the common interests of the Church universal. The two resident ministers of our German and Swiss Conference, Rev. Clement Achard, presiding elder of the Basle District, and Rev. Heinrich Mann, pastor of our Church in Basle, were members of the local committee, and had their full voice in the arrangements for the session. Rev. Dr. L. Nippert, the director of our Theological Seminary in Frankfort-on-the-Main, was one of the regular speakers at a devotional meeting at Association Hall, with Court-Preacher Hoffman and others. No one can say that there was not a proper recognition of our representation at the Basle session. At one of the early morning meetings, which preceded the regular sessions at ten o'clock, some one expressed his inability to co-operate with the Alliance because of its admission of the "foreign sects" into relation with it. But this spirit was promptly rebuked. Dr. Nippert said a brave and strong word in defense of our work in the Fatherland, and no one could gainsay his statements as to the pure methods of

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our work. Dr. Schaff also said that all hostile expressions relating to this subject were foreign to the spirit of the Alliance, and deserved rebuke. Count Bismarck-Bohlen, who was for the time the presiding officer, said that if men from abroad come into Germany, and preach a pure gospel, and the people are attracted toward it, they are worthy of all confidence, and that if the State Churches lose their power God will place it in other hands.

The personal appearance and characteristics of some of the leading members of the Alliance were matters of no little interest to Americans who had been reading their works for many years, and yet had never seen them. Van Oosterzee is a stout, short, florid Dutchman, who moves about quickly, and has a kindly word and strong grasp for any stranger who approaches him. He has grown much older in the last decade. Before his turn came to speak he sat a little nervously in his chair, and when announced, he started up briskly, took out his manuscript, and dropped into the chair at the speaker's desk. He rubbed the perspiration from his great, beaming face, and seemed about to read his paper, and that, too, while sitting; but by a quick movement he arose, pushed aside his chair, laid his manuscript away from him, and proceeded to speak with great animation extemporaneously. His first utterances told the story at once of his being the chief orator of Dutch Protestantism. He warmed with his subject, gesticulated with subdued power, and his deep gutturals reached the furthest corners of the auditorium. He melted all hearts, and will be remembered as one of the most notable figures of the session. Orelli is a young man, not much beyond thirty, slender, pale, of great keen eyes. He wrote a book on "Through the Holy Land," which is rather sentimental than scientific. He is sustained at the Basle University by a salary given by a circle of evangelical friends and admirers. He used no manuscript, but spoke with an incisive force and emphasis, and with a spiritual unction, which produced a powerful impression. His address was a phenomenon, and from this distance of six months it stands out before us rather as a visible thing than a spiritual communication. May his slender frame stand the jostle and impulse of his masterly mind!

De Pressensé is of negligent utterance, and has grown aged

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since 1866, when his now gray hair was coal-black, and his eyes were keen and piercing, instead of dull and cold, as they now are, save when the fire comes as he addresses an audience. His address on the freedom of the press was listened to with undivided attention by the multitude, who did not understand him, as he spoke in French. And yet there was something in his manner of speech that gave the audience a clear idea of what he was saying. We heard his strong words before we reached the church in which he was making his address, and when we entered the building it was difficult to get even standing-room near his desk. Pressensé represents the effort of reviving French Protestantism to get a hearing and assert its prerogatives. He threw himself into the heart of the humanitarian part of the late Franco-German war, and when peace came he became one of the national representatives. He has gained the confidence of all classes, and it is not unlikely that he will become a senator for life. Count Bismarck-Bohlen is tall and slender, and without the massive appearance of the prince, his cousin. He was attentive to all the sessions; calm, self-possessed, full of sympathy with earnest work by every believer and every denomination. Only once did he seem to possess the fire of the family, and that was when he made an address at the close of the session. His eyes flashed with a strange brilliancy, and his whole manner was animated and magnetic.

Dr. William Arthur has been suffering for years from a throat difficulty, but has now—at least so it seemed to his hearers—entirely recovered his tone of voice. His health is not firm, yet when he speaks one comes in a moment within the power of his old charm of voice and manner. His face and whole bearing are exceedingly captivating. When he illustrated the virtue of interdenominational comity by an allusion to the benefits that come to the human body by a judicious rubbing of the surface, every one saw the aptness of his analogy, and greatly enjoyed it. He is to be a visitor to our approaching General Conference, where many who remember his former visit here will again hear him, and those who have never heard him will have the privilege of listening to one who has long been an ornament to British Methodism. Ebrard is a short, genial gentleman; brusque, ready for conversation, and full of plans for his pen in the years to come. Godet is one of the greatest

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Protestants south of the Rhine, and for his keen analysis of the fundamental thoughts of Scripture, and especially for his comprehension of John's Gospel, has no superior in Europe. Dr. Rigg is well known to Americans from his two visits to this country. He has marvelous executive power, and has lost no flesh because of the arduous duties that have fallen to him through his presidency of the British Conference. His relations to the non-Wesleyan leaders of England are of the most intimate character, and honorable alike to them and him.

Dr. Nippert stands in the front of our German ministers. He has all the vigor of his earlier years, and is destined to do great service in the years to come. He wields a strong polemic pen, and his new work on "Pastoral Theology and Homiletics" will still more extend his influence.

The social features of the Alliance were peculiarly Swiss—and that means an open heart and hand. It was not expected by the Basle people that many guests would be present, and when they were surprised by the large number they set to work to entertain them in the best possible manner. The national representation of members present was as follows: From Germany, 554; Switzerland, 522; Great Britain, 252; France, 68; Holland, 63; America, 61; Belgium, 9; Italy, 7; Austria and Turkey, 6 each; Spain and Africa, 5 each; Russia, 4; East Indies, 3; Denmark, Greece, and Canada, 2 each; Sweden, 1; and 600 other delegates unclassified.

The Committee of Reception met the delegates at the railway station, and did all in their power to make them feel at home. No pains were spared to contribute to the comfort and pleasure of the guests from the beginning to the end of the session. The British branch of the Alliance, thinking that the Swiss brethren would be overburdened financially, sent them a handsome sum of money to supplement their own gifts. But this has been returned intact, the Basle people saying that they wished the gratification of meeting all expenses themselves. Afternoon garden fêtes were held in the grounds of prominent citizens, where refreshments were served, and many thousands met in all the freedom of Christian brotherhood.

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Art. IV.—DISTRICT CONFERENCES.

Evidently the problem of District Conferences is unsolved, and they have failed to be utilized as an arm of service in the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church. An organization of this character was an imperative necessity, to develop a deeper popular interest in the affairs of the Church, and to strengthen the connectional bonds of the District. There ever has been a want of unity in our Conference system for the lack of a suitable body between the Quarterly and Annual Conferences, and the friction has increased with the growth of time. There are departments of Church work that are now almost obsolete and stagnant for the lack of using proper means to convert into practical use the vast power going to waste under the existing condition of things.

With the introduction of the District Conference, the regular gradation of Conferences seemed perfected; but the legislation establishing them was defective, and the usefulness of this new department was crippled at the outset, and it has since been imperfect in its operations, and is singularly weighted with objectionable conditions. First, in the gradation, is the Quarterly Conference, having supervision of a single Circuit or Station. Second, the District Conference, comprising all the charges in a Presiding Elder's District. The members of both bodies are the same, with the exception that only one Steward and one Superintendent of the Sunday-school are admitted as representatives in the District Conference, and Trustees have no standing in the body. In the Quarterly Conference all the Stewards, Trustees, and Superintendents of Sunday-schools in each are members. Third, the Annual Conference is composed exclusively of ministers, who are wholly under the control of the appointing power. Fourth, the Judicial Conference is composed of ministers elected as Triers of Appeals from the action of the Annual Conferences, comprising members of three different Conferences to secure impartiality of review in appeal cases. Fifth, the General Conference, which has supreme supervision as the highest ecclesiastical legislature, overshadowing all other departments of the Church; and, being purely representative by ministerial and lay delegates, it

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is the highest exponent of the will of the Church in all vital interests. This gradation of Conferences gives a unity and completeness to our system of government that has established harmony in every part. Take out the District Conference, and the unity and harmony of the system are disturbed, and the gap between the Quarterly and the Annual Conferences is too wide; and the consequence is, the connectional interests of the Church are neglected and must suffer. While the former Conference is almost exclusively comprised of the lay element, the latter is wholly ministerial, and the need of the blending of the clerical and lay elements in the District Conference, or some other intermediate body that will fuse the interests of both for the general good of the Church, is obviously necessary.

Legislation that provided for District Conferences, purely for Local Preachers, in 1820, and of a general character in 1872, was forced, unnatural, and the outgrowth of a pressure, wholly diverse from the natural causes that were recognized in organizing other forms of Conferences. When Mr. Wesley instituted class-meetings, the necessity for "leaders' meetings" was imperative; and, with the advance of the Church, the Annual Conference was a creation of the Founder of Methodism. What we need, as an intermediate feature, called the District Conference, is represented in the English Wesleyan body by the District Meeting and Local Preachers' Meeting; the first being organized at the first Conference after Mr. Wesley's death, while the other was instituted in 1796, by the Wesleyan Conference, which directed the Superintendents of Districts "regularly to meet the Local Preachers once a quarter; none to be admitted but those who are proposed and approved at this meeting." What has been accomplished by the Wesleyans through these channels, enforced by method, system and rigid authority worthy of the followers of John Wesley, we have imperfectly attempted by the District Conference. The incomplete working of the General Conference at first arose because it was not a delegated body, which made it necessary to perfect the organization as it is now constituted, and its authority ever since is sustained by all the law-power inherent in the Church. So the constituting of the Judicial Conference was the outcome of a necessity, and its requirements are rigidly observed But the District Conference presents the strange anom-

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aly of being *optional* in its organization. It is to be created by the consent of the parties concerned, and may be dissolved by the action of the same constituency. The seeds of its death were sown when it was ushered into being; and its sickly existence and dissolution on every hand are the natural results of imperfect legislation. How long would the Quarterly and Annual Conferences exist if option were allowed, or, indeed, any other institution of Methodist economy as it relates to Conferences?

Efforts were made by those in charge of the measure and action of the General Conference of 1872 to blend the most popular features, by combining in one body certain functions of the Quarterly Conference, a Ministerial Association for biblical and theological literary exercises, and a Sunday-school Institute, with just enough religious and literary exercises at each session to increase its popularity. Had these features been pressed more, the District Conference would now have a stronger hold upon the Church. Instead of the movement in some quarters for its extirpation from the Discipline, it would have steadily grown into favor. History amply demonstrates that the completeness and unity of Methodist economy require some kind of intermediate body between the Quarterly and Annual Conferences, by which the lay power of the Church should be employed, and that Local Preachers could be vested with some form of recognition which is not now accorded them.

The District Meeting in Great Britain, to a considerable extent, represents the District Conference in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its functions, however, are somewhat different, but it supplies the intermediate benefits; being always convened at a stated period by absolute authority, and without being held at the pleasure of a district. In the English Wesleyan system, which has no quadrennial General Conference, the Annual Conference being the highest ecclesiastical court, the District Meeting is ordered to be held in May, between certain dates, and is the second court in English Methodism. It was instituted, as stated at the first Conference after Mr. Wesley's death, "for the preservation of our whole economy." It is an important body in matters ministerial and financial, and is composed of all the ministers of the district, including supernumeraries and preachers on trial. That portion of business relating to ministerial functions is first transacted, and on the second day the laymen

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appear for the purpose of considering certain connectional and financial interests.

The Methodist Church of Canada, in its recently organized form, comprised chiefly of the Wesleyans, and a dependency of the parent Conference in England, was modeled after the latter in its District Meetings, with somewhat enlarged powers and combining important functions. It is composed of all members of Conferences and probationers for the ministry, the Recording Stewards of the several circuits and missions, and one other lay representative for each minister and probationer for the ministry. The first day is devoted exclusively to ministerial affairs. The lay members of the District Meeting immediately preceding the General Conference are elected by ballot at the previous quarterly official meeting. Its business is to recommend candidates for the ministry, examine and recommend probationers, persons to be received into full connection and ordained; receive reports of trials and make regulations in reference to married men. On the second day it receives the reports from the Stewards of the circuits, recommends special grants to cases of affliction, inquires into the financial ability of probationers, elects members of the Conference committees, hears appeals of Local Preachers, recommends alterations in charges, and elects lay delegates to General Conference. There is also a Financial District Meeting required to be held in each district in September, composed of the Superintendent and a Steward from each circuit and mission, which is wholly occupied with financial matters.

In the Methodist Protestant Church each Conference is authorized to fix the number of sub-districts, and associating as many charges together as may be deemed best, composed of the pastors and such a ratio of lay representatives from each charge as it may decide necessary. The work of this District Meeting is to promote all the local and general interests of the Churches, such as missions, education, Sabbath-schools, finance, pastoral work, etc. This is the only body between the Quarterly and Annual Conferences.

The District Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, is a great agency in promoting its polity, and performs important functions not delegated to the Quarterly Conference, relieving the Annual Conference of the minute

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details of certain departments of the Church. The Conference is cherished and heartily sustained by the Bishops, Presiding Elders, and preachers generally. It is composed of all the preachers in the district, traveling and local, including superannuated preachers, and of laymen to the number of the above; and their mode of appointment each Annual Conference may determine for itself. The business of the body is to consider the condition of each charge, as to their spiritual state and attendance upon the means of grace, missions, Sunday-schools, financial systems, and electing lay delegates to Annual Conferences. Prominence is given to religious exercises. It will be seen that its functions are more restricted than our District Conference in some respects. The Bishops frequently preside and vitalize every department. Through this body an interest is incited to provide for the Episcopal Fund.

The term "District Conference" in our Church was first employed in 1792, but it was originally applied to the Annual Conference, as will be seen by the following: 1792: "*Ques.* 4. Who are the members of the District Conferences? *Ans.* All the traveling preachers of the district or districts respectively who are in full connection. *Ques.* 5. How often are the District Conferences to be held? *Ans.* Annually." In 1796 the word "Yearly" was substituted for "District." In 1800 "Annual" took the place of "Yearly" Conference, and it has remained the same from that time to the present. According to a record examined, a "District Conference" was held in 1805, at Leesburgh, Va., in the bounds of the old Baltimore Conference, by William M'Kendree, President; Nicholas Snethen, Secretary. The only act recorded was defining rules on "Slavery," and here the record of its proceedings abruptly ceases.

Petitions had been presented from Local Preachers to the General Conference which met at Baltimore, Md., in 1820, asking for the organization of District Conferences, to enable them to enjoy certain rights, which they alleged were denied them; and the demand was intensified by the controversy which was then agitating the Church, called the "Reform" movement, which culminated in a secession and the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church. The Bishops had called attention to the desirability of some action on the subject. Dr. Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal

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Church," referring to this important change says: "A little uneasiness had been manifested at times by some of the Local Preachers, because they thought they had been abridged of some of their rights in not being permitted to be examined, licensed, and tried by their peers exclusively. To remove the cause of their dissatisfaction by granting them the privilege of transacting the business which related to themselves exclusively, this General Conference (1820) created a 'District Conference,' to be composed of all the Local Preachers in the Presiding Elder's district who shall have been licensed two years."

A special committee, comprising the late Dr. Martin Ruter, Bishop Capers, and three others, framed a plan of a District Conference, and it passed May 18, 1820; the features of which may be gathered from the following condensation: The Presiding Elder of the district, or, in his absence, such person as the District Meeting might elect for the purpose, was to be President. The Conference was authorized to grant licenses to proper persons to preach as Local Preachers, to renew their licenses, to recommend to Annual Conferences suitable persons for Deacon's and Elder's orders in the local ministry, for admission on trial in an Annual Conference, to try, suspend, expel, or acquit such Local Preachers as might be accused; but it could not license any man to preach unless he was recommended by a Quarterly Conference. In fact, all the powers formerly belonging to the Quarterly Conference which related to Local Preachers, except simply the privilege of recommending candidates for the office of the local ministry, were transferred to this District Conference. At the session of the General Conference in Baltimore, May, 1824, the seat of the "Radical" controversy, on May 12 a resolution was offered to do away with District Conferences, and make all ordained Local Preachers members of Annual Conferences, which was lost. Dr. W. Winans, of the Mississippi Conference, subsequently reported on behalf of the Committee on Local Preachers, that petitions had been considered for and against District Conferences, and that the request to allow a delegation of Local Preachers to the General Conference was inexpedient; and the report then recommended amendments to the chapter in the Discipline that when District Conferences were not held, or failed to transact all the business necessary, the Quarterly Conference was authorized to transact it.

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Also licenses were ordered to be renewed annually, and a clause inserted making it necessary for admission into the traveling connection to be first recommended by the Quarterly Conference. When the General Conference assembled in Pittsburgh, Pa., May, 1828, while the "Radical" controversy was at high-tide, under the lead of M'Caine, Jennings, Snethen, Shinn, Brown, and others, the organization existed more in letter than in practice. This General Conference provided that a majority of the members of a District Conference should be a "quorum to do business." Action was taken by inserting a clause, "*Provided*, that no person shall be licensed to preach without the recommendation of the Society of which he is a member, or of a Leaders' Meeting." By the time the General Conference convened in Philadelphia, in May, 1832, the organization seemed to exist more in name than in fact, and its death-knell was virtually secured, without seriously affecting the condition or relation of Local Preachers, as the Quarterly Conference was fully competent to perform any or all functions neglected by the District Conference. When the General Conference assembled in Cincinnati, O., May, 1836, it was found that causes had grown up, almost wholly outside of the organization itself, that had antagonized its design, and rendered it inoperative. Its abandonment was but a mere formal action, and every thing relating to Local Preachers was relegated back again to the Quarterly Conference, to the same condition in which they were previous to 1820.

A wide-spread feeling, gathering *momentum* for years, existed, that an intermediate Conference, so useful among the English Wesleyans, and so potent as an arm of denominational power in the Methodist Episcopal Church South, was absolutely necessary. The culmination of the lay sentiment in the Church by the introduction of laymen into the General Conference made the necessity still more imperative that a mixed body should exist, and possibly the two progressive steps would help to make the solution of the introduction of laymen into all bodies to "confer" on the interests of Methodism. Under this condition of sentiment in the Church the Bishops, in their Address to the General Conference of 1872, wisely recommended attention to the subject of District Conferences: "We deem this (District Conferences) a matter of considerable practical

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importance, and think if such Conferences were carefully constituted, and their duties and prerogatives strictly defined, they might be rendered highly useful. In our opinion there should be two sessions held annually; the first near the commencement, and the second near the close, of the Conference year."

In the distribution of the portions of this able address to the standing committees, the question of District Conferences fell to the jurisdiction of the Committee on the Itinerancy; but the exciting discussions on the Presiding Elder and other live questions overshadowed every other subject; and it is evident the same unfortunate misapprehension of the character, place, and work of District Conferences possessed the minds of the majority of its members then, as has clouded so many minds since it became a law; and on May 29 the Committee reported adversely to the organization of District Conferences. Subsequently, in debate in the General Conference, it was stated that a minority reported in favor of the measure.

The following bit of history is in place. At the sixth annual session of the National Local Preachers' Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, a deputation was appointed to visit the General Conference at Philadelphia, May, 1864. A similar deputation waited upon the General Conference in May, 1868, at which time some conference was "held on the subject of District Conferences for Local Preachers." Assurances were given by the Committee on Local Preachers that any well-matured and defined memorial to the General Conference on the subject would receive respectful attention and be granted. The deputation reported back these friendly assurances to their constituents at the annual session in October, 1868; also, the report of the committee of the General Conference in response to the memorial presented in May previous. Considerable discussion took place on the subject of District Conferences, and the outline of a plan was adopted. Brief action followed at each annual session succeeding, and at the annual meeting in October, 1871, a memorial was ordered to be carried and presented by a deputation of ten to the General Conference at Brooklyn, N. Y., May, 1872.

Dr. Daniel Curry was intrusted with the duty of presenting the memorial and accompanying fraternal papers of the deputation, which he did by special permission on the thirteenth day

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of the session, and they were referred to the Committee on the State of the Church, of which he was the chairman. The memorial was as follows:

Resolved, That we memorialize the General Conference, as follows:

1. To organize in each Presiding Elder's district a District Conference, to be composed of all the Traveling and Local Preachers in the district, and to be presided over by the Presiding Elder, and meet semi-annually.

2. To give this District Conference authority to receive, license, try, and expel Local Preachers, and also to recommend suitable persons to the Annual Conference, to be received into the traveling connection and for ordination as Local Deacons and Elders.

3. To authorize the District Conference to assign to each Local Preacher a field of labor, and hold him strictly responsible for an efficient performance of his work.

Through the indomitable will and ability of the chairman, a friendly committee, and the faithful members of the deputations, the chapter on District Conferences was reported on the twenty-ninth day, and after a short but incisive debate, at the waning hours of the quadrennial session, it was passed and incorporated in the Discipline. It is evident from the discussion that ensued when it was reported to the Conference, that some sturdy blows in favor of the measure had been dealt in the Committee of the Itinerancy; and the point raised in the discussion in its favor, and ably sustained, was, that the measure deserved at least a trial, and that it was intensifying the recent action in favor of the laity, as laymen were constituted members of that body.

The chapter opens with reference to the action being in response to the memorial of the National Local Preachers' Association on the subject, and that portions of it and other suitable features were adopted. The full text of the chapter on District Conferences is as follows:

The District Conferences shall be composed of the Traveling and Local Preachers, the Exhorters, the District Stewards, and the Sunday-school Superintendents in the District. But if there shall be more than one Sunday-school Superintendent in any Circuit or Station, then the Quarterly Conference shall designate one of them for this service.

The District Conference shall meet twice each year, at such time and place as the Presiding Elder shall designate for the

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first meeting after the adoption of this plan by any district; but the District Conference shall, at each meeting, determine the place for its next meeting, the time to be fixed by the Presiding Elder. The first District Conference for the year shall be held in the early part of it; the second, near the close.

The Presiding Elder shall preside in the District Conferences. In his absence the District Conference shall choose their own President by ballot from among the Traveling Elders.

The Minutes of the District Conference shall be kept by a Secretary chosen by the Conference. The Minutes shall be carefully recorded in a book provided for the purpose, and kept by the Secretary for future use or reference.

The regular business of the District Conference shall be,

1. To take the general oversight of all the temporal and spiritual affairs of the district, subject to the provisions of the Discipline.

2. To take cognizance of all the Local Preachers and Exhorters in the district, and to inquire respecting the gifts, labors, and usefulness of each by name, and to arrange a plan of appointments for each for the ensuing half year.

3. To hear complaints against Local Preachers; to try, suspend, deprive of ministerial office and credentials, expel or acquit any Local Preacher against whom charges may be preferred.

4. To license Local Preachers, and to recommend to the Annual Conference Local Preachers as suitable candidates for Deacons or Elders' Orders, and for admission on trial in the Traveling Connection; *provided*, That no person shall be licensed to preach, nor recommended for orders, nor for admission in the Traveling Connection, without the recommendation of the Quarterly Conference, or of the Stewards and Leaders' meeting of the Circuit or Station of which he is a member; and in all cases the candidates shall first pass a satisfactory examination in doctrine and discipline.

5. To inquire whether all the collections for the benevolent institutions of the Church, as recognized by the Discipline, are properly attended to in all the Circuits and Stations, and to adopt suitable measures for promoting their success.

6. To inquire into the condition of the Sunday-schools in the district, and to adopt suitable measures for insuring their success.

7. To inquire respecting opportunities for Missionary and Church Extension enterprises within the district, and take measures for the occupation of any neglected portions of its territories by mission Sunday-schools and appointments for public worship.

8. To provide for appropriate religious and literary exercises during its sessions for the mutual benefit of those attending upon them.

9. The District Stewards shall, at the place, and at or near the time, of the first District Conference for the year, make their estimate for the support of the Presiding Elder, as provided for in section 478.

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The provisions of this section shall be of force and binding only in those districts in which the Quarterly Conferences of a majority of the Circuits and Stations shall have approved it by asking the Presiding Elder to convene the District Conference as herein provided. In those districts in which District Conferences shall be held the power by this section given to the District Conferences shall not be exercised by the Quarterly Conferences. In all other cases their powers shall remain as heretofore provided.

Although the character of the instituted body was different from what was petitioned for in the memorial, and in spite of its being optional with districts to organize it, it was decided by the National Local Preachers' Association to accept the action in good faith, and await for a clearer recognition of their wishes at another time. In the fall, previous to the General Conference of 1876, a deputation of thirteen was appointed to proceed to Baltimore and present a fraternal address, including the following memorial:

Resolved, That we memorialize the General Conference to make such changes in the Discipline as will make the District Conference obligatory and not optional, as at present.

2. That we recommend such disciplinary measures as will make our Local Preachers more effective in their sphere of labor, and in cases where Local Ministers are ineffective from any cause, except mental or physical disability, their parchments or licenses be taken away from them and they be silenced.

The memorial and papers, at the suggestion of Dr. Curry, were referred to the Committee on Revisals, but were afterward transferred to the Committee on the Itinerancy. The Presiding Eldership question was in the crucible before this Committee, and a fiery debate raged during most of the session of that body; and a sub-committee revised and enlarged the scope of the section, and it was reported to Conference and adopted, with a clause designating the mode of its dissolution by any district after the vote of the same and concurrence of a majority of the Quarterly Conferences. This change just suited the views of many Presiding Elders and others, who were unwilling to make the District Conference a success. A power exercised upon the same ground would abolish Quarterly Conferences; for certainly, if interest and numbers in attendance were the test, the most of them would be voted out of existence.

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The full text of the revised and enlarged action is as follows:

Resolved, That Part II, Chapter i, section 3 of the Discipline be amended so that it shall read as follows:

THE DISTRICT CONFERENCES.

113. The District Conferences shall be composed of the Traveling and Local Preachers, the Exhorters, the District Stewards, and one Sunday-school Superintendent and one Class-leader from each pastoral charge in the District. But if there shall be more than one Sunday-school Superintendent in any Circuit or Station, then the Quarterly Conference shall designate one of them for this service; and it shall also select the Class-leader.

114. The District Conference shall meet once or twice each year in each Presiding Elder's District, as each District Conference shall determine for itself, at such time and place as the Presiding Elder shall designate for the first meeting after the adoption of this plan by the District; but the District Conference shall, at each meeting, determine the place for its next meeting, the time to be fixed by the Presiding Elder.

115. A Bishop, when present, shall preside at the District Conference. If no Bishop be present, the Presiding Elder of the District shall preside. And if both be absent, the District Conference shall choose its own President by ballot from among the Traveling Elders.

116. A record of the proceedings of each District Conference shall be kept by a Secretary chosen for the purpose, and a copy of the said record shall be sent to the ensuing Annual Conference.

117. The regular business of the District Conference shall be:

118. I. To take the general oversight of all the temporal and spiritual affairs of the district, subject to the provisions of the Discipline.

119. II. To take cognizance of all the Local Preachers and Exhorters in the district, and to inquire respecting the gifts, labors, and usefulness of each by name, and to arrange a plan of appointments for each until the next District Conference.

120. III. To hear complaints against Local Preachers; to try, suspend, deprive of ministerial office and credentials, expel or acquit any Local Preacher against whom charges may be preferred.

121. IV. To license Local Preachers, to renew the licenses of Local Preachers and Exhorters, and to recommend to the Annual Conference Local Preachers as suitable candidates for Deacon's or Elder's orders, and for admission on trial in the Traveling Connection; *provided*, That no person shall be licensed to preach, or his license to preach or exhort be renewed, or be recommended for orders or for admission in the Traveling Connection, without the recommendation of the Quarterly Conference, or of the Stewards and Leaders' Meeting, of the Circuit or Station of which he is a member; and in all cases the candidate shall first pass a satisfactory examination in such course of studies as the Bishops shall

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prescribe. The District Conference shall also have the power given to the Quarterly Conference in Part II, Chapter ii, section 12, relating to the recognition of orders.

122. V. To inquire whether all the collections for the benevolent institutions of the Church, as recognized by the Discipline, are properly attended to in all the Circuits and Stations, and to adopt suitable measures for promoting their success.

123. VI. To inquire into the condition of the Sunday-schools in the district, and to adopt suitable measures for insuring their success.

124. VII. To inquire respecting opportunities for Missionary and Church Extension enterprises within the district, and to take measures for the occupation of any neglected portions of its territory by Missions, Sunday-schools, and appointments for public worship.

125. VIII. To provide for appropriate religious and literary exercises during the sessions, for the mutual benefit of those attending upon them.

126. The order of business of the District Conference shall be:

1. To inquire what members of the District Conference are present.

2. To appoint committees on—

(1.) Examination of candidates for license to preach.

(2.) Examination of Local Preachers in each of the four years of the course of study.

(3.) Examination of candidates for admission into the Traveling Connection.

(4.) Examination of candidates for orders.

(5.) Home mission work.

(6.) Appointments of Local Preachers and Exhorters.

(7.) Apportionment to each charge of the amounts to be raised for benevolent purposes.

(8.) Programme of religious and literary exercises for next meeting.

(9.) Miscellaneous matters.

3. To receive reports—

(1.) From the Presiding Elder as to the condition of the work under his charge, and his own work as Presiding Elder.

(2.) From each pastor as to the religious condition of his charge, his pastoral labors, benevolent collections, and the circulation of our Church periodicals and books.

(3.) From each Local Preacher, the form of which report shall be prescribed by each District Conference.

(4.) From each Exhorter, including a statement of the prayer-meetings he has held, and other work done, especially in destitute places, and among the sick and the poor.

(5.) From each District Steward as to the temporal affairs of the charge he represents.

(6.) From each Superintendent as to the condition of the Sunday-schools of the charge he represents.

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(7.) From each Class-leader as to the condition of the classes of the charge he represents.
(8.) From each Committee.
4. To inquire concerning Local Preachers—
(1.) Are there any charges or complaints?
(2.) Who shall have their licenses renewed?
(3.) Who shall be licensed to preach?
(4.) Who shall be recommended for ordination?
(5.) Who shall be recommended for recognition of orders?
(6.) Who shall be recommended for admission into the Traveling Connection?
(7.) Where are Local Preachers stationed?
5. To inquire concerning Exhorters—
(1.) Who shall have their licenses renewed?
(2.) What work is assigned each Exhorter?
6. Where shall the next District Conference be held?
7. Is there any other business?
The order of business may be varied and the business interspersed with such literary and religious exercises as the Conference may direct.

127. The provisions of this section shall be of force and binding only in those districts in which the Quarterly Conferences of a majority of the Circuits and Stations shall have approved it by asking the Presiding Elder to convene the District Conference, as herein provided. A District Conference may be discontinued by a vote of two thirds of the members present, at any regular session, notice thereof having been given at a previous session, and with the concurrence of three fourths of the Quarterly Conferences in the district. In those districts in which District Conferences shall be held, the powers by this section given to the District Conferences shall not be exercised by the Quarterly Conferences. In all other cases their powers shall remain as heretofore provided.

Vigorous efforts were soon after employed by some administrators to effect the early dissolution of District Conferences at important localities, and also to so spread their adverse action before the Church as to intimidate and influence other sections that were inclined to abandon them. This action is the more unseemly, as the institution is popular in our Southern territory, and, indeed, necessary to accomplish results similar to those in the Church South. In the North-west it is an important factor in promoting connectional interests, and, as a general thing, is prospering in the West. The wise utterances of Dr. Crary, a veteran editor and Presiding Elder in far-off Colorado, have a ring of logic that cannot be resisted. He writes that to repeal the

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law now would be a stupendous error, and a gross injustice to the mission fields, the frontier, and to the South, where District Conferences are most prized. The fatal blunder in the law is that miserable section which leaves it optional with the district to carry it out or not. In the Middle tier of States no uniform action prevails, and much depends upon the character of the Presiding Elder in popularizing the exercises and routine questions so as to invest the sessions with attraction.

There are points on the southern and eastern coasts that have resisted, with studied indifference, the mandate of the Church to give the institution a fair experiment, preferring to hide themselves behind a mere technicality and privilege, and thus depreciate an organization they know nothing about practically. Among the hopeful signs that assure the friends of the measure, and indicate a vigorous defense against its entire abolition at the next General Conference, is the wise concession made by the District Conferences which include that healthy spot in Methodism, Philadelphia—that, while there are objectionable features in the present section, which led to steps toward dissolution at first, the feeling steadily grows that some organization is necessary to complete the unity of the wheels within the wheel, and the duty now is to solve that problem and avoid hasty action. This is the view of Bishop Simpson, namely, that there is needed some kind of an organization to aid in promoting our connectional interests, and other work which the Quarterly Conference is unable to perform because of its local and limited powers, while the Annual Conference has not time at command for such business as the District Conference, or some body of a similar character, could do. A purely ministerial body cannot act for the laity, and hence the greater necessity for a mixed ecclesiastical court such as has been in force over a century in England, and which we must come to sooner or later. Bishop Simpson expresses the idea in his valuable work, the "Cyclopædia of Methodism," (see page 301:) "Where they (District Conferences) have been used and properly conducted, they have been found valuable in developing a deeper interest in the affairs of the Church, and in strengthening the connectional bonds of the district." Bishop Peck, and other Bishops, have given utterance to similar views, the former in much stronger language than the words quoted. Dr. Fry, of the "Central,"

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in an able editorial, advocates the reconstruction of the District Conference as the best means of restoring the ancient acquaintance of the Bishops with the Churches, lost since Asbury's time by the wide extension of our work, and outlines what should be its character. We quote:

> It should absorb to such an extent the functions of the Quarterly Conference, that the largest Annual Conference would not require more than three or four districts. The District Conference should meet twice a year, and a Bishop should always be present and preside, as at the Annual Conference. These District Conferences would afford him an insight into the condition of the charges that could not be obtained in any other way. It would greatly extend his personal intercourse with both the preachers and the people, and restore to some extent the pastoral relation of the Bishops of the Church, which has nearly been lost under the present system.

Coming so near the eighteenth delegated quadrennial session of the General Conference, there is naturally some solicitude on the part of the friends of District Conferences. In this institution the National Local Preachers' Association have a vital interest; and they have taken action on the subject, and appointed a strong deputation to present and urge their memorial. Chief above every personal consideration is the desire now and always expressed by that body, to ask for such an organization as will elevate the standard of ministerial usefulness and acceptability, and render this class of uncompensated preachers more useful and effective. They ask to be authorized to see that all who are admitted into the relation are worthy of it, to judge of their qualifications and continuance, to weed out the incompetent and useless, and to keep the ermine of ministerial purity under close surveillance, as cannot be done by the narrowed circle of a small Quarterly Conference. This, it is believed, can be accomplished best through the District Conference, or a body with similar powers. The same liberal spirit that was shown in their memorial, which led to the action of the General Conference in 1872, in associating the Traveling with the Local Preachers, is felt now in the action sought to be accomplished in May, 1880, and which was tacitly desired in the revision of 1876, either to be joined with the itinerants in an organization, or a provision inserted to hold a separate session at the same meeting for Local Preachers. In whatever form

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the General Conference may recast the District Conference, they ask that its meetings shall be mandatory and not optional, and this requisition to be applicable to all concerned. Let this be done, and the declaration that Local Preachers do not attend because they feel ignored will no longer be true, as they are noted for being as obedient sons in the Gospel as any other class of ministers.

The National Local Preachers' Association at their late session in Troy, N. Y., adopted the following:

Resolved, That we memorialize the General Conference:

1. To organize the Local Preachers, either by districts or Conferences, under the presidency of a Bishop or Presiding Elder.

2. That such organization be given authority to license Local Preachers, persons recommended by the Quarterly Conference, and to try and expel Local Preachers, and also to recommend Local Preachers to be received on trial in the Annual Conference.

With some slight modifications in the section and provisions made for the just demands of Local Preachers, either by having a better recognition of their position and rights, or by their having a sub-District Conference for their benefit exclusively, the present section may be made acceptable, and can be easily carried out if it has an administrator who does not desire defeat. The routine disciplinary part may drag in the hands of a Bishop at an Annual Conference; or a Presiding Elder may make a Quarterly Conference dull and prosy; and so a District Conference may be duller than either, if the chairman allows long, rambling, verbal reports, with nothing in them, to occupy the principal time. Reports should be brief and pertinent. Considerable time should be given to popular exercises to interest the people. Part of the day exercises should be of a biblical and literary character, and the evenings should be largely devoted to religious exercises, and the social element be blended and infused in every part. Careful preparation for these meetings, the occasion well announced, and the introduction of popular features, will insure a grand success. It is proper to note, that while the National Local Preachers' Association seeks to elevate the standard of ministerial ability, and to have more systematic methods to increase their efficiency and accomplish greater successes, yet they think that the present interpretation of the law,

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requiring a course of study for unordained Local Preachers and candidates for license, is hardly warranted by the Discipline, or by the action of the General Conference, so as to be applied strictly to aged Local Preachers who have spent scores of years in the ministry and are yet not ordained, so that they should be refused a renewal of their license and humiliated because they are unable to study by the course of the District Conference. Let the law be applied to those who enter the ministry, and young Local Preachers, without making the rule retrospective upon the class of aged veterans.

It is difficult to picture the ideal District Conference that will meet the requirements of the administrators and members of these bodies, but an outline sketch might be ventured. A body of this character should, in order to save time and expense, combine the elements of a Ministerial Association, District Sunday-school Institute, and a District Stewards' Meeting, and thus make one organization, and render it more effective and useful to every charge and to the connectional interests of the district. The essays should be broader and more practical than usually read at ministerial meetings, embracing questions of polity and the benevolent institutions, and thereby reaching ministers and members. The Sunday-school cause might be greatly stimulated under associated efforts, both by reports and special exercises. District Stewards have an opportunity to learn the condition of each charge in the district, and to act intelligently in their work. The holding of separate meetings for the above-named various objects is a wastage that should be avoided, as all the interests could be easily blended into one meeting. That portion of the disciplinary questions relegated from the Quarterly Conference to the District Conference may be rendered more effective in a larger body. Work may be done by a mixed one that could not be accomplished through a strictly ministerial membership, and the more the ministry and laity are blended together in considering the educational, benevolent, and financial interests of the Church, the better. Connectional objects and the social element may be stimulated, intensified, and revolutionized through this channel. The present chapter may be made to meet the highest ideal by grafting the part desired by Local Preachers, making the holding of its sessions absolute, and leaving the power of dissolution to the General

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Conference. With these characteristics a skillful administrator can make District Conferences a popular and useful organization, just as he has the power in a great measure to make his quarterly visitation to the Churches popular.

What are the comparative gains from a well-conducted District Conference?

1. This body comprises all classes of officials in the Church, except Trustees. It imposes a specific duty on the Presiding Elder, the Traveling and Local Preachers—the former to give an account of his work, and the latter to do likewise, and to be subject to examination of character and relicense if unordained; it requires exhorters to pass through the same steps, and Superintendents to report the condition of their schools; and it recognizes the District Steward. Under this head we note: (1.) The Presiding Elder's authority is not diminished, nor his quarterly visitations impaired. While, to some extent, the disciplinary questions and answers are the same in the District and in the Quarterly Conference, there is this advantage in the former, that the reports from the respective pastors act as a *stimulus* upon each other, and their statements are fuller and more inspiring. (2.) Pastors are brought into contact with other Pastors, and the reports, in their diversified form, are apt to produce aggressive and more liberal views. (3.) The careful examination of Local Preachers and Exhorters before disinterested persons from all parts of the district, relicensing them upon their merits and suitability for the office, is a much more thorough method than is attained by the Quarterly Conferences. This careful scrutiny of character and inquiry into the work of Local Preachers will have a salutary effect upon them. Their official recognition and assignment to systematic work, so far as possible, opens their way to favor with the people and to greater usefulness. (4.) Pastors alone are required to report the Sunday-schools to Quarterly Conferences, while the District Conference exacts reports from the Superintendent as well as from the Pastor. (5.) District Stewards become acquainted with the real condition of each charge, and this information furnishes each with an understanding of his duties which he cannot acquire elsewhere.

2. Taking into account the representations of the ministry and laymen brought together to consult and discuss questions

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of finance, various departments of Church labor, examination of ministerial character and cultivation of the social element, the District Conference, if properly conducted, may advance every interest, and in time become a wonderful power in the Church. It should also supervise certain financial and kindred matters which the Annual Conference is unable to do, while in session, because of other pressing duties.

3. The communities unable to entertain an Annual Conference would readily sustain a District Conference. While their proceedings are unlike in most respects, yet the public services of the latter especially are greatly enjoyed, and leave a salutary influence wherever they are held.

4. All the members of a District Conference generally participate in its discussions and business, while but comparatively few do so at an Annual Conference on matters beyond what relates to themselves. The preparation of essays and special addresses and the discussions which follow, as well as in the transaction of routine proceedings, secure a discipline for the mind of young ministers which they might not obtain readily at a session of an Annual Conference. These Conferences develop latent talent in ministers which might never have been seen elsewhere.

5. Members of the Church have an opportunity to hear questions of polity and doctrine, as well as finance, discussed as they are not likely to hear them anywhere else. Everything which tends to disseminate light and knowledge of the wants and demands of Methodism benefits the ministry and members of the Church, and this the District Conference may do.

6. The intermingling of ministers and laymen of a district cannot fail to produce good results. The social element can be cultivated, and a bond of unity established that will enhance the interests of the district. Already many invaluable acquaintances have been formed at various District Conferences, which might never have been obtained by any other means.

These are a few of the advantages growing out of a well-conducted and spirited District Conference.

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Art. V.—SHALL EDUCATION BY THE STATE BE EXCLUSIVELY SECULAR?

It is but too apparent that the Republic of the United States is passing through a transitional, if not, indeed, a revolutionary period. Questions of gravest import are coming before us for adjustment or readjustment; questions fundamental to the perpetuity of the nation, and freighted with its hopes and interests.

Among these questions none is more grave or vital than that of education in all its relations and applications; but especially is the relation of the nation or State to the education of its future citizens of pre-eminent importance. Shall the State educate its youth? Shall it employ compulsory methods? To what extent shall State or national education be carried? Shall it embrace primary education only, or include secondary as well, or advance through all the grades of higher culture, even to the college and the university? And, more important still, what shall be the character of the State's educational work? Shall it be purely secular, or all inclusive, embracing the entire nature of its subjects and having respect to their entire fitness for future citizenship? These important questions cannot receive any extended consideration in the brief limits of this article. We can only give a hasty glance and a passing word to some of them in their specific form, but hope to elucidate certain fundamental principles relating to the generic question of *What the State shall teach, or the education requisite for American citizenship.*

It is, perhaps, needless to start the question, whether the State shall educate its youth at all. Popular education, under government patronage and support, is an established institution in the United States; an institution deeply rooted in the popular heart, and which will not be surrendered without a struggle. It is too late in the history of our government to discuss that question in its simple form. It is not, however, too late to inquire concerning the reasons which underlie this cherished institution, the foundation principles on which it rests. We may legitimately ask, then, what are the ends sought in our system of common-school education? The answer is neither difficult nor doubtful. Qualification for citizenship, preparation for

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the manifold duties of life, protection to the interests of society, the safety, perpetuity, and prosperity of the nation—these are the ends sought and believed to be secured by the education which the State maintains at public expense. If these are the acknowledged and unquestioned ends sought, it is certainly a legitimate and important question which presses with imperative force upon us, *How are these ends best secured?* If the State proposes to accomplish certain definite ends, and employs certain well-defined means for that purpose, its citizens, who are taxed for the object contemplated, have a right to inquire as to the adaptation of the means to the end; and whether the end *is really secured* by the agencies employed. Here, then, comes before us, properly and forcibly, the question as to the character of our common-school education: what it actually *is*, what it *should* be in order to justify the State in supporting it? It will be answered that the ends proposed are secured by imparting knowledge to youth that they may become intelligent. But such an answer is vague and partial, and quite unsatisfactory to thoughtful people. *How much knowledge* does it require to make a man a good and safe citizen? Does simple *intelligence*, meaning by the term an intellectual knowledge of certain branches of study, constitute all, or even the most important part, of *education?* Are the ends which the State seeks and which its safety demands realized by any such meager and partial methods of education? Does it follow that because a child can read and write, or has passed through a more extended literary course, he is *thereby* qualified for the solemn and responsible duties of society, and of becoming a personal and potent factor in the social and civil institutions of a great republic? This vital question, deeper and broader and graver than all others relating to education, is the question which in some form is being rapidly pressed to the front in our country, and demands immediate and thoughtful consideration. The question, when reduced to its more specific form, is this: *Shall the education given by the State be purely and exclusively secular?* The subject is not a theoretical one merely. In several localities it has taken a very decidedly practical form. It is before some of the State legislatures for discussion and decision. Local school boards have it on their hands, and some of them are pressing it to a speedy settle-

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ment. Teachers are called upon to adjust their daily work with this question ever before them. There is a party in every State, daily increasing in numerical strength, becoming more emphatic in its utterances, more pronounced in its attitude, whose avowed object is completely to secularize and atheize the State and the nation in all their work and in all their relations to State institutions and individual subjects. It is important that every intelligent citizen should have a thorough understanding of the subject, and be prepared for wise and prompt action in relation thereto. We do not propose to view the subject from the stand-point of a Christian minister, nor that of a devoted Protestant, nor even in the light of pure, unsectarian Christianity. We prefer to discuss it upon other and lower grounds, and view it as a simple citizen, in the light of sound, worldly sense, of true philosophy, and of undeniable history. Without bigotry, without sectarian prejudices, without bias, assuming nothing but the common principles of morality and theistic or natural religion, let us approach this subject, seeking to know only what is truth, what is right, and wherein lies the greatest good for the greatest number.

I. A complete secularization of our public instruction so as essentially to exclude moral and religious education would be thoroughly *unphilosophical*. To do this is to ignore the true end of education. What is that end? The united testimony of all recognized authority harmonizes with the judgment of all thoughtful persons in answering this question. Pestalozzi, whose place as an educator is universally recognized, and of whom it has been truly said that he has exerted a greater influence than any other man on education in England, America, and the north of Europe, states as his first principle that "*education relates to the whole man*, and consists in the drawing forth, strengthening, and perfecting *all the faculties* with which an all-wise Creator has endowed him, physical, intellectual, and moral." "Education," he says, "has to do with the hand, the head, and the heart." Herbert Spencer will surely not be charged with any bias toward Puritanism in matters of education, but he affirms that the one end of all true education is to learn "how to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage of ourselves and others," or, in other words, "how to live completely. And this, being the great thing needful for us to

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learn, is, by consequence, the great thing which education has to teach. To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of any educational course is to judge in what degree it discharges that function."

What an utter neglect of this true and philosophic end of education is manifest in a system that proposes only to furnish the mind with a few facts, or subject it to the discipline of a few intellectual processes. Such a system also ignores entirely the true nature of the child. It takes but the most partial and imperfect view of him. In the estimation of such a theory he is a being capable of learning combinations of figures, of chattering grammatical sentences, of remembering incidents and dates of history, and nothing more. That he is a moral being, that he has a conscience, that the awakening and culture of his moral nature is absolutely essential to all true development, that unless this is done no worthy end of education is ever realized and no real success in life is ever achieved, all this is forgotten or treated with supreme indifference, not to say contempt. The noblest part of our nature is thus untouched, its highest functions are never employed, and no appeal is ever made to its most inspiring motives. To expect any valuable results from such an unphilosophical and irrational process is to insult reason and defy logical sequences. As well might you attempt to execute a difficult piece of music upon an organ without touching its principal keys or employing its most important pipes; as well attempt to solve a trigonometrical problem without a knowledge of the multiplication table. You can as soon make a scholar out of a child by throwing a spelling book and grammar at his head, as you can make him a useful member of society by stuffing him with readers, geographies, and arithmetics.

This unnatural and unreasonable method strikes with paralyzing force the teacher, and prevents his accomplishing the very work he is aiming to do. What is the teacher's real work? again we ask. To aid the pupil in the development of a true character, to qualify him for a worthy life, to render him a proper subject for citizenship and society. How shall he accomplish this all-important work? Evidently by using the limited time he has to the best possible advantage; by touching every key in that marvelous organism which will respond

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to the touch, by appealing to every susceptibility and every motive, by awakening every dormant energy, and especially by calling into play those powers and emphasizing those duties most essential to genuine manhood and womanhood. The true teacher does this by bringing *himself*, his whole moral and intellectual being, into sympathetic contact with his pupil's entire being. Hence it depends upon the teacher himself, his character, his culture, his personal influence, more than upon his mechanical methods of teaching, as to what kind of education his pupils will receive. Thus the genuine teacher is more than all text-books, more than all apparatus and all methods, more than every thing else in the work of true education.

When Pestalozzi was carrying on his great work in the old convent of Stanz, "his whole school apparatus consisted of himself and his pupils." But that was immeasurably more than all the apparatus of modern times *minus* the mighty personality of the strong-souled teacher himself. Yet of what avail is this transcendent factor in all the work of education—the personal force of the teacher—if it is to be limited to drilling the pupil's mind with figures or stuffing it with facts; or, in other words, if all the moral and spiritual force of the teacher is to be deprived of its legitimate effect, and his work is circumscribed within the narrow and beggarly limits of purely secular studies? Developed, ennobled, made great himself and worthy of his position by reason of his communion with truth in all her vast domain, in the realms of nature, of life, of duty, of destiny, and of God, he cannot, forsooth, lift his pupils to these lofty altitudes, he must not speak of these solemn sublimities and sacred verities, because *that* would be transcending the province of the State, whose work is to teach its ward to read and spell and cipher.

Could any theory or process of education more completely stultify the teacher and stunt the pupil than this? With such a theory character is nothing in teacher or pupil; the teacher who can cram the most multiplication table and spelling book into the child's mind in a given time, by whatever method or mechanism, bears off the palm, and is the State's best educational agent. How belittling such a view of education is to the teacher, how subversive of the high and noble ends he ought to seek, and how utterly at variance with every principle of sound

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philosophy, is apparent to every thoughtful person. Yet such is the legitimate sequence of the vaunted secular theory of common-school instruction.

This theory of education, also, when practically carried into effect, is subversive of the very object for which the public schools are maintained. What is that object? Confessedly a *moral* one, the prevention of crime, the moral qualification of the present child for the future citizen. All advocates of education agree in this. "Remove ignorance and thus prevent crime," is their constant cry. No class of persons are louder or more persistent in the advocacy of this theory than the secularists themselves. With this conclusion we may not be able fully to agree, but that the end sought in all State education is a moral one is clearly evident. This must be admitted to be the ultimate end in view. No other or lower end would justify the State in taxing its subjects for educational purposes. Education is supported at public expense for the same reason that government itself, in its various departments, is maintained, and that courts of justice are established—because the moral interests, the *well-being* of the nation, demand it. Hence it is the legitimate province of the State to tax its citizens for schools, because of their supposed necessity to its moral welfare. But the very acknowledgment that the end is a moral one is fatal to the theory of purely secular instruction. A moral end is the pre-eminent purpose in view; but, forsooth, the moral nature of the child must not be the objective point in your instructions, and you must take good care not to use moral methods, nor deal with moral truths, nor appeal to moral motives. You must not appeal to the Deity, a belief in whom underlies the moral nature, nor to the Bible, the highest and purest text-book of morals extant, for *that* would be obnoxious to some one's prejudices, and subject the State to the charge of teaching sectarianism. You are seeking to develop the moral nature, it is true, and to qualify the child to become a moral agent, to whom is to be committed the most sacred trusts and solemn responsibilities; but you must beware lest you appeal to his conscience, though no faculty in the young is weaker, more imperfect, and more susceptible, and none stands in such transcendent need of development as that, and none is so vitally related to his whole future and fitness for citizenship. Or, if the conscience

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is ever the subject of appeal, it must not be by employing those truths and influences which the history of the world has proved to be most effective in developing the moral sense and ennobling human character.

Such is the shallow philosophy, or, rather, utter ignoring of every principle of philosophy, which an unfounded and unreasoning prejudice calls upon this nation to adopt in its public-school system—to seek a moral end by systematically discarding the highest and best-established moral means; to seek development of character by persistently and purposely refusing to touch the most potent forces and factors which constitute character.

If an attempt is made to parry the force of this reasoning by pleading that to impart intellectual instruction to a child improves his morals and thereby secures the end proposed, we reply, first, if we grant that this is true in some slight degree, still it is a most indirect and imperfect method of compassing the end sought, and at best it would be far more effective if coupled with direct moral training; for the two processes of culture are not antagonistic when rightly joined, but mutually dependent and helpful, the one complementing the other. But, secondly, it is not so apparent that simple intelligence without corresponding moral training is an effectual preventive of crime, or that, in itself alone, it tends largely to moral elevation. It is coming to be more and more a question with thoughtful men whether we have not claimed quite too much for intelligence as a preserving and elevating force in society. If statistics have seemed to authorize our general belief in this respect, it is because that hitherto intelligence among us has been almost invariably connected with no inconsiderable moral and religious training, while criminal classes, so-called, were almost wholly deprived of both intelligence and moral influence. But other facts are pressing on us now, and facts which are not at all flattering to our boasted intelligence, nor favorable to reliance upon it for national safety. Though general intelligence is supposed to be largely increasing, yet crime seems not to diminish, and nearly all our prisons are full. Besides, it is ascertained that only *twenty per cent.* of State-prison convicts are illiterate.

It is not, then, surprising that there should be some honest questioning as to the more exact relation between the spelling

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book and the State-prison. It is true, as we hear so frequently from our modern philosophers, that the "cure for unbalanced lives is training"—that a bad environment makes bad men. It is also true that the only solution of the problem of much of our evil, South and North, is the school-house. But it is the school-house built upon the foundation principles of morals and theistic religion; it is the school-house where God is recognized and the Bible revered, and where the teachings of the world's noblest and best men are permitted to exercise their unrestrained influence.

We shall find wisdom in the practical maxim of the Prussians, that "whatever we would have in the State we must first introduce into the school-room." We want self-government, respect for authority, a profound sense of moral responsibility, developed consciences, reverence for sacred things, the fear of God, truthfulness, honor, unswerving integrity, a moral manliness that cannot be bribed nor intimidated. How shall we secure these indispensable requisites of a safe and prosperous nation without the highest moral training in the school-room? The more thoughtfully we examine the question the more thoroughly shall we be convinced that to dissociate the ethical and the intellectual, the Bible and the grammar, is an unwise, unphilosophical, and unsafe procedure. We shall accept the words of Hon. D. D. Barnard, of New York, uttered some years since before the Legislature of that State. "Keeping all the while in view," says he, "the object of popular education, the fitting of the people by morals as well as by intellectual discipline for self-government, no one can doubt that any system of instruction that overlooks the training and informing of the moral faculties must be wretchedly and fatally defective. Crime and intellectual cultivation merely, so far from being dissociated in history and statistics, are, unhappily, old acquaintances and tried friends. To neglect the moral powers in education is to educate not quite half the man. To cultivate the intellect only is to unhinge the mind and destroy the essential balance of the mental powers; it is to light up a recess only the better to see how dark it is. And if this is all that is done in popular education, then nothing, literally nothing, is done toward establishing popular virtue and forming a moral people."

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II. But many who admit the importance of moral training, and even its necessity in order to the welfare of the nation, will argue that this is not the work of the State, that the "government is exclusively secular, as much so as a bank corporation or a railway company," * and it must, therefore, depend upon the family, the Church, and the Sunday-school to train its future citizens in morals and religion. This reasoning has a surface plausibility, but contains a poorly disguised fallacy which is fatal to the nation. It makes assumptions which are wholly unwarrantable and contrary to facts.

The claim that the nation is exclusively secular, is not true in the sense that it has no individuality of character, no moral sense, no ethical principles, no religious belief, no moral responsibility. All these it has, and must have, or miserably perish of imbecility and inward rottenness. There is no proper analogy between the government and a "bank corporation" or a "railway company." The grounds upon which the existence of each rests and the objects legitimately sought by each are as widely separated as the poles. The latter are carried on by private enterprise for individual ends, personal gain being a legitimate object in view; the former is the central source of power under whose authority all corporations exist, and the chief object of which is to promote the *well-being* of its subjects. To compare things as unlike as these is to confound reason and destroy all rational distinctions.

The theory that the government ought to be or can be entirely secular, that is neutral, in regard to all matters of religion is utterly untenable. Such an attitude on the part of government is absolutely impossible. What kind of a government would that be that had no mind, no opinions, no will, no expression of purpose in respect to the fundamental principles and practices upon which its very safety and perpetuity depends? The advocates of neutrality and absolute secularism cannot fail to see the utter impracticability of their theory, and so they prefer to theorize rather than to follow legitimately the resistless logic of facts, and see to what position their theory must inevitably lead the nation. They can hardly fail to see that its professed *neutrality* can mean nothing else than direct *antagonism* to the real ends for which it exists. Those ends

* Rev. Dr. Spear, "Princeton Review," March, 1878, p. 377.

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are of the highest moral character, and they stand most intimately related to theistic religion, not to say Christianity. We have already seen that government has an acknowledged moral end in educating its youth, and it cannot escape the moral responsibility of legitimately and logically carrying out that end to its completion; it cannot honestly shift this responsibility upon other parties. It taxes the people for a given object, confessedly a moral one, and it cannot in justice to its subjects turn to them and say, "We expect you as individuals to do the work for which we have exacted a tax from you. We call the object a moral one, and it is, but we will attend to the intellectual part of our work and leave the moral to you; we will teach the principles of language and mathematics, you must teach the principles of ethics and worthy living." Such an attitude is unworthy of a great and enlightened State; it is imbecility and cowardice, personified and enthroned.

But is the State warranted in assuming that the moral education of its future citizens will be properly attended to by families or other organizations if neglected by its agents, the public school teachers? Possibly it will in some families, but so also would the same families furnish their children the necessary *mental* culture if *that* were neglected by the State, and would it not be equally wise and proper to rely upon the family or individual for the one as for the other? As a question of facts, is it true that the young people of our country *are* receiving, from any source whatever, the moral training requisite for the safety of the nation and the highest interests of society? Is it not rather true that one of the greatest perils to society lies in the fact that such vast numbers, of our young men especially, are coming upon the stage where life's responsibilities and issues are no longer play, but a solemn tragedy, with so little development of moral manhood, so slight a curb of moral restraint to hold in check the baser nature?

Precisely here is our peril most menacing. And it is folly to suppose that any imagined or actual increase of intelligence is rendering this peril less. Rather let us acknowledge with frankness, though with sorrow, that the danger from this source never was so threatening as now, and seems increasing with each year of our national history. If ever moral instruction were necessary in our nation, much more is it an imperative

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necessity now. The dangerous and immoral elements of society seem to be constantly becoming more disproportioned to the better classes. Nor can it be truthfully affirmed that this arises wholly from the influx of foreign population. Our own native-born youth, as a rule, lack the moral fiber, the sturdy strength, the genuine manliness and lofty integrity, which come from true moral training persistently applied through all the years of early youth and opening manhood. The State, in relying upon the family for this training, makes too large a presumption upon the general morality and fidelity of parents. Dr. Peabody, of Harvard College, in contrasting the past with the present in respect to parental training, much to the discredit of the latter, says: "A very large proportion of the pupils in our cities and populous towns come from houses utterly destitute of culture, and of the means and the spirit of culture, where a book is never seen, and reading is with the adult members a lost art, or one never acquired. There are schools in which four-fifths or more of the pupils are of this class." He might have painted the moral aspect of the home picture in still darker colors. Nor is it in the lowest classes of society alone that the moral teaching of the family is wholly inadequate to the child's need. Herbert Spencer, speaking of the subject in its general aspects, says: "The management of children, and more especially the moral management, is lamentably bad. Parents either never think of the matter at all, or else their conclusions are crude and inconsistent."

And yet the State is to intrust the moral training of its future citizens wholly to such agents as these. But is it not the *duty* of parents to attend to the moral and religious instruction of their children? Certainly; and so it would be their duty to provide them intellectual culture if the State made no provision for it. So it is the duty of all to obey the laws without police force or courts of justice or prisons; but the State does not in these matters *presume* on every one's doing his duty, and so it makes provision for him in case of his failure in this respect. Why does it not take into consideration undeniable *facts* respecting the inadequate moral training of its youth, and make preventive as well as punitive provision for the welfare of society? The fact is, there is too much shifting of responsibility in this entire matter of the moral and religious instruction

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of the young. The State commits it to the family, the family relies upon the Church, the Church intrusts it to the Sunday-school, and between these several agencies, with their indifference or inefficiency, the one transcendent work of the republic, the proper education of its youth, is most negligently and imperfectly achieved.

There is something inspiring in Sparta's training of her youth for the one object she wanted to compass, that of making hardy soldiers. For this purpose the boy was taken at seven years of age, and kept in the hands of the State until he was sixty. He was fed on black broth at the public tables, toughened by exposure, inured to hunger, thirst, fatigue, scourging, too loyal and too brave ever to utter a word of complaint. Not an example by any means of a perfect education, but worthy, nevertheless, of careful study. Cannot an enlightened Christian State, far on in the wiser ages, exhibit at least equal wisdom and zeal in the education of her more favored youth for the higher ends she seeks to compass, and the nobler arena of life into which they are to pass?

It ought to be added, also, that the theory of providing exclusively secular education by the State exerts a most unfavorable influence upon our youth, tending to demoralize and atheize them. This attitude of the State cannot fail to be interpreted by young and susceptible minds as one of indifference to morality and religion. With the State assuming such an attitude, and the natural disrelish of the young for moral instruction and restraint, the parent and the religious teacher, however willing and capable they may be, find it almost impossible to impress these higher truths on the mind that is indurated rather than made more susceptible by its purely intellectual culture. Five or six days of the week devoted exclusively to secular instruction, with rarely or never an appeal to the higher nature of a child, is a poor preparation for that higher instruction, be it from mother or minister. The receptivity of his moral nature is gradually lessened by the overshadowing pre-eminence given to mental culture, and his indifference to all moral and religious truth constantly increases by a kind of logical sequence under this fearfully one-sided and irrational method of training. If the Bible is not honored in the school-room, it will not be likely to receive much attention in the pupil's chamber; if God is not

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recognized as authority there, he will not be often in the pupil's thought elsewhere; if moral and religious truths find no place in the daily instruction from the teacher, the parent and Sunday-school teacher will have a hard and ungracious task to find any place to crowd these truths into the pre-occupied mind in the occasional half-hour reluctantly yielded to them for such a purpose. And so it happens, by the practical working of laws which are as inexorable as destiny, that the moral nature of multitudes of young people is an uncultivated waste; and the State, pursuing such a policy, will annually pour out upon society multiplied thousands of youth as unqualified for the duties of life and as dangerous to all the best interests of the nation as if they had never received any training at the public expense.

This theory of pure secularism in education is *revolutionary*. Whatever merits it may claim, it is in direct antagonism to the history, the spirit, and genius of our common-school system. It is an unquestioned historical fact, well-known by all intelligent persons, that the common school owes its origin to the intense religious spirit of its founders. It is the child of Christianity, and the Bible is its fountain head. If we refer to that famous original order of the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1647, by which every township of fifty householders was required to establish a school, we find its inspiration in the emphatic recognition of God and the Bible. Thus originated and thus has been developed a system of education, permeated and inspired with the highest moral and religious ideas—a system which has given us, as a nation, a history of unparalleled growth and prosperity; a system which has achieved for us greatness and honor unprecedented; a system which, in its essential features, is the admiration of the civilized world. Is it, then, the part of wisdom and statesmanship to strike away the very foundations of this vaunted institution, and smite it with paralyzing force by one fell revolutionary blow from the destructive hand of atheistic secularism? If we consent to such a revolutionizing departure from the honored past, let us do it with open eyes and clear understanding of the logical consequences. Let us consider what this secularization of the government, and of the public schools especially, means, and what will be the inevitable results. It is not a question of teaching sectarian tenets, nor of reading a

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few verses from any version of the sacred Scriptures, nor of opening the school with a brief religious exercise of whatever form; all these questions are of minor importance, as compared with the great question at issue. That question is this, *Shall the State become unqualifiedly atheistic?* Shall it assume an attitude of absolute indifference to religion and that whole domain of fundamental truths and historic facts, based upon religion? Shall it entirely ignore God, the Bible, Christianity, the Sabbath, with all the moral teachings that have their roots in these fundamental ideas? Shall it forbid its teachers to give instruction in any of these truths and the duties arising therefrom? Shall it, at this late day, assume an attitude of antagonism to the very principles which have hitherto permeated every department of our government, and have given it stability, greatness, and power? And shall all this be done at the clamorous bidding of a few restless spirits, who are dissatisfied with the noble structure which our fathers reared with sacrifices of toil and tears and blood, and who seek to smite the proud edifice with destructive hand?

All this the State must do if it honestly concede the demand for complete secularization. It must expurgate every text-book in use, it must eliminate every extract from the Bible, every allusion to God as the beneficent Creator, to Christ as the world's Redeemer, to the Sabbath as God's appointed day of rest for man, to Christianity as the purest type of religion. There must be no allusion to the great First Cause, none to the evidence of design in the human system nor in the universe; no reference to a Divine Providence whose bounty makes the earth to smile, no word of instruction respecting man's responsibility to his Maker, the true foundation of moral obligation, the fundamental distinction between right and wrong. All this savors, it is said, of religious prejudice, and is offensive to some of the State's subjects; therefore the State must take care that it has no place in its public schools. This and nothing less is the issue; this and nothing else is the legitimate result. It is useless to say that the Bible can be introduced "as literature to be studied, as Homer and Virgil and Shakspeare."

The plea for secularism on the part of the State is either a quibble or it is an honest objection to theism and Christianity

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having any recognized place in our national government. If it be the former, it is unworthy of a moment's thought; if it be the latter, then it demands all that we have specified, and more. It demands that the nation shall banish the recognition of God and the Christian religion from every governmental department in the whole national domain. It demands that the Bible shall have no recognized authority in the nation's laws nor in their administration; that no prayer shall ever be offered in legislative assemblies, that no oath shall be administered to bind the conscience of a witness in a court of justice, that the name of God shall never be invoked at the inauguration of the nation's high officials, that no chaplain shall be employed, and no minister of the gospel be permitted to offer prayer in the various governmental institutions of the land. In a word, it demands that the nation shall be *atheistic*, purely, confessedly, emphatically, persistently atheistic, refusing any and all recognition of God and religion throughout all its departments.

With the issue thus before us, carried out to its logical consequences, little more need be said to convince thoughtful persons of the utter fatuity and fatality of such a course. It would smite with complete destruction our whole common-school system. To use the language of the University Report of the School Board of New Haven, Conn.: "If there is to be any thing like education in our schools, if any thing is to be taught other than the use of the alphabet and the processes of arithmetic, with, perhaps, the higher branches of mathematical science, the teacher, and the text-book, if there be one, must recognize religion as an element of human nature; as a fact and a dominant factor in all history; as implied in laws, governments, and the being of society; as an influence pervading the literature of all languages in all ages; and as modifying to-day the thinking, the morals, the usages, the institutions, and the national character of every people under heaven. Such recognition of religion is not religious teaching in any sense in which any man, be he Christian, Mohammedan, Pagan, or Atheist, can reasonably complain of. A prayer at the opening of a legislature, or at the opening of a judicial court, is not an intermeddling of the State with the rights or duties of any Church, nor is it an attempt by the State to teach religion." "If the simple recognition of religion in the public schools is objectionable,

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much more would the systematic and thorough *ignoring* of religion be objectionable."

The State, then, is to prepare its youth for future citizenship. It is to teach that which underlies all true and worthy character—the virtues, the moralities, the duties, and responsibilities of life in all its varied relations. It is not to assume control over the individual conscience, nor dictate religious belief, nor *enforce* the performance of religious duties, nor assume to teach technical religion, much less sectarianism. But it is to *recognize* religion as the foundation of all highest morality, the basis of all sense of responsibility, and the inspiration of all that is noblest and best and most salutary in human society. It is freely to employ these great fundamental truths and all potent factors in developing the character of its future citizens and solving the problem of its future safety and perpetuity. In doing this it violates no right of any of its subjects and does no injury to any one.

To adopt the opposite course we have indicated is positively to injure the many in deference to the unreasonable prejudices of the few. Who asks it? Not the great body of American citizens, who are loyal to the government and ardent supporters of its public schools. Not the teachers, whose vocation would be degraded and whose success would be rendered impossible by such a policy. Not the Catholic, with any honesty, for he is a stanch believer in Christian education, and the whole theory of a secular and godless culture is to him an offense tenfold greater than the introduction of a few verses from the Protestant version of the Scriptures. Not even the Jew, for he believes in God, and the great principles of religion, and wants his children trained therein. If any of these parties object to features of our common schools, it is because they are virtually opposed to the entire system. Who, then, does make this revolutionary demand? A few infidels who affect to have no belief in God, and who really have little or no sympathy with our whole system of government. And in deference to the clamor which these men have raised, some men who are good and true have been led to espouse their cause and become champions of absolute sectarianism in the State.

For the State to heed this demand and adopt this policy would be unjust to the pupils of our schools, who are thereby

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robbed of the only preparation which will qualify them for a true life; unjust to parents, who intrust their children to the State with the expectation that they will receive the best and most needed training; unjust to citizens, who are beguiled into a false belief that the national safety is being secured through a system which proves to be inadequate and delusive; unjust to tax-payers, whose money is exacted for a purpose that is not accomplished and cannot be accomplished by such a method; unjust to teachers, who, in worse condition than the Hebrew slaves under their Egyptian taskmasters, are expected to build up the national edifice strong and stately, and enduring without employing the material and methods which are absolutely necessary to its strength and beauty and permanence. It is to attempt a feat which has never been achieved in the history of the world, and stands without historical precedent. Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, all nations in all ages, have recognized the Supreme Power of their imperfect creeds in their national instruction and in their whole national life. It remains for this favored Republic of the United States, standing on the summit of privilege, with its pure faith and its flaming light, with its knowledge of the true God and its marvelous experience of his saving help, to ignore that God who has lifted the nation to its high pre-eminence, and to flaunt its banner before the world, on which is blazoned in letters of burning shame, the atheistic motto, "No God, no Religion." Let the theory of secularism which we have combated be adopted, and the nation is doomed. Our boasted Public-School System will be smitten with paralysis and perish, as it ought when thus shorn of its strength; the noble institutions, which are the nation's support and pride, will totter to their fall, and the nation itself will be numbered among the buried nationalities of the past.

May a merciful Providence save us from such a fate! Let us be grateful that he has given us so distinguished and successful a history in the past; let us be thankful also that our common schools, permeated, as they have been so largely with the spirit of morality and religion, have contributed so much to make that history illustrious; and let us cherish the faith that he will deliver us from the evils which now menace our nation by giving us wisdom for our guidance, virtue for our support, and an unswerving fidelity to the sacred charge committed to our trust.

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Art. VI.—THE ITINERANT MINISTRY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

In an article on this subject which appeared in the Methodist Quarterly Review for January last, the writer presented, in epitome, the history of the origin and growth of the Itinerant system, and of its various modifications down to the present time. He also set forth the peculiar advantages of the Itineracy, and then endeavored to weigh accurately the evils incident to the system, at the same time ascertaining "the value of any compensations which may exist." Proceeding further in the examination of the question in its relations to the present time, he came to the proposal to remove the limitation, which was reviewed at length. His final conclusions were then affirmed in the following words:

> When the proposition was first presented to the mind of the writer several years ago, in connection with the embarrassments of a few Churches, it seemed quite plausible. But after pursuing that course which alone can lead to a safe conclusion, namely, to reread the history of the denomination and submit the theory to unprejudiced analysis, he has been led irresistibly to the conviction that the proposition is impracticable, and that its adoption would prove fatal to the Denomination as an organic unity in harmonious action.

At the close attention was called to a "possible amendment" based on propositions under examination in Australia.

Having carefully followed the subsequent discussions of the subject in the periodicals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of other Denominations, the writer resumes the consideration of those portions of his former article to which exceptions have been taken.

No one has yet come forward to attack the Itineracy; neither minister nor layman has recommended a dissolution of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the substitution of Congregationalism or Independency; nor does any one among us maintain the superior efficiency of a settled ministry *on the whole*, as it exists in any other body of Christians. Recent history proves, that if any Methodist ministers of greater, or even of less, ability than the average, were "mindful of that country" "they might have had opportunity" to

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remove thither. But many have perceived by reflection, or have determined, as the writer and many of his brethren in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church have had occasion to do, when approached with reference to a settlement, that where a majority of one can dislodge, and an active and watchful minority soon become a majority, "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." Especially is this true, unless there be a fundamental change of religious belief, as the glorious doctrines of free grace, equally removed from the spurious encouragements of Universalism and the frigid inflexibility of Calvinism, could be preached only by sufferance, or with "secret evasion," or "mental reservation."

Not only does no one among us attack the Itineracy, but none profess greater love for it than those who are advocating the removal of all limitation of time from the action of the "appointing power."

In this state of the case, it is necessary to take note of the fact that the Itineracy could not *maintain itself*. Left to the action of individual ministers and local Churches, it would at once cease. If our connectional principles and machinery were removed, all would fall apart, like beads when the string is broken, or a cluster of grapes when the branches and twigs are cut off. The larger Churches would become independent, and most of the smaller, languish and die. Therefore, as the system impartially regulated could not maintain itself, the ardent praises of the Itineracy which we hear on every side must, as in all cases of the adaptation of means to ends, include approbation of some kind of machinery to make it effective. Since many observations in the leading papers of other Denominations, and in the secular press, show that their editors and correspondents have a vague and imperfect idea of our system of making appointments; and as all proposed amendments are modifications of existing arrangements, we shall at this point delineate the essential features of the present plan.

Method of Final Adjustment of Appointments in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The power and responsibility of stationing the effective ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church inhere in the Bishops or Superintendents elected by the General Conference; such

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power to be exercised in conformity to rules made by the said General Conference, to which the Superintendents are responsible. *Theoretically* any Bishop has jurisdiction over every appointment at all times, the theory being that the Superintendency is one; *practically*, by reason of agreement among the Bishops, whichever of their number they may designate at any semi-annual meeting to preside in an ensuing Annual Conference, has special jurisdiction over the appointments in that Conference for one year—or till the semi-annual meeting of the Bishops, subsequent to the adjournment of the Annual Conference at which he presides. The Bishop obtains information from every source, but in most instances chiefly from the Presiding Elders; being in practice an arbitrator among them when they are not a unit in judgment, but having and exercising, according to his final decision, whenever he may think best, the autocratic authority necessary to give stability to the mechanism.

By the usage of the Denomination, the appointments announced at the Conference are for a year. Unless the Bishop shall revise his judgment, "nothing but immorality, insanity, heresy, voluntary withdrawal, disease, or death," can terminate them prior to the expiration of the Conference year. A part, however, of the work of the Bishops is, or may be, done through agents, called Presiding Elders. Presiding Elders, in the early history of the Denomination, had great power. Transfers, prior to 1794, were generally frequent, and the Bishop was not only "absent," but inaccessible, even by letter, for many months. The power given to the Presiding Elder "to change, receive, and suspend Preachers in his District, during the intervals of the Conferences, and *in the absence* of the Bishop," made him practically a "suffragan Bishop." But, by the Discipline, he is bound to give the Bishop "when absent all necessary information by letter of the state of his District." With the increase of the number of the Bishops, their assigned residences, and the improved modes of travel and postal and telegraphic communication, Bishops are now seldom inaccessible when in the United States, for any great length of time. So that no Presiding Elder, himself an appointee and agent of the Bishop, without giving information to the Bishop and awaiting his answer, and without a cause

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which, or the knowledge of which, has come into being since the appointment, would claim the power to nullify the action of the Bishop by changing any or all of the "Preachers on his District." His necessary powers for unforeseen emergencies are guaranteed, but his position is that of an agent of the Bishop, and it is made impossible for him to do any damage by usurping the prerogatives of his superior by two safeguards. He can himself be removed by a single act of episcopal discretion, and his *conduct in his office* is subject, and has been from the beginning, to review at the next session of the Annual Conference to which he belongs.*

The General Conference of 1840 made this clear by special legislation, whereby a provision which seemed to give the Presiding Elder power to permit a Preacher to leave his work was stricken out.

Appointments made at Conference are therefore annual, subject only to the operation of causes arising subsequent to the appointments, when the Bishop may revise his judgment, or, in case of his being inaccessible, the Presiding Elder may act for him in a critical emergency. But after a second re-appointment the Bishop is powerless, and so also is his agent, even in the employment of Superannuate and Local Preachers.†

It is this machinery which makes the Itineracy effective. The position taken by those who would remove the time limit is, that the appointing power is competent without the aid of a statutory limitation to secure the desired result more efficiently than is possible under any restriction other than its own judgment of the demands of the work.

It is held by the present writer, that "a limitation by law is essential to the successful working and permanency of the Itineracy."

* "And yet their power is so considerable that it would by no means be sufficient for them to be responsible to the Bishops *only* for their conduct in their office. They are as responsible in this respect, and in every other, to the *yearly* Conference to which they belong, as any other preacher."—*Coke and Asbury's Notes on the Discipline.*

† "*Provided*, however, that a Presiding Elder shall not change a Preacher in his District from a charge to which he has been appointed by the Bishop, and appoint him to another to which he could not be legally appointed by the Bishop. The law of limitation applies also to Superannuated and Local Preachers who are employed in the pastoral work."—*Discipline*, p. 106.

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RE-EXAMINATION OF THE REASONING OF FORMER ARTICLE.

We now propose a careful survey of the fortifications erected in defense of our position, that a time limit is indispensable to the efficiency and perpetuity of the Itineracy, to determine what breaches if any have been made; and whether, if any are found, they can be repaired, or, if incapable of being strengthened, they are sufficient to undermine or overthrow the structure.

I. The first position was thus stated:

1. Under a limitation the appointments are made in the discretion of the appointing power until the limit is reached. The will of the Bishop determines when the pastor shall go, whether he shall return once or twice. Loyalty requires him to go or stay. But, according to his appointment, when the constitutional limit is reached the Bishop becomes "weak as other men." It is now the whole Denomination which compels the incumbent to move, and he cannot resist. If the Bishop, the Minister, and the Church, should combine, it would avail nothing. Hence it is impossible for the man to stay, and though he may go with the tears of the people mingling with his own, there is no outcry against the Bishop. But let all limitation be removed, and the exercise of Episcopal discretion is the sole "efficient cause" of the otherwise unnecessary removal of their beloved pastor, and the people are grieved and indignant, while he feels oppressed. And after a pastor should have been settled many years in a place, if the people desired him to remain, it would be impossible to remove him without his consent. It would be useless to talk to either about the good of the Denomination as long as both were satisfied.

This position has received attention from the editor of the "Methodist" whose remarks we quote in full:

Some of the reasons of Dr. B. for a time limit are: 1. After the limit is reached "It is the whole Denomination which compels the incumbent to move, and he cannot resist." We have once before pointed out the fallacy in this statement. We answer now as before, "the whole Denomination" requires a man to go at the end of any year, if the Bishop, speaking for it, tells him to go, "and he cannot resist." Any removal has the whole Denomination behind it, and there is no case of successful resistance known to us. The whole Denomination weighs (at least) just as much when its law empowers a Bishop to do something as when it forbids him to do it. The vast virtue of a negative is chiefly a matter of the controversial imagination.

It would seem that this passage was written under an error as to the meaning of the statement declared to be fallacious.

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We must, therefore, endeavor to make it more clear. Up to the statutory limit the decision is contingent on the judgment and will of the Bishop; but when the limit is reached the removal is arbitrarily effected by the force of the statute.

When the Denomination empowers a Bishop to perform an act contingent on his discretion and will, it holds him personally responsible for his action. Ministers and Churches have their opinions of the wisdom or folly of his decisions, of his motives, of his "bias;" and if he could be proved to have an unworthy motive, or to have neglected to inform himself, or to have acted capriciously, or without reason, it would be a sufficient ground for impeachment. But when the law limits the term, the personality of the Bishop sinks out of sight before the impartial decree of the Denomination. Let it be observed that, in the *final decision*, the Bishop has every thing to do with the minister's leaving prior to the expiration of the term of three years, but practically *nothing whatever* to do with his leaving at the end of that time. As when the law fixes the punishment of murder in the first degree to be death, the jury having declared the prisoner guilty, the judge has no alternative, and *therefore* no responsibility for the sentence; so when the third year ends, the law relieves the Bishop of all responsibility, by forbidding another reappointment to the same circuit or station until after the lapse of three years more. Whether this radical difference exists is a question of fact; whether it is recognized is one of perception. The logical reader will decide after due reflection. We should hardly have thought it necessary to refer to it again, were it not that some may have seen the objection who never saw the original proposition. The editor of the "Northern," in an elaborate article, which strikes us as a model of gentlemanly discussion, thus summarizes the argument:

> In other words, the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church will submit to inconveniences which come from a statutory regulation, but would not submit, even for the greater good of the Church, to the same inconvenience coming from the exercise of discretion conferred by the statute upon the administrators of the law.

To this we reply: "Discretion," given by the statute to the administrators, may be judged by the discretion of those af-

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fected; "the greater good of the Church" becomes a matter of opinion, and there is room for argument, appeal, and resistance to any extent less than rebellion. Now, to destroy the force of our reasoning, Dr. Warren says:

> Let us test the validity of this argument by experience. The fact is, that under the operation of the present rule not more than one third—probably not more than one fourth—of the changes or removals of pastors to new charges made every year are required by the limitation. We base this assertion upon facts ascertained from an examination of the Minutes of five eastern Conferences, and two western. Here, then, we find "Episcopal discretion" exercised each year in effecting the removal of at least two thirds of the pastors who receive new appointments. Under these circumstances we venture to affirm, that of those who are moved by Episcopal discretion, there will be found a smaller proportion complaining of the act of the Bishop than can be found among those who are moved by the limitation complaining of the arbitrary exactions of the law.

We quote so much because the style is clear, and because we have no sympathy with the method of discussion which distorts language to gain a point.

The question is, Does the fact that two thirds of the removals are cheerfully submitted to under the exercise of Episcopal discretion prove, or even raise a presumption that a "time limit" is not essential to the "successful working" of the itineracy? We hold that it does not, and for these reasons. Most removals *before* the time limit is reached are of one of the following classes: the Church or the minister wishes a change, or one or both are indifferent to it, or a minister is wanted for some more important work.

The instances in which a minister *strongly* wishes to stay, and the Church as strongly desires him to remain, and the minister is removed before the time limit is reached without some most imperative reason growing out of the demand for his peculiar gifts, are "few and far between;" and when they occur, they are most bitterly complained of by pastor and people, and are astonishing to all. They are submitted to because there is no help, and because both minister and Church know that the pastor could not stay more than one year, or, at the most, two years longer.

Now, no one, so far as we have learned, ever imagined a time

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limit to be necessary to preserve the Itineracy in cases where the minister wished to go, or the people earnestly desired a change, or both were indifferent on the subject, or where the reason for the removal is so obvious that neither minister nor people could complain. How, then, it could be fancied that submission to "Episcopal discretion" in instances where there is substantial agreement or indifference, would show that if there *were no limit*, and both minister and people felt in their "inmost souls" that the separation was wholly unnecessary and would ruthlessly sunder ties that years of intimacy had formed, there would be equal submission—is a problem as difficult of solution as any presented by the subject itself.

The same writer adds another passage which, if we understand it, is not confirmed by the history either of Churches or Nations:

> If it shall be claimed that the one third who are moved by the limitation include most of the more able and experienced ministers, we reply: The greater measure of loyalty ought also to be with them, and it would hardly be admitted by them that they would not submit to the exercise of Episcopal discretion as cheerfully as their younger and weaker brethren.

On the subject of "loyalty," we shall speak in another part of the discussion; but observe here, that the men who are more likely to revolt are those who, by reason of conscious strength, influence, and position, have grounds for expecting success. The young, except in a few instances of rashness, and the weak, know that there is no help for them; but the able and experienced, accustomed to rule, are strongly tempted, when they feel the yoke of higher authority, to resist. Most of the serious difficulties in the exercise of Episcopal discretion have come from influential Churches and able or popular ministers, though by no means always co-related. The men who in Europe and America have left original Methodism and formed other sects, have not, as a rule, been "young and weak," but "able and experienced." James O'Kelly, Nicholas Snethen, Alexander M'Caine, Asa Shinn, the leaders of the South on the one hand, and Orange Scott and his colleagues on the other, were not "young or weak." We may conclude, therefore, that the distinction between the "exercise of Episcopal discretion and a statutory regulation," relieving

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the Bishop from all responsibility, is a valid one, and that the latter is essential to the permanency of the Itineracy.

II. Subordinate to this position, we said:

But great changes would surely be introduced in Methodist usages, doctrine, and discipline. One minister, believing in the annihilation of the wicked, another preaching hope for all, a third winking at dancing, card-playing, theater-going, a fourth indifferent to class-meetings, these could all, and easily, stamp their peculiarities on their congregations, and great dissimilarities in usages, doctrine, and discipline would soon appear. If the germs of these things are planted "in the green tree, what would they do in the dry?" Then, when these evils should have become obvious, and it would seem necessary to remove the man to save the Church, the cry of persecution would be raised, those whom he had infected would gather around him, and he would remain or divide the Church. This result would be the more sure because, under a ministry likely to be permanent, those who sympathize with a peculiar style gather around its embodiment, and those who dislike it (unless they remain as a turbulent element) depart.

This passage has had the fortune to be extensively quoted. It appears in full in an article in the "Independent" of February 12, the second in a series now appearing from Methodist writers on various phases of this subject. The author of the article says, referring to the above passage:

This is a mild and harmless joke that nobody will mistake for an argument, as it is generally known that Methodism has a more prompt and vigorous way of dealing with heresy and misdemeanors than cutting their tap-roots and translating them every three years.

To mistake reasoning for joking, and joking for reasoning, are usually closely connected, though of little assistance in the solution of a difficult problem. Dr. Warren addresses himself to the examination of the passage with energy and candor. He says:

These evils would be prevented by other features of Methodist polity and practice. . . . If it may be presumed that any considerable number of Methodist preachers, yielding to the small temptation which the possibility of a long pastorate might present, would, if left to themselves, forget the vows and obligations of their office, fall from the grace of Methodist loyalty, and then develop all the perverseness and depravity above indicated, it should still be remembered that judgment awaits them. They are responsible. This fact would tend to reduce the number. With

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the Discipline marking distinctly the course of ministerial duty, with the Bishops having general supervision of the Church, with Presiding Elders having more immediate and personal supervision of Districts, with Annual Conferences jealous of the honor of the Church, and intolerant of heterodoxy or disloyalty, and with a body of critical laymen ready to judge ministers by the standards of Methodist law and usage, it is probable that the number of these erratics would remain quite small, and that their following would not be very great. There is little danger that Dr. Buckley's "green tree" would ever become a "dry" one.

But in summing up all that was suggested as possible of different men, and predicating it of one, in the phrase "develop all the depravity and perverseness above indicated," attention is diverted from the main point. We said: "*One* minister believing in the annihilation of the wicked, *another* preaching hope for all, a *third* winking at card-playing, dancing, and theater-going, a *fourth* indifferent to class-meetings . . . might easily stamp their peculiarities," etc. "If the germs of these things are planted in the 'green tree,' what would they do in the dry?" The grounds of that conclusion must now be submitted. The effect of the permanent identification of ministers with the same Church or society is not a matter of conjecture. Around us are Churches in which permanency of the pastoral relation is possible, and desired by the ministry and by the people so long as they are satisfied.

Though the results are often so beneficent that, as the Methodist minister who must "move in three years" looks upon the venerable pastor or *pastor emeritus*, a feeling of despondency sometimes arises in his breast, we cannot be blind to the fact that great differences in the spirit, doctrinal teachings and practices of the people arise. Consider, as examples in the Protestant Episcopal Church, the influence respectively of Drs. F. C. Ewer and Stephen H. Tyng, Jun.; the Church of the former hardly distinguishable from Roman Catholicism, that of the Rev. Mr. Tyng, in its spirit and teaching distinguishable from a Methodist Church chiefly by the use of the prayer-book and the gown. In the Presbyterian Church how unlike in spirit and modes are the societies of Drs. Talmage and Cuyler. In the Congregational Churches there are ministers preaching a species of Universalism, and others the Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards; some as strict in their teaching con-

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cerning amusements as the early Puritans or Methodists, others inculcating views the very opposite. It is reasonable to infer that, with permanency made possible among us, similar changes would arise, unless natural tendencies were counteracted by some *adequate force.* Under the operation of the time limit as it now exists, no minister has the opportunity to infect, to any great extent, an orthodox congregation. If, on his arrival, he were to preach contrary to the "standards" of Methodism, he would arouse opposition, and would soon be removed if not suspended. A preacher of false doctrine, without friends and an established position, is seldom dangerous. If he insidiously undermine, his time is up before he has done great damage. The figure of "cutting the tap-root," quoted above, implies forgetfulness of botany. The botanical definition of "tap-root" is this: "The root of a plant which penetrates the earth directly downward to a considerable distance without dividing." The tap-roots in a Methodist congregation, educated under a long line of preachers "speaking the same words and minding the same things," are too sound and healthy to be killed in a year or two.

That some of our ministers have been indifferent to class-meetings, and allowed them to become almost or quite extinct, and that there are some pastors in rich and fashionable congregations and in wealthy farming communities who do not mention class-meetings in the pulpit from the beginning to the end of the year, could be proved if denied. Furthermore, that dancing and theater-going are continually making inroads; that the waves of fashionable dissipation, augmented by the laxity of other Denominations in all great centers, are beating continually against us; that some ministers have been silent, or even "winked" at these things, so as to make it difficult for their successors to be faithful to Methodism, and at the same time to be popular with the young people, or even approved by their parents, is known to all who have the opportunity to know it. And wherever these things have made inroads, whether in the East or the West, in the beginning it was the indifference, the blindness, the weakness, or the cowardice of some minister or ministers that allowed it. To pluck up one weed, and that a little one, is easy; to search for one at the roots of every flower or plant in the garden, troublesome if not

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dangerous. But often these careless husbandmen are followed by those who prefer fidelity to ease, and the evil work is partly or wholly undone.

When Dr. Warren says that "there is little danger that Dr. Buckley's green tree will ever become a dry," we must be allowed to remind him that under the operation of natural causes the only thing necessary to turn a "green tree" into a "dry" is *time.*

But what are the forces, said to have been overlooked, which are to prevent these results? The action of Bishops, and trials for heresy. But when time has made the incumbent strong, so that "to remove him will rend the Church," "there's the rub." Again, a Society may be honeycombed with fashionable dissipation, and no Bishop know it. Ah! but the Presiding Elder will, and he will give the Bishop that "necessary information." Nay, the Presiding Elder cannot enter very far into the *social* life of a congregation, even where his family attends, much less elsewhere. As for trials for heresy, they are so difficult to manage, create so much bitterness, and afford such opportunities for hair-splitting, that, except in the most outspoken cases, nothing could be done. A distinguished and able man, tried for heresy in the Methodist Episcopal Church, with a strong society to which he had preached for eight or ten years in sympathy with him, would become a martyr, and his society would vow to stand by him to the end.

The other evils, decline of class-meetings, increase of worldly amusements, etc., could come on from simple neglect. If the original passage be carefully studied and judged, in view of what occurs in Churches where permanency is possible and desired, in the light of the tendencies of modern times, especially if the influence of the secular press on ecclesiastical trials be duly considered, it will appear that there are no adequate forces to prevent the "green tree" from becoming a "dry" if all time limits should be abolished.

III. Our next position, concerning the complication of the work of the Bishop, has received comparatively little attention, except that of flat denial. We see no reason to do otherwise than to reaffirm that position, adding only important admissions from authoritative sources. The "Methodist," in an editorial of January 17, says: "If we believed in the helplessness of the

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Episcopacy, as our critic seems to do, we should not favor the change in question. We believe as strongly as he in a limit and a limiting power; but we believe that it exists in the Episcopal authority." The Rev. C. N. Sims, D.D., states an objection to the removal of the limit as follows: "It would so interfere with the authority of the Bishops that they could not exercise it according to their best judgment." He then says:

> If this be true it is an unanswerable argument against the proposed change. But we deny it wholly. Ample constitutional power remains with the Bishop, and the contempt of the whole Church would justly rest upon any man in that high position who had not the courage and conscience to use it faithfully.

"Ample constitutional power" is a "good phrase," but the *practicability* of its exercise is the question at issue.

IV. To break the force of our objections to the removal of the limitation, the editor of the "Northern" relies on "loyalty." He says:

> What, then, is the ground for the declaration that the removal of the limitation—a change in itself desirable and requiring nothing but loyalty to render it perfectly safe and highly advantageous—would cost us the Itineracy? Has it come to pass that they who are faithful in much can be trusted with nothing? That ministers and Churches that have respectively surrendered much for a common good cannot safely be permitted any freedom which could in the least increase the temptation to insubordination and independence? It is true there *might* occur instances if the limitation were abolished, etc., but after reading Dr. Buckley's truthful explanation of the phenomenon of Methodist loyalty, we cannot but think that the number of such instances will be, as he says with reference to cases of insubordination at the present time, "so very small as scarcely to be a factor in the estimate of the working of the system."

But what is this "loyalty" of which he speaks? It is loyalty to the Methodist Episcopal Denomination or Church; for a minister is never permitted to feel that he is identified permanently with any particular society. Now, suppose that he were settled over a society for ten or twenty years, that it had been planted by him, or grown up under his labors, that though he went to the Conference every year, and received his re-appointment, neither he nor the people expected him to be removed so long as he succeeded; suppose, further, that a Bishop should propose to arbitrarily remove him, or that he

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and his people should think it arbitrary; or that a small minority should become dissatisfied without cause, and should stir up other ministers to say "he has been there long enough," what then? Suppose that his friends should say, "We have stood by you, and you must stand by us," and his wife, with her social relations, and his children in the schools, were to chime in, what would be the result?

There has been but one kind of "loyalty" thus far—loyalty to the Methodist Episcopal Church; every Methodist minister "to the manner born," and all who have selected the Denomination on reflection, have been educated to such loyalty to the whole Church. This in ministry and laity is the centripetal tendency which holds the body together. But a sentiment of loyalty to the local Church, which the abrogation of a time limit would make possible and stimulate, is antagonistic to the other, and to rely on the loyalty now existing to protect the Denomination from the evils arising from another kind of loyalty is not reasonable.

Surely the American people need no lessons on the baleful effects of a conflict of loyalty. General Robert E. Lee originally had no heart in secession. He was loyal to the Union, and would have fought for it. Why, then, did he reluctantly go with the South? Because his education and associations had developed a sentiment of loyalty to the State in distinction from that to the Federal Republic, until the former surpassed the latter.

V. We affirmed that "the history of the introduction of the 'time limit' confirms all that has been set forth." And in supporting that position, we charged the "Brooklyn Society for the Promotion of a more Effective Working of the Itineracy" with putting forth "an amazing, though no doubt unintentional, misrepresentation." The editor of the "Methodist" avows himself the author of the paragraph, the accuracy of which we impeached, and made answer in his paper of January 17:

> The paragraph attacked as "an amazing misrepresentation" is this:
>
> "Up to 1804 the pastorates were all short—shorter than now; but they were made so by a judgment annually exercised by those who made them. We are quite willing that the pastorates

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should be short, provided that they be made short by the judgment which annually fixes them. In 1804 the pastoral limit was fixed at two years of continuous service, and this limit was in the law for sixty years. Since 1864 the limit has been set at three years. I ask you to notice that the men who fixed upon two years in 1804 were large-minded, and set the mark up to the highest demand of any Church under their care. Two-years' pastorates, in 1804, met the extremest city want. If a General Conference were now to imitate the men of 1804, it could not fix the limit short of ten years. John-street, in 1804, was provided with a pastoral term up to its largest ambition; no one, remembering all the changes that have occurred, would think of a less term than ten years, if he wished to meet the largest ambition of St. Paul's in 1880."—P. 18.

The leading statement here is that, up to 1804, the pastorates were made short by a judgment annually exercised; a subordinate statement is, that the two-years' limit met the extremest city want. Dr. Buckley does not deny either statement, but he attacks the details of the latter one with considerable vigor, as follows:

"Nearly every statement in that passage is incorrect. 'Up to 1804 the pastorates were all short—shorter than now.' This is not correct. 'Two-years' pastorates, in 1804, met the extremest city want.' This is an error. 'John-street, in 1804, was provided with a pastoral term up to its largest ambition.' This is wholly wrong. Joining issues so positively on these statements, it behooves the writer to furnish irrefutable proof of the errors charged, or submit to be convicted of assailing the accuracy of another's affirmations without due care and candor. The facts are that, though for some time previous to 1794 the general custom had been for the preachers to change every six months, (albeit this was only required 'when convenient,') between 1794 and 1804 the terms greatly lengthened. Many remained *two* years, and several stayed *three* years, and Francis Asbury *could not* prevent it."

To substantiate this charge of inaccuracy, the following proof was furnished:

1. The Annual Minutes for the years between 1794 and 1804. These show many appointments for two years, and several for three—*John-street* and Baltimore, among others, having had pastors appointed for *three successive* years.

2. Stevens' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. iv, p. 178: "They were not allowed to appoint preachers for more than two successive years to the same appointment; hitherto there had been no restriction, and some had been *three* years in one appointment. Asbury rejoiced in the new rule as a *great relief to the appointing power.*"

3. Dr. Stevens is generally thoroughly reliable; but for details

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it is well to go to primary sources. Jesse Lee's "History of the Methodists" was published in 1810. He says, pp. 298, 299: "The following rule was also formed, 'The Bishop shall not allow any preacher to remain in the same station or circuit more than two years successively.' In some cases, prior to that rule, the Bishop had appointed a preacher or preachers to the same place for three years together. He now determined on a better plan, and formed this rule to prevent any preacher from wishing or expecting such an appointment in future."

An important typographical error occurred in the extract from Lee's "History." It reads: "We [not he] now determined on a better plan, and formed this rule to prevent any preacher from wishing or expecting such an appointment in future."

Candor requires any one who charges another with serious error to publish his answer in full: we therefore transcribe as follows the defense of the editor of the "Methodist:"

We answer: 1. Our leading statement is confirmed by Dr. Buckley, that the pastorates were made short by a judgment annually exercised. 2. The term "all" is seized upon, and bears the brunt of the criticism, though it is plain that the editor was speaking of the admitted fact (not denied by Dr. B.) that the general run of pastorates was shorter than now. The point is of little consequence to the argument, but, to answer a "smart" controversialist according to his smartness, we may say that if men "stayed" three years in John-street before 1804, they now "stay" four years in the New England Conference—and that is a complete answer to the purely technical objection on which Dr. B. founds the heavy charge of "an amazing misrepresentation." 3. Dr. B. furnishes no proof that any body was dissatisfied with the limit at two years. He proves that this limit had been reached and passed, but does not attempt to prove that any Church asked for a longer term in the rule. Respecting what some Churches might now ask, he is prudently silent.

On the answer but little need be said. The passage controverted declares that the "pastorates were all short, shorter than now," and holds up the men "who fixed upon two years" as "*large-minded;*" and declares that "if a General Conference were now to *imitate* the *men of* 1804, it could not fix the limit short of *ten* years." The spirit of the passage, as well as the letter, is a call to the men of 1880 to be as "large-minded" as the men of 1804. In answer, we proved that leading men had been appointed for *three* years, and that the men of 1804

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made the rule *solely to keep the limit down to two.* We now leave the reader to form his own judgment as to the issue of fact.

From the above premises "the conclusion is that"—

> If the iron hand of Asbury, when the Churches were weak and the discipline strong, could not maintain the Itineracy without a time limitation, it is certain that, considering all the changes that have transpired, if the limitation by law were removed, the Itineracy would at once and forever break down.

On this the editor of the "Northern" remarks:

> So positive and sweeping an inference should rest on an unquestionable basis. . . . That Asbury did not want the preachers to *wish* or *expect* to remain more than two years in the same place is, according to Lee's testimony, very evident, but that he recommended the rule because he "*could not*" make the appointments or maintain the Itineracy without it is an inference which the "iron-handed" Asbury would hardly have tolerated. Is it not a pure *non sequitur?*

We did not attempt to republish Asbury's "Journals," nor his letters to Francis Morrell, nor his valedictory to William M'Kendree, in which he bemoans the difficulties in his way of making changes and keeping the terms short, nor the quaint passage in which, under date of July 13, 1793, he says: "I am convinced there ought to be a change generally, presiding elders and others. This I aim at, but there are great difficulties. . . . All my woods and wilderness troubles vanish in a moment when I have to take one single grain of conference *tartar.*"

We really supposed that every student of Methodist history knew Asbury's views on this subject, and that he was thoroughly opposed to long terms of service in one circuit or station. The question, however, is, what was made out in the article reviewed. It was clearly shown that Asbury *could not* move the presiding elders without the aid of a time limit; that as late as 1794 he desired the preachers to change every six months, and that in 1804 the General Conference was compelled to make a rule limiting the time to two years, because Asbury had not been able to withstand the pressure, and had appointed some for three years. If it is a *non sequitur* to conclude from such premises that Asbury *could not* maintain the Itineracy against localizing tendencies, a true sequence in historical reasoning will be difficult to find.

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Whatever view may be taken of our deductions thus far, we have it in our power to set this branch of the subject forever at rest, by giving, in the very words of the minister who proposed the adoption of the two-years' rule, a full account of all the circumstances which led to its enactment, extending even to the conversation with Bishop Asbury on the subject.

History of the Adoption of the Two-years' Rule, in the Words of its Mover.

The circumstances which led to the adoption of that rule are not fully known at this day. Soon after the commencement of the present century two or three cases occurred that gave the Bishop great annoyance. Some preachers finding themselves in pleasant stations, and by the aid of self-constituted committees—*believing, of course*, that they could do better in the place than any one else—objected to removal, while the more pious part of the society would have preferred a change; but the officious committee prevailed. One of these unhappy cases came under our personal knowledge when in company with the Bishop, which gave the venerable Asbury much anxiety, seeing that to remove the incumbent would rend the society, and to leave him would result in injury to the Church. Finally *they* prevailed, and evil followed. In conversation with the Bishop we suggested the above rule, to which he pleasantly replied, "So, then, you would restrict the appointing power?" "Nay, sir," was the reply; "we would aid its execution, for in the present case it seems to be deficient."

His laconic reply of "So, so," encouraged me at the ensuing General Conference of 1804, to present the resolution, which was signed and seconded by the Rev. Joseph Totten, of the Philadelphia Conference. . . . Of course, it was laid on the table for the present. It was talked over out of doors, and scanned in all its bearings by the fireside, and when called up again, after some discussion, it passed with a very general vote. Nearly forty-seven years of experience has proved its utility, and we believe it has saved the Bishops and the Church no little difficulty. Now, if nearly fifty years ago there were two or three such unhappy cases, might we not reasonably calculate on two or three *score* at the present day? And if Bishop Asbury, with all his fatherly influence and decision, needed the aid of such a rule, how much more do our present Bishops! Indeed, we cannot conceive how an efficient systematic Itineracy can be sustained without some such rule; hence our English brethren have one of like import.

The author of the above passage, and the mover of the two-years' rule, was the venerable Aaron Hunt, of the New York

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Conference. The case referred to, concerning which he conversed with Bishop Asbury, was that of the Rev. Cyrus Stebbins. This brother was a man of some influence over the more cultivated classes, and, after being stationed in Brooklyn and New York City, was appointed, in the year 1800, to Albany City, re appointed in 1801, again in 1802, and again in 1803, making in all *four* consecutive years; and this against the convictions of Bishop Asbury, under the pressure of Brother Stebbins and of the "self-constituted committee," representing the society, and the threat that "to remove him would rend the Church."

The Rev. Aaron Hunt published the foregoing statement in the "Christian Advocate and Journal" for March 6, 1851, over the signature of Luther. Papers in the possession of his grandson, the Rev. Dr. A. S. Hunt, show that the case of Cyrus Stebbins is the one referred to.

Who, therefore, will hereafter dispute the proposition that Bishop Asbury *could not* maintain the Itineracy against the wish of certain ministers and Churches without the aid of a *time limit.* And if "the iron hand of Asbury, when the Churches were weak and the discipline strong, could not maintain the Itineracy without a time-limitation," how can it reasonably be supposed possible now?

As for the Rev. Cyrus Stebbins, though he was returned to Brooklyn, he withdrew in 1805 from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The so-called "reform" that is to be "the panacea for all our woes, real or imaginary," when studied historically and analytically, has little to commend it to the wisdom of the Church. If it were adopted, a certain proportion of ministers might perhaps find some delightful spot in which to grow old, surrounded by friends who cared for them, and would "stand by them." But the triumphant march of Methodism across the Continent and around the world, even if here and there a check temporary or permanent be felt, is a more inspiring spectacle. That many are at first inclined to favor this proposition arises from the fact that they have "unequally viewed" our history and system, and have reasoned from the point of view of the *local society* and the individual minister, rather than from that of the whole Denomination.

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Though the term "Triennialism" has been invented, and the declarations "It *will* come" and "There is a general call for it" are often reiterated by a comparatively few, it will be found that this "reform" cannot be incorporated with the existing machinery of the Church.

A Possible Amendment.

That there are some defects in the present system we admit, nor can we be driven to deny it by exaggerated statement of them, or inconclusive reasonings and perilous propositions for their removal. The question is, Can they be remedied or diminished without jeopardy the whole system?

The Australian plan, so-called, with some modifications, that the Bishops may have power, on the request of three quarters of the Quarterly Conference, sustained by a vote of two thirds of the Annual Conference, to re-appoint a pastor up to the period of six years, we suggested might possess the following advantages:

1. The "Itineracy" is still "limited by law."
2. The extension is so protected that it must be *exceptional.*
3. It would compel influential congregations to show a little more respect to the Annual Conferences than they sometimes do.
4. Such power given to the Annual Conferences would not be an innovation. See *Discipline*, 1876, pp. 102, 103.

But the proposition has been adversely commented upon.

Dr. Daniel Steele, in "Zion's Herald," has said:

> But we hope that our preachers will never be required to vote on the term of one another's appointments. It would be like the *outs* of civil office voting on the *ins.* We prefer Bishop Peck's suggested extension of the three-years' term when in any case it is deemed to be necessary by all the Bishops in their semi-annual meeting.

A writer, who conceals his name, says:

> 1. It would take the appointing power from the Bishop and Cabinet and give it to the Conference; for no Bishop would veto this double sanction.
> 2. Any minister who can get a majority of the official board can so constitute it as to get a two-thirds vote.
> 3. No Annual Conference would refuse to approve the request of the Quarterly Conference. So that in point of fact the con-

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tinuance of a pastor beyond the three years would be largely in his own hands.

A well-known layman, in private correspondence, says:

I fear the application of the "possible amendment" would place in many Churches a few members of a Quarterly Conference in the same position as the unfortunate juryman who had to serve with eleven obstinate men.

On these objections a few suggestions may be made. Dr. Steele's objection to the *outs* voting for the *ins* implies distrust of the ability of the ministers to rise above personal interest and prejudice. Yet in any special instance all who were not about to move, and all whose places were determined, could vote without prejudice growing out of personal relation to the appointment in question, and *nearly* all others.

That no Bishop would veto the double sanction, and that no Annual Conference would veto the request of the Quarterly Conference, are propositions not supported by proof. That they would not do so except in *extreme* cases may be taken for granted. But those who desire any extension should not object to that. That a minister who can get a majority can so constitute the official board as to get two thirds or three fourths, and that the minority may be the most judicious members of the Church, must be admitted. But the minority have a double appeal, namely, to the Annual Conference and to the Bishop.

The reference of such cases to the Board of Bishops is objectionable, because in the matter of transfers for particular Churches, etc., the Bishops have as much responsibility as they can bear; because the "Board" could not obtain personal cognizance of the facts; and because between the meeting of said Board and that of the Conference great changes might occur.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada the rule is, that "the Bishop shall not allow any preacher to remain in the same station more than three years successively, *unless by request of the Annual Conference*, except the presiding elders." The usage is as though it read "consent of the Annual Conference," but final discretion is with the chair as to exceeding three years. The rule was made to cover the case of the Rev.

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Joseph Wild, D.D., then of Belleville, now of the Elm Place Congregational Church, of Brooklyn, N. Y. There have been but two or three cases exceeding three years, the general view being unfavorable to it.

The Rev. Bishop Carman, in a letter to the writer, says:

> Am for keeping to the old landmarks. Think our plan is, perhaps, as good a modification as practicable. Quarterly Conference memorialize Bishop; Bishop comes to Annual Conference; ought to be safe there if any where.

This is substantially the "Australian plan." While we remain of the opinion that a substitution of five or six years in the rule for three is very undesirable, and that the removal of the limitation would be destructive, we are willing to see a plan proposed that will give a little more flexibility in *extreme* cases. If no safe plan can be devised, as the advantages of the Itineracy far outweigh its defects, it would be better to "bear those ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of."

A safe plan must have four elements—the extension must be so restricted as to be *exceptional;* the episcopacy must be shielded from responsibility, and yet allowed the absolute final decision; there must be a time limit at last, and that at no great distance.

But it seems probable from present indications that those who advocate the removal of the limitation will not be admonished by the errors of many other "reformers;" but, refusing to accept any thing less than all they desire, will drive those who will take no risk of the destruction of the Itineracy (which we believe to comprise the great majority of the ministry and laity) to oppose all change. As the "thin edge of the wedge" once introduced often makes possible what could never be attained by the direct application of external force, it is necessary to move with great caution. It is a safe maxim that experiments in mechanism and in legislation are dangerous in proportion to the delicacy and complexity of the original system.

Though this principle should never be allowed to obstruct genuine progress, it requires attention to the teachings of history, and is opposed to flippancy and superficiality in the discussion of great questions. Whether, then, the "Australian" or "Canadian" plan, with some modifications, is a safe experi-

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ment, is not to be hastily determined. We have called attention to it as seeming feasible, and entitled to critical examination; but nothing less than a general demand, after much deliberation, and a discussion marked by accuracy and fairness and in harmony with the "zealous and itinerant genius of Methodism," would justify its adoption. At no time in the history of the Church has there been need for greater wisdom in the administration of the system of ministerial transfer and adjustment than at present.

Every thing which the rule, fairly interpreted, admits, may be done to meet emergencies, but it is necessary that all should have reason to feel that the "appointing power" seeks absolute impartiality, and will gratify the wishes of the weakest country society whenever it is possible, and protect the interests of the humblest minister who tries to do his duty, as gladly as it will promote the desires of city Churches and their pastors.

"Transfers" should be made on principles of universal application, and mere capriciousness in Churches, either great or small, discouraged. Anomalies in administration foster discontent. We believe that the Itineracy has but just begun its work. The constant problem of the superintendency is to so guide it as to give the greatest efficiency. The problem before the Church is to determine what modification, if any, can be made that will not block the wheels in one part of the mechanism, or unduly accelerate their motion in another.

Art. VII.—THE WESLEYAN MISSION IN NEW ZEALAND.

To the Episcopal Church belongs the honor of being the first to introduce Christianity into New Zealand. Messrs. Hall, King, and Kendall, under the auspices of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, were the first to visit the islands on this errand; and Mr. Marsden, on Christmas-day, 1814, was the first to proclaim the gospel message, which he did from the appropriate words, "Behold, I bring you glad tidings of great joy." Though residing in Sydney, New South Wales, Mr. Marsden superintended the New Zealand Mission, paying it seven visits for that

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purpose—the last in 1837, when he had attained the advanced age of seventy-two. Throughout the whole of his long and useful career as a missionary superintendent he secured and maintained the highest respect of missionaries belonging to other Churches than his own, to which a simple and beautiful testimony was borne in the following "pulpit notice," read in the Wesleyan Church at Paramatta, Sydney, where he had died, on the Sunday preceding the one on which his funeral sermon was preached: "Next Sunday morning we intend to close this place of worship, and, as a mark of respect to the memory of our late venerable friend, go to the English Church to hear his funeral sermon."

The first Wesleyan missionary was the Rev. Samuel Leigh, who arrived in Sydney from England on the 10th of August, 1815, where he remained till 1818. In that year he proceeded to New Zealand, staying but nine months, during which period his soul was stirred within him as he witnessed the appalling degradation of the people. Returning again to Sydney, he remained there but a short time, when he proceeded to England with the object of persuading the Wesleyan Missionary Society to open a mission in New Zealand. In this he was successful, and accordingly, he, along with his wife, set sail for the new land, arriving at the Bay of Islands in the month of February, 1822. Acting under the advice of the Episcopal missionaries, who gave every assistance to their Methodist brother, Mr. Leigh, on the 10th of June, 1823, secured a piece of land at Wangaroa for a mission station, in a beautiful valley, to which he gave the name of "Wesley Dale." Here, within two or three days after claiming this lovely spot for the Redeemer, heathenism made one of its revolting displays on Christ's own day, when, a war-canoe coming into harbor crowded with slaves, one of them was killed, roasted, and eaten. Mr. Leigh did not remain long in New Zealand, the health of his wife requiring his return to Sydney toward the end of 1823. Yet in this brief period, not long enough to acquire a competent knowledge of the Maori language, he learned what were the perils and annoyances of a life among a haughty and savage people. His constancy was put to a severe test because he would not supply them with arms or gunpowder in exchange for food. Not merely did they temptingly offer as much as a hundred

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baskets of potatoes for one musket, but they determinedly refused to receive any thing else as payment. The description of their behavior given by an early missionary represents them as treating the new arrivals with the most provoking contempt:

> They are almost past bearing, coming into our houses when they please, demanding food, thieving whatever they can lay hands on, breaking down our garden-fences, stripping the ships' boats of every thing they can. They seem, in fact, ripe for every mischief.

Says the Rev. James Buller:

> When at family prayer it was not uncommon for the natives to creep in and steal something. A chief, for instance, would secrete the teapot within his mat. One day the dinner was cooked in the yard; while the table was being laid inside a hawk-eyed fellow got over the fence and walked away with oven, dinner, and all. On washing-days, basket and line, as well as garments, were tempting baits, and had to be narrowly watched.

In 1823, and before Mr. and Mrs. Leigh had left New Zealand, the Rev. Nathaniel Turner and Mrs. Turner, and the Rev. John Hobbs arrived. The mission party now consisted of four missionaries, a missionary's wife, an artisan, and a nurse-girl that Mrs. Turner had brought with her; of whom but one could speak the Maori language. Surrounding them were tribes described as the vilest in the land, of whose degradation Mr. Turner had very soon full proof, when one morning, not very far from his home, he came upon a small tribe preparing to sit down to feast on the body of a slave just cooked. A deputation from the London Missionary Society, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Tyermann and Bennett, accompanied with a Mr. Thielkeld and son, had about this time a very narrow escape from being cooked and eaten. Putting in to Wangaroa, with the intention of seeing their Wesleyan brethren, the ship in which they were sailing, the "Endeavour," had no sooner been brought to anchor before the Maoris crowded the deck and began their pilfering tricks. In trying to clear the deck a chief was jostled by the captain, and fell into the sea. Thereupon the natives took possession of the ship, and made the officers and crew prisoners, at the same time arming themselves with axes, billets of wood, and whatever else they could lay hold of. Not one of the passengers or crew dare move. While

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spears and clubs menaced the captain, Mr. Bennett was made secure by his arms being pinioned, his two friends being, at the same time, secured in another part of the ship. Terrible excitement prevailed, the howlings and yellings of the infuriated savages mingling in frightful discord as they menaced their helpless prisoners, who looked for every moment as their last. The ax had already been uplifted, awaiting but the signal to give the blow, when the attention of the cannibals was providentially diverted from their present murderous purpose by the appearance of a sail, which proved to be a boat having on board some of the Wesleyan missionaries and a native chief, Te Ara, the object of whose visit was to give an invitation to the deputation to visit Wesley Dale. Their timely appearance and interference saved the imperiled lives from destruction; but the invitation was not accepted, for the visitors had received such a fright that they adjudged it wiser to at once take their departure. Accordingly, they lifted the anchor and went out to sea, two of the missionaries remaining on board with them until they were fairly away.

Nor was the mission party itself permitted to remain for long in undisturbed security. Addressing themselves cheerfully to their work, they had acquired the language, prepared several small books, and made visits to distant native villages, when suddenly their hopes of a bright day in store were for the present beclouded. Hongi, a blood-thirsty warrior, made an attack upon the tribes in the locality, and wrought fearful havoc among them. Robbery, fire, and slaughter prevailed, and the mission party with difficulty succeeded in making their escape. Gathering together some of their clothing, which they tied in a few small bundles, the fugitives, including Mrs. Turner and her three small children, hurried away from danger and from death, through forest and fern, for twenty miles, until they arrived at the Church of England mission station at Koriki. It was now too evident that all the tribes were more or less to be involved in horrible warfare; and nothing remained for the party, who had lost their all, except a few articles of clothing, but to secure themselves by wholly departing from the scene of anarchy and blood. Accordingly, they left New Zealand for Sydney on January 31, 1827, where they remained for six months; at the end of which time, learning that a powerful

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chief, Patuone, who had saved their lives in their flight, was favorable to their return, the party, with the exception of Mr. and Mrs. Turner, returned, and settled on the river Hokianga, giving to the mission station the name of Mangungu, meaning in Maori, *broken to pieces*, a name appropriately descriptive of the irregular and broken appearance of the surrounding country. Mr. Turner returned to New Zealand in 1836, and remained in superintendence of the mission till 1839. On the death of Hongi, which took place soon after the missionaries' return, blood was again freely shed, and one of the most sanguinary contests that had been known in the country was threatened. A great array of armed natives took place at Waima, ready for fierce encounter. By this time the missionaries had gained some influence over the savage mind, and, at the risk of their own lives, they ventured to mediate between the contestants, rejoicing after many days of delicate and difficult negotiations in being able to secure a mutual declaration of peace. In this victory of the gospel of peace over murderous passion and cannibalistic propensity, the missionaries beheld the first-fruits of a long and toilsome season of sowing in tears. These successful negotiations strengthened their hold upon the Maoris, who soon came to regard them as their friends and counselors. Distant tribes expressed their desire to receive among them the men, no longer strangers, whom they had begun to respect and love; the few books they had printed were eagerly received and mastered with gratifying diligence; while in many places unholy rites and superstitious incantations were abandoned for the pure and simple worship of the almighty God. In striking contrast with the ferocious character of the people from whom, a few years previously, Mr. Turner had to flee for his life, that devoted missionary was gratified by witnessing many instances of generosity and true kindness. One may be mentioned, when the missionaries' house was accidentally burned to the ground, at a time when his wife was confined to bed through illness for ten weeks. The fire occurring at night, the inmates had to escape in their night-dresses as best they could, when one of the native chiefs, throwing a blanket over Mrs. Turner, carried her away gently in his strong arms, and upon depositing her in a distant house, broke out in pathetic strains of sympathy: "O mother, let not your heart be

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distressed. Though your house and property are gone, your life, your husband, and your children are spared. I have no garments to give you; but you shall have pork and potatoes, and all such things as we have."

Before Mr. Turner's return, in 1836, the Rev. Messrs. Whitebey, Wallis, and Woon had joined the little band; and in 1839 the Rev. John H. Bumby arrived, as successor in the superintendency to Mr. Turner, who was also accompanied by his sister, and the Rev. Messrs. Warren, Creed, and Ironside, with their wives. To these were added in the following year the Rev. Messrs. Buddle and Turton, with their wives, and Messrs. Buttle, Smales, and Aldred. It should be mentioned that as general superintendent of the Wesleyan missions in Australasia and Polynesia, the Rev. John Waterhouse was sent out by the English Missionary Society in 1839. His head-quarters were at Hobart Town, in Tasmania, whence he made several official visits to New Zealand, and where he died in 1842.

Nor was Mr. Bumby's career a long one; for while yet but thirty-two, in the full promise of usefulness, he met a sorrowful death, the year after his arrival in the colony. One day he was crossing the Waitemata in a canoe with twenty natives, himself seated in the stern with a book in his hand. A gentle breeze springing up, one of them rose to unfurl the sail, which, being heavy, others hastily stood up to assist him, capsizing the boat by so doing. Righting the canoe again, his brave boys succeeded in placing him in it; but some of them incautiously pressing into it, overturned it again. One of the Maoris, Hemi Karana, succeeded in placing his pastor on the upturned boat, where he supported him for half an hour, when a rolling wave passing over them drove them from their position, the missionary sinking beneath it before his faithful friend, who was a capital swimmer, had time to come to his rescue. Fourteen out of the twenty were drowned. Eloquent as a preacher, and of thoughtful habits and studious tastes, the young missionary superintendent was much better adapted for the ministry in England than for the arduous and many-sided work of a missionary pioneer in New Zealand. Special gifts were his, but they had a most unsuitable sphere for their employment among fierce and proud warriors, upon whom the only telling arguments were plunder and blood and cannibalism.

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The Supreme Disposer withheld permission even for their ultimate employment in the young country in the years yet to come; for his first and last service to his dusky charge consisted in the giving out of a hymn from the pulpit in the Maori language.

Mr. Bumby's successor as mission superintendent was the Rev. Walter Lawry, who for several years onward from 1818 had been a missionary in the Friendly Isles, and was thus well qualified by previous experience for the work upon which he entered on March 17, 1844. The prospect before him was in the highest degree hopeful. Heathenism had in many parts disappeared before the gently subduing power of the Christian religion, and he found the ordinances and institutions of the Methodist Church in existence among many a Maori tribe, and in some of the few European settlements which had already sprung into existence. Many and frequent were the occasions when the missionaries' hearts were made glad by applications from the stout-hearted warriors of former years for admission to the privileges of Church membership, and on some of these one hundred at a time would be baptized and admitted as catechumens.

Perhaps no better evidence can be supplied of the power of the Christian religion to subdue the savage character and regulate the lawless conduct of a Maori multitude than an account given by an eye-witness, the Rev. James Buller, of a Maori feast held in 1844 at Remnera, a few miles from the present city of Auckland. The Maoris have always been given to feasting, and this feast was no exception to the generality in that it had a political purpose:

> The number of visitors was about four thousand. For their refection there awaited eleven thousand baskets of potatoes, a hundred large pigs, nine thousand sharks, and liberal supplies of flour, rice, sugar, and tobacco. A shed, four hundred yards long, was standing about fifty yards from the breastwork of potatoes, which shed was covered with Witney blankets, and one thousand more were ready as gifts. The feast lasted nearly a week. There was a natural fear in the minds of the European settlers in Auckland that the presence of such a muster of Maoris would be fraught with danger. Had they intended mischief, the few soldiers in the barracks sunk into nothing before such a host. But not a single act of disorder transpired. Only one accident happened, and that was to one of themselves. It has been well

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asked, "Would the Caledonians, from the age of Constantine to that of the Plantagenets, have shown similar forbearance?" The governor, Captain Fitzroy, with his suite, paid a formal visit to the assembly. The war dance was performed by sixteen hundred. With such a number it was effectively done; but, as a relic of their old barbarism, it is not to be commended. Good taste, not less than sound morals, must condemn the practice. The several tribes were attended by their respective missionary pastors. Clusters of tents covered the ground, with small flags waving in the breeze. The Sunday was well observed, as it generally was in those days. Gathered into their several groups, the people worshiped God and heard his word.

Thousands of people, lately savage, brought together on an occasion usually stimulating to warlike propensities, must have come under the influence of habits far removed from those which had made men the plunderers and murderers they had been so recently, if they could conduct themselves with such admirable decorum. And indeed this was the case. Formerly liars and thieves, Mr. Lawry, describing a seven weeks' journey among them, says:

I was forcibly struck with their truthfulness and honesty. I did not hear of a single departure from truth or honesty in the case of a single individual of our people. I was cheered with the sight of the natives, without exception. Whether they traveled with us or not, all united with us in morning and evening devotion; the hymn was sung, the chapter was read, and prayer was offered. This is now the case in all those places where the influence of the missionary prevails, and there are few which that influence has not reached.

A few years after Mr. Lawry's arrival in New Zealand two useful educational institutions were established—a native model-school and the Wesleyan College. The first of these was founded at "Three Kings," three conical hills of volcanic character, near Auckland, for the purpose of training youth of both sexes, Maori and half-caste, in the rudiments of an English education, Christian knowledge, and industrial pursuits. Placed under the care of the Rev. Alexander Reid and Mrs. Reid, with an efficient staff of assistants, it continued in active operation till 1860, when it was interrupted by the disastrous Maori war. Wesley College came into existence under the presidency of the Rev. J. H. Fletcher, and was specially devoted to the training of the sons and daughters of missionaries

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in New Zealand and the South Seas, though not to the exclusion altogether of the children of laymen. For some years Wesley College, though now non-existent, had a successful career as a high-class educational institution, and was the only one in the land in which any thing but the merest elementary instruction could be obtained.

Mr. Lawry continued to fill his office of general superintendent until the year 1854, when he retired from the active work of the ministry, and, after residing four years in Sydney, died, aged sixty-six, March 20, 1859.

Mission work among aborigines every-where has always suffered, more or less, from the detraction of the unsympathetic settler and the selfish trader; and it is not to be wondered at that the Maori mission should have awakened some hostility in the same classes of critics. Much labor has been bestowed upon the Maori race, and though it can no more be said of this than of any other benevolent enterprise that the results have been co-equal with the hopes and expectations indulged, yet the work, as a whole, has been a very great success. It cannot be claimed that success was immediate. Long and wearily did the first missionaries labor before they were able to claim their first convert, and it was only on the 14th of September, 1825, ten years after their landing, that they were able to administer Christian baptism to Rangi, the first to bear the Christian name among the Maori race. In the face of brutalizing cannibalism and infanticide, debasing polygamy and unclean indulgences, and a belief in a powerful priesthood and their black arts, it was an up-hill battle that had to be fought before a people who had been subjected to such mighty brutalizing forces could be brought under the purifying and elevating influences of Christ's gospel. But the liberation was accomplished, and, until the disastrous wars broke out, for which European cupidity and wickedness are so largely responsible, the Maoris who accepted Christianity and her institutions displayed an admirable spirit of devotion and fidelity to the truth they had received as from God. Habits of decency, regularity, and piety were fostered by New Testament teaching, and the law of God, so long as they yielded to its requirements, had to them a sanctity, especially as it enjoins religious worship and observance of the Sabbath, which secured sincere and devout

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obedience. A military officer, Colonel Mundy, gives a description of a scene witnessed by him in 1847, which shows how these statements may be claimed to be realistic. He says:

I was returning with the governor from a walk to Mount Eden, when, upon turning the angle of the volcanoes, we came upon some hamlets belonging to people employed by government in quarrying the stone at the foot of the hill. I do not remember ever to have seen a more interesting or impressive scene than met our view as we looked down into the little valley below us. Eighty or a hundred Maoris, of various ages and both sexes, were standing, sitting, or reclining among the low fern in front of the village, in such groups and attitudes as accident had thrown them into. In the midst, on a slightly elevated mound, stood a native teacher, deeply tattooed in face, but dressed in decent black European clothes, who, with his Bible in his hand, was expounding to them the Gospel in their own tongue. Taking off our hats, we approached so as to become part of the congregation. No head turned toward us, no curious eyes were attracted by the arrival of the strangers, (as is so often the case in more civilized congregations,) though the governor was one of them. Their calm and grave looks were fixed with attention on the preacher, who, on his part, enforced his doctrine with a powerful and persuasive voice and manner, and with gestures replete with energy and animation. The sermon was, apparently, extempore, but there was no poverty of words or dearth of matter. It was delivered with the utmost fluency, and occasional rapid reference to and quotation from Scripture. The wild *locale* of this outdoor worship, (in the lap, as it were, of a mountain torn to pieces by its own convulsions, in the midst of heaped-up lava and scoria, with fern and flax waving in the wind,) invested the scene with a peculiar solemnity, and carried one back some centuries in the history of the world.

Similar testimonies from impartial sources might be adduced to almost any extent; while records of public profession of faith in Christ, verified by holy living and crowned by triumphant dying, fill the note-books of many a devoted missionary.

Despite the unwillingness of some even who have been the most profited by Maori civilization to admit their obligation to Christianity, in the present instance it is undeniable that it made a way for British law and British commerce. Sir George Grey, twice Governor of New Zealand, and who has spent so large a portion of his life in it, once said on a public occasion: "I feel confident that, regarded as a mere money investment, the very best investment England can make is to send out in advance—and far in advance of either colonists or merchants

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—missionaries, who are to prepare the way for those who are to follow them." And, said the first governor, Captain Hobson, addressing the Legislature, in 1841: "Whatever difference of opinion may be entertained as to the value and extent of the missionary body, there can be no doubt that they have rendered important service to the country, or that, but for them, a British colony would not at this moment be established in New Zealand." If to reduce a rude language to writing, to provide an elementary literature, and to instruct in the simpler arts and handicrafts of civilization, be to prepare the way for a profitable intercourse on the part of a commercial nation with a strong, brave, and intelligent native race, then the Wesleyan missionaries of New Zealand, along with their brethren of other Churches, are entitled to the ungrudging thanks of many who have built up substantial fortunes out of their trading in the fair and fertile home of the Maori.

By the blessing of God the missionaries had been able to cope successfully with native superstition and ferocity. There remained another obstacle to their work, which came from their own race. A country so admirably adapted for colonization as New Zealand was sure to attract Europeans and Americans to its shores in large numbers; and it is simple truth to say that, while many of the earliest settlers were orderly, virtuous, and Christian, all of them were by no means so. A government officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Russell, native commissioner, speaks, in 1862, to this point as follows:

> The conduct of some of the Europeans who have located themselves in the Mohaka and Wairoa districts would almost lead me to suppose that they were the barbarians, and the Maoris the more civilized people. Scenes of drunkenness and outrage are described, in which men have taken part whose education and position should have led to a very different line of conduct, and which bring the moderation and forbearance of the natives into very strong contrast.

New forms of evil were thus presented to the Maori, and that, too, by the countrymen of the very men who had persuaded him to abandon slavery and cannibalism. Drinking, gambling, profanity, and Sabbath-breaking were now before his eyes; and what wonder if, as he beheld them, he first lost confidence in the religion of his benefactors, and ere long abandoned it to return to the more complicated and unmeaning religious

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superstition of Hau-hauism. Very soon it could be said of the Maori as of the Englishman, "He swears like a trooper;" and, as if to fix the responsibility of his profanity upon those who had taught him it, he swore in English. Whereas the Sabbath in aboriginal New Zealand had for years been observed with a strictness not exceeded in Christian England, it soon lost its sacredness in Maori estimation after British troops were seen fighting on it. The shady side of the contrast would be quickly seen by the discerning Maori mind, when the British troops took the Ruapekapeka fort while its dusky defenders were in the very act of worshiping the British soldiers' God. To inconsistency, religious division must be added as an effective cause of Maori apostasy; and if blame in this matter is to be rightly centered, it must undoubtedly be located with a pretentious Anglicanism and a still more pretentious Romanism, which obtruded themselves many years after the evangelical Marsden and his associates had extended the hand of Christian cordiality to Leigh and his Wesleyan brethren. Bishop Selwyn is undoubtedly deserving of all the commendation which has been bestowed upon him as an eminently successful missionary bishop; but it is regretfully remembered by some now venerable Methodist missionaries, who did good service in Maori evangelization years before he landed in New Zealand, that he did not always repress, either in himself or his subordinates, an arrogant bearing toward ministers who did not attach the same value as himself to episcopal teachings and orders. A yet further and final cause of disaffection and apostasy soon made itself apparent in the hostile relations established between some of the more powerful native tribes and the government of the day. The Maori had learned that his land was his wealth, and, as he reflected that it had too often been parted with for prices wholly inadequate, and on negotiations not always honorable, he resolved to refuse and defy all claimants to it outside his tribe or nation. A war-feeling grew up in his breast. Disquietude, debate, and passion took the place of security, order, and peace; and ultimately the white man came to be regarded as the Maori's bitterest foe.

With all these causes of disaffection working together among a highly imaginative race, it is not to be wondered at that relief from perplexity and annoyance should be sought for

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in a change of religious belief and social relations; nor that it should be imagined that such relief was most likely to be met with by a return to at least some of the old superstitions. Accordingly, a wide-spread and furious spirit of fanaticism displayed itself during the last Maori war, in what is called the Pai-Marire movement, speedily followed by another, bearing the name of Hau-hau. "Pai-Marire" means "good and peaceful," while "Hau-hau" signifies "to deal blows to." Hauhauism, which as a system became quite as much political as religious, was a remarkable compound of Romanism, Spiritualism, Mormonism, and Judaism. Te Ua, a fanatical Maori, bolder and more unscrupulous than the rest, and shrewd enough to discern a favorable opportunity for distinguishing himself, claimed to have received a revelation from the angel Gabriel raising him to the position of a prophet. By virtue of powers vested in him, he instituted orders of priests, and assured the discontented Maoris that if they would but place themselves under their power, following at the same time his leadership as high-priest, and paying homage to the Virgin Mary, Gabriel would assuredly grant them victory over the Pakehas. Captain Lloyd, an English officer of the 57th Regiment, fell into the hands of the fanatics, and, being beheaded, his head, after being cured, and then carried in procession, was reserved for sacred use as a medium of communication with Jehovah. Te Ua, having gathered together his priests, solemnly declared that through the poor captain's head the tenets of the new politico-religious system had been revealed in the following order:

1. All its followers to be called "Pai-Marire." 2. Gabriel, with his legions, will protect them. 3. The Virgin Mary will be always with them. 4. The religion of England, as taught in the Bible, is false. 5. The Scriptures must all be burned. 6. No notice must be taken of their Christian Sabbath. 7. Men and women to live promiscuously. 8. Complete victory to follow the vigorous "Hau." 9. The European population to be driven out of New Zealand. 10. This will be done when the head [of Captain Lloyd] has made its circuit of the land. 11. Men will then come from heaven to teach them knowledge. 12. The priests have the power to teach the Maoris English.

The new belief spread like wild-fire among the disaffected and belligerent tribes, many of whom, including the more powerful and intelligent, had renounced their allegiance to the

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Queen of England; set up their own king, in 1858, in the person of Te Whero Whero, or Potatau, an old chief of high rank by birth, and widely respected, to whom they required all Europeans, the missionaries included, to promise allegiance or quit their country; enacted laws disallowing European magistrates, forbidding the imprisonment of natives, and prohibiting the construction of roads; and, in 1864, renounced Christianity, and threatened the extirpation of all European inhabitants. Some of the tribes retained their friendly relations to the English government, and displayed fidelity and disinterestedness rarely equaled by such as have for centuries been under the influence of Christian doctrine and motive. But for ten years fierce warfare prevailed in the fairest portions of the land, involving the loss of hundreds of lives, the destruction of contented and happy homes, the expenditure of millions of money, the confiscation of tracts of fair and fertile country, and the engendering of bitter feeling not likely to admit of the restoration of completely amicable relations for many years yet to come; and all this, it may be admitted, with defeat of the Maori, but certainly not his conquest, as its result. Of obtuseness, incapacity, and blundering on the part of the British army there were more than enough; while there was little that added to its luster or increased its renown. Saddest of all is the reflection that the Maori campaign, with its decade of suffering and loss, was by no means unavoidable, and that it can never claim a place in the list of those wars which men agree to call either "necessary" or "righteous."

As might be expected, the force of so violent a reaction as lay in the uncontrollable wildnesses of Hau-hauism was felt by no class of settlers more keenly than by the missionaries. Formerly trusted as their most judicious advisers and constant friends, the Maoris now showed them the most bitter hatred. Not merely had they to abandon their stations, but, as in the case of Bishop Williams, some had to save their lives by hasty flight. Two valuable lives were sacrificed to their insatiate vengeance—those of the Rev. C. S. Volkner, of the Episcopal, and the Rev. John Whiteley, of the Wesleyan, mission—both eminently devoted men, who had spent many years in ungrudging service of their murderers. Mr. Whiteley was specially respected and trusted by a large section even of the more turbu-

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lent natives, at the same time that he was implicitly confided in by the government because of his wise counsels, and esteemed by the settlers because of his transparent and saintly character. Yet these considerations were not sufficient to shield even him from the blood-thirsty frenzies of Hau-hau fanaticism. As was his wont, he had gone to one of his distant preaching appointments on the Saturday of February 13, 1869, to be ready for divine service on the following Sabbath, and on his arrival found the place—Puke-aruhe, in Taranaki—in possession of an armed party of natives, who had murdered every one of the settlers that had taken shelter in the redoubt. Approaching them, as is supposed, with full confidence in his influence over them to prevent further murders, he was fired on while yet at some distance, his horse first dropping under him, and himself speedily falling pierced with no less than five bullets. The government evinced its appreciation of the good man's services in its behalf by voting his widow an annuity of £100, which she still enjoys.

The worst is past, and better days are dawning. There will be no more Maori war, for the "King" party is fast losing its influence, and, indeed, can scarcely be said to have an existence. Of those who were hurried away by the terrible fanatical force of Hau-hauism, many are returning to their "right minds." The Scriptures are once more finding their way among those who had so grievously departed from their teaching, as was seen but recently, when two cases of copies were readily disposed of at an influential meeting of the "Kingites" with the premier, Sir George Grey; while there is clearly discernible a growing desire for the return of missionary agency among them. Henceforward such agency will be native, and to provide it both the Wesleyan and Episcopal Churches are engaged in training young and intelligent Maoris of promise. Six Maori chiefs have seats in the two Houses of Parliament—two in the upper and four in the lower house; while many fill honorable positions as native magistrates or assessors. When it is added that about two thousand Maori children are being taught English in schools, and that the outward condition of the race, as a whole, as to diet, clothing, and general habits, is greatly improved, it will be seen that there is yet reason for hope for the future of the Maori. Unfortunately, the race is decreasing;

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but with a census return that can show a total of over 42,000, there is presented to the Churches of New Zealand, for many years to come, no little scope for all its energies upon Maori evangelization. And the Maori, with his high capabilities of intelligence, and especially his ready discernment between right and wrong, is worthy of it all.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN, October, November, December, 1879. (Chicago, Illinois.)—1. The Mound Builders; by J. E. Stevenson. 2. Alaska and its Inhabitants; by Rev. Sheldon Jackson. 3. Antiquity of the Tobacco Pipe in Europe. Part II.—Switzerland; by Edwin A. Barber. 4. Fort Wayne, (Old Fort Miami,) and the Route from the Maumee to the Wabash; by R. S. Robertson. 5. How the Rabbit Killed the (Male) Winter; by J. O. Dorsey. 6. The Delaware Indians in Ohio; by S. D. Peet. 7. The Silent Races; by L. J. Dupre. 8. Sacrificial Mounds in Illinois and Ohio.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1880. (Philadelphia.)—1. Pretended Unity of Modern Philosophy; by Rev. J. Ming, S.J. 2. Vocations to the Priesthood; by Right Rev. Thomas A. Becker, D.D. 3. Socialism at the Present Day; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S.J. 4. The Necessity for Infallibility; by Dr. Daniel Gans. 5. Archbishop Gibbon, and his Episcopalian Critic, Dr. Stearns; by A. de G. 6. English Manners; by A. Featherstone Marshall, B.A. 7. Is Froude a Historian? J. Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 8. Insanity as a Plea for Criminal Acts; Insanity as Emotional or Affective; and whether Insanity can be of the Will alone; Rev. Walter H. Hill, S.J. 9. The Stack-O'Hara Case; by S. L. M.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, January, 1880. (Andover.)—1. Calvin's Ethics; by Rev. Frank H. Foster. 2. Recent Works Bearing on the Relation of Science to Religion; by Rev. George Frederick Wright. 3. Method of the Theological Use of the Bible, Especially of the Old Testament; by A. Duff, Jun., Ph.D. 4. Do the Scriptures Prohibit the Use of Alcoholic Beverages? by Rev. A. B. Rich, D.D. 5. The Meaning of שבת; by Rev. Wm. Henry Cobb. 6. The Sabbath in the Old Dispensation, and in the Change of Observance from the Seventh to the Lord's Day; by Rev. William De Loss Love, D.D. 7. Dr. Dorner's Christian Theology; by Dr. D. W. Simon.

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY, January, 1880. (Lebanon, Tenn.)—1. A Chapter from the Evidences; by R. Beard, D.D. 2. Scientific Theism; by J. I. D. Hinds, Ph.D. 3. Sanctification; by S. T. Anderson, D.D. 4. Baptismal Regeneration—Part I; by S. G. Burney, D.D. 5. Individual Immortality: The Problem of the Ages; by A. B. Miller, D.D. 6. Exegetical; by R. V. Foster.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, January, 1880. (Gettysburg.)—1. Mr. Ruskin and the Lord's Prayer; by C. A. Stork, D.D. 2. Is Conscience Infallible? by M. Valentine, D.D. 3. The Lutheran Church in Columbia County, N. Y.; by Rev. William Hull. 4. Secular Education; by A. A. E. Taylor, D.D. 5. The Historical Character of the Book of Genesis; by Rev. Dr. Geo. H. Schodde. 6. Assurance: by Rev. Joel Swartz, D.D. 7. Phillips Brooks' Influence of Jesus; by C. A. Stork, D.D. 8. The Principle of the Reformation; by Prof. W. H. Wynn, Ph.D.

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CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, January, 1880. (New York.)

The Contemporary Review contains an article on "The Eighteenth Century," by Hillebrand, from which we give its view of Wesley and the Methodist movement.

Little was left either of the mysticism or the superstition of Christianity. All that remained was a very prosaic system of morals, and a very jejune metaphysical belief in an all-loving Creator. The worship of God dwindled more and more into a mere form. The sermons were moral essays, such as Addison might have written in the *Spectator;* indeed, at last, under the influence of Sterne's daringly profane genius, they became short humorous lectures on all possible subjects, except Christ and redemption. There was still, however, the outward semblance of reverence for Christianity, which even Hume did not discard. Gibbon was the first to attack religion openly and without any show of respect; but Gibbon was hardly to be called an Englishman any longer, at least with respect to his philosophical standpoint, which had been determined wholly by his residence on the Continent. By the end of the century, however, this rationalism had so far spread that Paine and Priestley could use its language even to the people, because "the faith which had long failed to satisfy the educated classes was now rejected also by the instincts of rude common sense." (Leslie Stephen.) Even the conservative divines, who showed a hostile front both to the orthodox and the freethinkers, preached a morality which amounted to nothing more than sentimentalism or mere prudence. They did, indeed, retain the theological forms of speech; but they used them with such an uncertain sound that the hearer might put any construction upon them that he pleased. They talked about harmony, oneness, the best of worlds, and so on, and found God in nature, but said little or nothing about his personality. God had, indeed, once shown himself to man in a tangible form, but that was long ago, in remote wonder-world; and since then the Most High had ceased to interfere with the order of nature. In short, God the Father had become a sort of "supernatural overseer, whose decrees were carried out in an extra-natural world, but who (for this world) was a constitutional monarch who had signed a social contract and had withdrawn from the active government." The argument, therefore, between Christians of this stamp and the Deists was, if we except the pugilistic Warburton, a very tame one. Indeed, it could not well be otherwise, since the Deists did not wish to stamp out religion, and their opponents were by no means intolerant.

Few things could bear less resemblance to the English Church of to-day than the Church of this period. While in our time the still very numerous Broad-Church party can hardly gain a hearing, between the aristocratic Catholicizing High-Church and the Puritanical democratic Low-Church, at that time it was

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almost exclusively dominant, taking the lead on all points; in a word, it was the fashion, for the High and Low-Church of to-day are the outgrowth respectively of the Wesleyan movement of the last century, and of the Tractarian agitation of our own.

The English Church was wonderfully adapted to the English mind and character, as well as to the historical conditions of the country. It had the advantage of being a national Church; it was free from the only dangerous rival, and did not extend its toleration to that which "can never be regarded simply as a religion." (I believe Mr. Lecky is the only living English writer who is able to rise to this unqualified judgment upon Catholicism.) It had, moreover, rejected the dogmas of Catholicism most obnoxious to reason; it was a compromise between two extremes. It had a monarchical and aristocratic constitution; it was closely bound up with society through the marriage of its priests, and yet, as being sure of a following, had not abandoned the historical tradition so dear to Englishmen.

In the middle of the century the indifference had become so great within the Church, that Hume could say: "The nation has settled down into the coolest indifference to religious matters of any nation in the world." This was, indeed, only half true, but the great man who dwelt on the lofty heights of an intellectual culture did not notice the movement which had already begun deep down in the valley among the working classes. The judgment Hume pronounced referred only to the State Church, and so far it was fully justified.

As early as 1740 a reaction of religious sentiment began to make itself felt. The pietism which, fifty years before, had renewed for a century the growth of religious life in Germany, awoke in England also. The Dissenters were still a feeble minority at the beginning of the century—about one in twenty-two to the adherents of the State Church. The Independents, or Congregationalists, who would have been glad to see the State Church broken up into a number of small bodies, independent of the State, and who were strongly Calvinistic in their dogmas, especially in the doctrine of predestination, had, after a great show of resistance, been almost carried away by the religious reaction. The political instincts of the English rebelled against a Church which was to be only an invisible spiritual community of the elect scattered over all the world. The Anabaptists, who were bent on purifying the character of the Church, and who sought to make the initial rite a more rational act, and the Quakers, who believed in the abolition of all outward rites, set themselves against the new movement. They still lived on, and lost but few of their adherents, but they won no new ones. Only the young sect of the Unitarians, so entirely a creation of the last century, grew and flourished; this was, however, of necessity, only a creed for the cultured, and could not become a national religion even in this century of enlightenment. For it required, as an essential feature, the complete emancipation of the

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Church from all obligations which could in any way limit the doctrinal liberty of the clergy; and religion, a national religion, cannot exist under such conditions. It was otherwise with Wesleyanism, which did not at first identify itself with Dissent, but, like pietism in Germany, made its aim to renovate the national Church through the feelings and by a spiritual regeneration. It therefore formed lay societies and associations within the Church, and required manifest conversion and the personal reception of revealed truth by every individual; it even introduced Moravian institutions, and Wesley himself was in direct connection with the Moravian body. He wished, however, to remain in communion of the Established Church. Such a compromise could not, of course, be lasting, but he had, so to speak, to be turned out by the shoulders. Long after he and his apostle, Whitefield, had transferred their activity from the Church which had driven them out to other and freer fields, they declared themselves to be true members of the Established Church. First in 1785, and more positively in 1795, the "Evangelical movement," as it was at first called, was consolidated into the Methodist sect, which now numbers in England alone a million of members, (some say 2,400,000,) and in America two millions. Nevertheless, it began from that time to decline, for "although powerful religious movements always emanate from the classes which are inaccessible to philosophical culture, they are, nevertheless, doomed to become unfruitful unless they are capable of assimilating some philosophical element." (Leslie Stephen.) This unfruitfulness must be understood, however, only of Methodism as a sect. Wesleyanism, as a historical fact, was abundantly fruitful. It gave new life to the State Church, roused it to resistance, and discovered to it its own weak points.

Such movements, however, arising out of feeling, always produce in the end a reactionary effect, as had been already shown in the case of German pietism, while, on the other hand, rationalistic movements are, of necessity, always progressive. The Tractarianism, Puseyism, Ritualism, of the present century, which would never have arisen but for the impulse given by Wesleyanism, are thoroughly reactionary in their nature.

Thus has this much calumniated eighteenth century, which produced such fair flowers and noble fruits on the continent, left deep and beneficial traces also in England. It was an era of increased political liberty; of revival in literature; and of remarkable religious development. This should be remembered by the Radicals, advanced thinkers, and High-Churchmen, who are wont to look back with so much contempt on the age of their grandfathers. A century in which England twice, at the commencement and at the close, defended European independence against schemes of universal monarchy, and built up and perfected its own internal constitution; an age which produced, from "Gulliver" to "Hallowe'en," a series of literary masterpieces such as no other nation in the world possesses; an age which exercised

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the most complete religious toleration the world has ever seen, without falling a prey to religious marasmus—such a century need not shrink from comparison with any other, even in the glorious annals of English history.—Pp. 11, 12.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for JANUARY contains a very able article, entitled "The Metaphysics of Science," by Prof. Alexander Winchell. Its aim is to show that Science can exist only under assumption of a basis of metaphysical principles, and that that basis is in its nature truly teleological. The contempt so often expressed by scientists in regard to metaphysics is, therefore, suicidal; for the scientist can neither draw an induction nor propound a demonstration without the due metaphysical postulates. Metaphysical truths are to science what the nails are to the planks of a ship, the fasteners which enable the totality of said planks to be a ship. Agib, the son of Cassib, we are veraciously told in the "Arabian Nights," sailed his ship so near to a loadstone mountain that its nails were all pulled out; and what became of Agib the son of Cassib's ship? Just what would become of science if its metaphysical nails were extracted. It would tumble to pieces, and cease to be science. Dr. Winchell's style is sententious, embracing a large proportion of Latin words, rendering his thought difficult of attainment to the popular reader; but the language is very uniformly the exact expression of the thought.

Inquirers are sometimes perplexed as to the doctrine of theism implied in the theory of EVOLUTION, as evolution presents itself both in the animal system by *heredity*, and in the astronomic system by the *nebular hypothesis*. Dr. Winchell thus finds theism in both:

All that we know of fundamental plans of structure in the organic world is but a body of facts exemplifying adjustment of parts, not alone to each other, but to an archetypal conception—an intelligential standard. It is frequently suggested that fundamental relationships have resulted from the law of heredity, with progressive divergence. That, probably, is a valid scientific account to give of what have been styled *plans* of organization; and every one is free to rest in the finality of science. But if our minds are so constituted that we irresistibly conclude design from co-ordination, regardless of the instrumentality or means by which the co-ordination becomes expressed in matter, then heredity with divergence is not an ultimate explanation, and every man is at liberty, without reproach, to pass beyond the pale of science, and recognize heredity as a thoughtful determination

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fixed for the purpose of introducing order and method into the organic world, as we find them. So the mathematical order of the solar system is explicable in scientific terms, by ascribing it to the cooling of a primitive nebula; but the forces engaged in the evolution of a planetary system must be rationally conceived as merely the instruments which work out symmetrical results co-ordinated to a general concept or plan. If, finally, the deepest law of nature is the law of evolution, we may recognize that as the all-embracing principle under which events emerge into being; but reason can never be divested of the simple conviction that events co-ordinated on so comprehensive a scale, and co-ordinated to so vast a scheme, give expression to *purpose equally vast and comprehensive.* The explanations of science are held to be valid, but they do not go far enough; they are not ultimate explanations. By the inherent principles of our mental being we postulate and posit motive and agency behind the last explanation of science.—P. 81.

The following is his exposition of the nature of FORCE:

As design is the necessary implication of parts co-ordinated to each other, or to a general concept, so metaphysical cause is the only rational explanation of those ultimate physical antecedents which belong to the category of sub-causes or scientific causes. Of metaphysical cause science professes to have no knowledge, holding that invariable antecedence is the scientific conception of causation. But, manifestly, no phenomenon comes into existence *because* another phenomenon precedes. The precedence is the sign of antecedent efficiency. So the law under which a phenomenon arises is modal, not causal, and implies prior ordination, as the subordinated event implies transcendent causation. The *conditio sine qua non* of a phenomenon is not its essential cause, but the condition of the operativeness of a certain law which expresses a method of activity of essential cause. The notion of metaphysical cause is therefore the underlying ground of all the ultimate conceptions of science.

That notion, in spite of the formal restriction of the logic of science, has found constant expression in scientific language under the name of *force.* This, like the assumed atom and molecule of physics, the ethereal medium and the ultimate incompressibility of matter, is a purely metaphysical conception. It is a name which the necessities of thinking have impelled us to adopt for the efficiency transmitted from or through the phenomenon which stands in the place of invariable antecedent. Yet there are questions still deeper which offer themselves as subjects of analytic thought. Is force an entity or an attribute? If an entity, is it self-acting or subordinated? If subordinated, what is the nature of the power which subordinates it? If self-acting, then the discernment and design revealed in the results of its activity are attributes which characterize a demiurge. But, if we say force

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is an entity which produces results, what is the means by which it produces them? Are not all results produced by force, and is not our reasoning thus reduced to the proposition that the entity force employs force to produce results? This proposition is unintelligible, and shows that the conception of force as an entity is absurd. Force is an attribute.—Pp. 81, 82.

Dr. Chalmers opined that theism is proved, not so much by the existence of matter, as by its "collocations" into an intellective system; but Dr. Winchell finds the following proof of *theism in material existence:*

But, if force must be conceived as an attribute, what is the nature of its subject? *What* is it which exerts or manifests force? To say that the attribute force exerts itself is to make it both attribute and subject. Something which is not force, but which is capable of exerting force, is therefore necessarily implied in the conception of force. Is matter the subject? Then, *first*, it is a subject which thinks and purposes; for the results of force are thoughtful and purposive, and matter does thus possess a "power and potency" of psychic results. But, *secondly*, we are not certain that matter possesses a subjective nature. We only know matter phenomenally, and it may easily be that phenomena constitute all there is of matter in itself. Yet phenomena are manifestations of something possessing the power to produce them. The phenomena which we cognize as matter are manifestations of force. If there be no subject matter, there must be some other subject revealing itself in the phenomena which we group under the designation of matter. We are driven, then, to the recognition of an intelligent subject as the ground of the attribute of force manifesting its activities in the being of what we call matter, as well as in the changes which are impressed upon matter.

The inquiry does not end even here; for it remains to ascertain what is the mode of origin of force from its subject. What is the method by which the subject reveals the attribute of force? Is forceful emanation from the subject an unconscious and continuous necessity of its being; or is it a conscious and voluntary activity? If necessary, then some higher power has imposed the necessity; if unconscious, then some higher intelligence directs according to the laws of conscious thought; for co-ordination of products implies at least two things consciously apprehended both in their separateness and in their relation; unconscious intelligence is a nugatory expression, for consciousness is the prime moment of intelligence. If forceful manifestations are effected through the method of volition, then the subject which constitutes the ground of all cosmical force is possessed of will as well as intellect and susceptibility to motive, and is consequently a personal entity—an entity thinking, feeling, and willing with reference to that which is not itself.—Pp. 82, 83.

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QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, January, 1880. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Methodist Episcopacy. 2. Development of Monotheism among the Greeks. 3. Studies in Shakspeare. 4. The Conflict. 5. Bible Revision. 6. The Problem of Life—The Book of Ecclesiastes. 7. Spencer's First Principles. 8. Providential Uses of Pain. 9. Social Life of our Forefathers.

The welcome return of Dr. T. O. Summers to the editorial chair of the Southern Quarterly suggests some old antebellum, we had almost said antediluvian, recollections. The bitter antislavery contest was then at its height, and the presages of war were growing more and more distinct. Now the question of slavery is settled, even if the question of serfdom is not. We cherish the hope of prospective peace, not without recognition of lowering omens in the coming presidential contest.

This Quarterly is externally done up in good taste, has nearly two hundred octavo pages, with articles of a high character, and an extended editorial department, such as Dr. S. can furnish, priced at three dollars, in advance. The only fault which we have to find with it is the oppressive omission of the names of the writers, sustained by unreasonable reasons. The practice of furnishing the names exists in all parts of Europe, excepting England, and with, we believe, every Quarterly and Monthly in America, except the Southern Methodist.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1880. (London.)—1. Richard Baxter; by the Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D. 2. Evolution in Religion; by the Rev. Dunlop Moore, D.D. 3. Testimony of St. Paul to Jesus Christ; by the Rev. J. Oswald Dykes, D.D. 4. The Unity of the Human Race, Considered from an American Stand-point; by the Rev. Prof. John Campbell. 5. Poetry of Edmund Spenser; by M. H. Towry. 6. Righteousness of Life. 7. The Formal and the Vital in the Bible; by the Rev. I. E. Dwinell. 8. The Lord's Supper; by Prof. Peck, D.D.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1880. (London.)—1. The Lords of Ardres. 2. Glimpses of the New Gold and Silver Mines. 3. Modern Greece. 4. Practical Æsthetics. 5. Why is Scotland Radical? 6. The Christian Idea of God. 7. Nonconformist Psalmody. 8. Mr. Gladstone and the Nation.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, January, 1880. (New York.)—1. Agricultural Depression. 2. Hamerton's Life of Turner. 3. The Military Position of Russia and England in Central Asia. 4. Ireland: her Present and Future. 5. The Persian Miracle Play. 6. British Light-houses. 7. Russia Before and After the War. 8. Lord Minto in India. 9. Plain Whig Principles.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1880. (New York.)—1. Colonial Aid in War Time. 2. Early Greek Thought. 3. The Grand Dukes of Tuscany. 4. The Organization and Registration of Teachers. 5. Imperium et Libertas. 6. The Relation of Silver to Gold as Coin. 7. Social Philosophy. 8. Russia and Russian Reformers.

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LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1880. (New York.)—1. Lord Bolingbroke. 2. The Progress of Taste. 3. Bishop Wilberforce. 4. The Successors of Alexander and Greek Civilization in the East. 5. Prince Metternich. 6. The Romance of Modern Travel. 7. Mr. Bright and the Duke of Somerset on Monarchy and Democracy. 8. The Credentials of the Opposition.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1880. (London.)—1. Egyptian and Sacred Chronology. 2. Modern Realism. 3. A Victim of the Falk Laws. 4. The Transvaal and its People. 5. Charles Waterton. 6. Our Convict System. 7. St. John's Doctrine of Christian Sonship.

The following notice of a biography of St. Hugh of Avalon, by G. G. Perry, gives us an impressive idea of a model mediæval bishop:

Probably the ordinary conception of a monk is that of a man whose life, even when it happens to be free from vice, is passed away in indolent devotion; and probably few ordinary readers have fairly realized the immense obligations which literature owes to the monastic settlements of the dark ages. Not to mention the familiar fact that the literary treasures of all antiquity, both sacred and profane, have been preserved for us by the monks, it is right to remark that we owe our knowledge of Europe, from the days of Charlemagne to the revival of letters, mainly to the monasteries. Especially in our own country, from the times of Bede to those of the Edwards, we are indebted for almost all our information to a series of literary monks. The great works which were composed in the monasteries, above all at Peterborough and St. Albans, are an almost inexhaustible treasury of historical information. But for such writers as these, the days of William Rufus, Henry, and Stephen, would be almost as perfect a blank as the history of Peru a couple of centuries before the invasion of Pizarro. The great interest which is taken by this generation in historical inquiries has brought many of these works into circulation; and, among others, Professor Stubbs has earned the gratitude of students by the care and industry with which he has edited these relics of English antiquity. Some years ago Mr. Dimock published an edition of the *Metrical Life* and the *Great Life* of St. Hugh of Lincoln. He then began to prepare for publication the works of Geraldus Cambrensis, whom Mr. Green describes as the wittiest of court chaplains, the most troublesome of bishops, and the gayest and most amusing of all the authors of his day. On Mr. Dimock's death the work was delayed for some time, but afterward completed by Mr. Freeman. When the *Great Life* appeared, Mr. Perry, already favorably known by his life of Bishop Grossteste, wisely determined to give this interesting biography to the English reader; the work, however, was delayed in the expectation that Geraldus Cambrensis would supply additional information. As soon, then, as this author was published, Mr. Perry proceeded with his task, and the result is the present biography of St. Hugh of Avalon, the main builder of the Cathedral at Lincoln.

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Mr. Perry has given us a picture which enables us to realize, with tolerable accuracy, the religious life of our ancestors in the days of Cœur-de-Lion and Lackland. Probably even in his own Cathedral of Lincoln there is no very absorbing interest taken in St. Hugh himself; but still the study of this book may be pressed upon all those who desire to learn how our religious ancestors actually lived and thought and felt. Protestant readers especially need this kind of literature; for they usually regard the ages before the Reformation as altogether dark and corrupt. We are in danger of forgetting the truth, so often proclaimed by Carlyle, that no system can long endure after it has become altogether corrupt.

After an introductory chapter, in which he relates the previous history of Lincoln Cathedral, Mr. Perry opens the more immediate subject of his book by a capital account of the kings and clergy in the days of St. Hugh. His sketch of the three monarchs, Henry the Second, Richard, and John, agrees with the estimate formed by other modern historians; but his intimate acquaintance with the monastic annalists enables him to paint very vividly the manners and customs of the clergy. The wealth of the Church had already begun to accumulate in the hands of the monks, and consequently the parish priests were often in a state of wretched poverty. The inevitable result was that they eked out their meager incomes by various forms of simony. Thus it was a common practice to say the mass as far as the offertory; when that had been taken up, to begin afresh, and to repeat the process as long as the congregation put any thing into the boxes. Perhaps profanity never reached a higher point than when the Lord's Supper was used in magical rites. The mass was said over waxen images, devoting to death, with solemn imprecations, the persons represented. No wonder the monkish annalist remarks that the rural parish priests were worse than Judas; for he, believing Jesus to be a man, sold him for thirty pieces of silver; but they, believing him to be a God, sell him for a penny. Another feature of clerical life under the Plantagenet was the remarkable ignorance even of those priests who undertook to preach. "A certain priest preaching about Barnabas, said 'he was a good and holy man, but he was a robber,' confounding Barnabas with Barabbas. Another described the Canaanitish woman as partly woman, partly a dog, thinking her name to be derived from *canis*, a dog. The Latin equivalent for a 'broiled fish and a piece of a honey-comb' was transformed by another into 'an ass-fish and beans covered with honey!' The word used in the Vulgate for a 'fire of coals,' (*pruna,*) another explained as meaning plums. A somewhat more serious fault was his who argued from the words, 'Fornicators and adulterers God will judge,' that no other evil-doers were to be judged."—Page 152. Yet more serious charges than those of simony and ignorance were constantly laid against the clergy. William of Newbury mentions more than three hundred homicides with

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which the clergy of his own time were popularly credited; while even some of those officials who had been active in the introduction of celibacy admit that it had produced a frightful amount of immorality. "The superior clergy were generally," says Mr. Perry, "free from these stains, but ignorance, meanness, avarice and servility were common among them all. There was a paralysis of discipline in the Church." There is no need to study carefully the lives of the leading bishops in order to judge their spiritual influence. Every reader of English history knows the pomp and vanity, the secular ambition and religious pride, the violence and warlike habits, of many of these servants of Christ. Shakspeare's Cardinal Beaufort expresses the popular conception of a powerful bishop: that there is no man so wicked as a wicked priest. Thus the clergy were base, and apparently the people were miserable. A modern historian gives an extract from the English Chronicle, which reveals the terrible anguish of the English in the days of St. Hugh's happy youth in Burgundy. "They hanged men up by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke. Some were hanged up by their thumbs, others by the head, and burning things were hung on to their feet. They put knotted strings about their head, and writhed them till they entered the brain. They put men into prisons where adders and snakes and toads were crawling, and so they tormented them. Many thousands they afflicted with hunger." Against this terrible oppression the Church alone had power to come in between the people and the barons; and when, therefore, the clergy were corrupt, we may conclude that it was never merry world in England. Such were some aspects of English society in the days of St. Hugh; and his biographer rightly remarks that there could have been no greater boon conferred on the country than the sincere, bold, and saintly example of the Burgundian monk.

Hugh was born at Avalon, close to the Savoy frontier, probably in 1135. He sprang from a line of noble ancestors, as renowned for piety as for gentle blood; and when, in his eighth or ninth year, his mother died, his father devoted himself to a "religious" life, and took Hugh with him into the monastery. A beautiful feature in the future bishop's character was his affection for birds, and even squirrels, which were tamed by him so perfectly that they would leave the woods, and, at the hour of supper, come to share his frugal meals. Finding the discipline of the monastery not sufficiently stern to satisfy his devotion, Hugh broke an oath of loyalty which he had taken, and fled to the Carthusian Convent, at Grenoble. Here Mr. Perry notices a singular fact which seems to us to prove that the life of man cannot possibly be ordered by regulations imposed by external authority. The Cistercians required that the whole time of the monks should be occupied in devotion and manual labor, while the Franciscan friars were not allowed to possess a book. Now such is the perversity of human nature that the laborious Cistercians became the most luxurious, and the ignorant Franciscans

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the most learned of the monastic orders. Here, in the obscurity of Grenoble, St. Hugh spent his early manhood, until he was suddenly translated to England, became the favorite of the sagacious Henry the Second, and ended his days as Bishop of Lincoln.

The immediate cause for Hugh's transfer was the foundation of a new abbey in Somersetshire. The Norman Conquest had given a vast impulse to this particular form of piety, so that the next century witnessed the rise of many of our most stately buildings, and in ten years which followed 1128 nearly twenty large Cistercian monasteries were erected, including such stately foundations as Riveaux and Fountains. In accordance with the prevailing fashion, Henry made a vow to found three abbeys; and after several other priors had failed, Hugh was invited to take the government of the new foundation at Witham, in Somersetshire. In his character of religious patron, Henry seems to have fallen into the error so amusingly put into rhyme by Mr. Canning:

> "In matters of commerce, the fault of the Dutch
> Is giving too little, and asking too much."

Accordingly Hugh found that almost every thing was needed, and only after much ingenious diplomacy and some bold speaking, prevailed on the king to give full effect to his vow. At this period of his life he laid the foundation of a close intimacy with his sovereign, and it is pleasant to believe that Henry found one churchman who asked nothing for himself. The manner in which the pious monarch sought to defraud the heavenly powers may be judged from the singular history of a Bible. Henry gave ten marks to St. Hugh for the purchase of parchment, on which the monks might copy the word of God; but shortly afterward he determined to enrich his new foundation with a complete illuminated copy of the whole Bible. Accordingly, having heard that there was a fine copy in the monastery at Winchester, he coolly ordered the prior to make him a present of it. The latter, of course, did as he was commanded, hoping, but apparently in vain, for some rich reward in return. The king then sent the splendid manuscript as a royal present to Hugh and his brethren. Much to the credit of the brethren at Witham, it is added that when the pious fraud was discovered, Hugh insisted on returning the costly treasure to its first owners at Winchester.

In 1186 St. Hugh was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln. One of his first acts was to take a firm stand against the iniquitous forest laws. These laws were so oppressive that we can hardly understand how the country contrived to exist under the burden. The old annalist exclaims that "violence was instead of law, rapine a matter of praise, equity a thing to be hated, and innocence the greatest guilt." Hugh ventured to excommunicate the king's own forester, and did not consent to remove the excommu-

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nication till the forester had submitted to be flogged. Mr. Perry rightly remarks, a little later in the narrative, that "a still greater proof of true courage, because it shows a moral courage very rare in the men of his generation, was the way in which Hugh behaved when invited to inspect an alleged miracle. A priest once called upon him to inspect a miraculous appearance in the chalice, where it was said that the actual conversion into flesh and blood of part of the host could be seen with the bodily eyes. Hugh indignantly refused to look at it. 'In the name of God,' he said, 'let them keep to themselves the signs of their want of faith.'"—Page 235. In his communication with his own diocese, Hugh appears to have been the very ideal of a Roman Catholic bishop. He performed with due solemnity all the official duties of his post; endeavored to familiarize himself with his flock; was especially successful in winning the affections of the young; and on the wildest nights, after the hardest toils, was ever at the call of the afflicted or bereaved. Mr. Perry says only little of this bishop's work as an architect; but the pious historian of the English cathedrals narrates that "the whole of the front choir, east transept, with its chapels, chapter house, and eastern side of the great transept, were all erected during his life, and such was his earnest zeal in this great work, that, when seized with mortal sickness in London, he occupied himself a considerable time in giving parting instructions to the master of the fabric. In him the bishop, the architect, and the saint were united." Mr. Perry dates the commencement of his work in 1190, or two years later. It is easy to believe that it was carried on with the greatest energy, when we find that the bishop himself worked with his own hands, carrying cut stones in a basket, or sometimes a hod of mortar on his head. It may be added here, that when the main body of the cathedral was completed, in 1280, the body of St. Hugh was translated to the magnificent presbytery at the east end of the choir, and inclosed in a shrine said to have been of solid gold. The historian already quoted appears to marvel that not even the sanctity of the good bishop could protect his remains from the sacrilegious hand of Henry the Eighth's Commissioners. Our wonder would rather be first, how so great a mass of gold was gathered together, and then how it escaped so long! One would fancy that when Cardinal Beaufort was Bishop of Lincoln such a mountain of gold would hardly be likely to escape annexation.

St. Hugh's intercourse with that strange hero of English romance, Richard I., was marked by the same intrepidity and dexterity which he had manifested in the previous reign. Not only did he venture to resist the king's demand for money, but he even openly remonstrated with him for his immorality. "If you serve God," said the bishop, "he will make your enemies peaceably disposed toward you, or he will overthrow them. But beware lest you commit some sin, either against God or your neighbor. It is currently reported of you that you are unfaithful to your

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marriage bed, and that you receive bribes for appointments to spiritual offices. If this be true you cannot have peace from the Lord." This is in the true spirit of Nathan; and when we read these bold strong words, we can forgive the good bishop for appropriating a few relics of departed saints. Would that all monarchs had such bold advisers, and that all monarchs would heed their warnings! Equally bold was his treatment of the crafty, if cowardly, John. He preached before this monarch on the duties of the kings; but, much too serious for a man who made as port of all things, sacred and profane, he preached too long. Three times John sent messengers to the pulpit to tell the preacher to conclude; he, however, proceeded with his discourse till all his hearers, except John, who appears to have been as nearly a professed atheist as the times would allow, were deeply affected. Unfortunately, as has happened so frequently in later days, the bishop's eloquence failed to affect the one man whom it was mainly intended to reach.

St. Hugh died in London in the year 1200, in the episcopal residence, which stood on the present site of Lincoln's Inn. Twenty years later he was canonized according to the rites of the Church of Rome, and his shrine soon rivaled the popularity of that of Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury. Such a life, while scarcely conceivable in England to-day, must have been of incalculable benefit to his own generation, and the records of human virtue would have been incomplete without a suitable memorial of St. Hugh. His abiding monument on earth is the grand cathedral of Lincoln; and who can doubt that in the heavenly world he is already surrounded by many whom, according to his light, he allured to virtue? While we have felt it necessary to complain of some features of this work, we yet have to thank Mr. Perry for his instructive and learned volume. A little more care in the composition would have smoothed away a few blots, and made this biography as interesting as it is able. It is with history as with geography. The careful study of an atlas is necessary for all who wish to possess an accurate knowledge of any foreign country; but a far more vivid idea will be gained from a good painting of some characteristic village. In the same way, the historical student must make himself familiar with the long roll of kings, battles, and revolutions; but to make the life of our ancestors real, we need a careful photograph of some typical individual; and such a photograph of the days of the Plantagenets Mr. Perry has presented us in the life of St. Hugh.

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German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. Edited by Dr. Brieger. *Essays:* LINDNER, Pope Urban VI. *Critical Reviews:* STAHELIN, A Review of all New Works Published from 1876 to 1877 on the History of the Swiss Reformation. *Analecta:* 1. BRIEGER, Remarks on Book VIII. of the Church History of Eusebius. 2. HARNACK, The Muratorian Fragment. 3. KOLDE, The Fifth Lateran Council. 4. SCHULTZE, Documents Relating to the History of the German Reformation. 5. MAURENBRECHER, Morone's Report on the Tridentine Council. 6. SCHULTZE, The Newly-Discovered Tomb of a Christian Gladiator.

Among the most valuable features of this periodical are the comprehensive reviews which it occasionally gives of the entire new literature on some particular period of Church history. The article in the present number, by Prof. Stähelin, himself a distinguished historian, on the recent literature relating to the history of the Swiss Reformation, is a worthy sequel of a number of articles to which attention has been called in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review. The value of this article is all the greater because, as its author says, there is hardly any section in the entire province of the literature of Church history which has been so much neglected as the history of the Swiss Reformation. The last special work in German on the Swiss Reformation was published in 1708, (Hottinger, *Helvestiche Kirchengeschichte*, 3 vols.,) the last work in French in 1728, (*Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, 1727–1728, 6 vols.) The new editions of both these works give comparatively but few and insignificant additions, and make no use of the ample material which has since been brought to light. The years 1877 and 1878 have largely added to this material, as Prof. Stähelin shows. A brief reference to a few works will give some idea of the strenuous efforts which are made in Switzerland, as well as elsewhere, to obtain from the old archives new light on the age and the history of the Reformation. A Roman Catholic society publishes at Solothurn "Archives for the History of the Swiss Reformation," (*Archiv für die Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte*,) the third volume of which appeared in 1876. Though the editors of these archives are, of course, led in their selection of documents by sectarian considerations, some documents of general interest are found in their publications, as the negotiations concerning an alliance between the Catholic Cantons with Austria and Rome.

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The archivist of the Canton of Zurich, Strickler, has begun the publication of the official acts of the Federal Diets from 1521 to 1532. The first volume appeared in 1878, and will be followed by three others, which will publish an aggregate of more than eight thousand documents. A work of general interest is a history of the Protestant fugitives from England, France, Spain, Italy, Austria, and Hungary, who found a refuge in Switzerland, (*Geschichte der evangelischen Flüchtlinge in der Schweiz*, 1876,) by Mörikofer. The subject of this work, which has been translated into French by Roux, (1878,) is of general interest for Protestants of all countries, as it is well known how many distinguished men were among those fugitives. Its author, Mörikofer, who died in 1877, is favorably known as the writer of several other excellent works on the same period, as the best biography of Zwingle, (1867–1869, 2 vols.) As might be expected, the literature on Calvin, his life and his teachings, continues to be numerous. Of the excellent work of Hermingard, entitled, *Correspondance des reformateurs dans le pays de langue française*, the fifth volume, containing the years 1538 and 1539, was published in 1878. Most of the documents given in this volume refer to the life of Calvin and his companions during the first year of their exile. They are not all printed in this work for the first time, but the copious notes of the editor shed new light on many points. A considerable amount of entirely new material is found in the complete works of Calvin, published by three professors of the University of Strasburg, Baum, Reuss, and Cunitz, (*Joannis Calvini Opera*,) of which four new volumes (the fifteenth to the eighteenth) appeared from 1876 to 1878. They refer to the times from the beginning of 1554 to September, 1561. A new life of Calvin has been published by Hoff, (*Vie de Jean Calvin*, Paris, 1877,) but it is said not to be of great value; on the other hand, the two articles on Calvin which are found in the new edition of the "German Theological Cyclopedia" of Herzog, and in the "French Theological Cyclopedia" of Lichtenberger, are said to be thorough and exhaustive. An essay on Calvin, by Kattenbusch, (*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*,) is especially recommended for its lucid exposition of the inner development of Calvin's doctrine, and of the relation existing between his theology and the theocracy

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founded by him. A little book of considerable interest is the publication of the first French Catechism of Calvin, which he compiled in 1536, a few months after his arrival in Geneva, and the Latin text of which he sent, in 1538, immediately before his expulsion, to friendly Churches as a testimony of the doctrines prevailing in Geneva. As this catechism was subsequently suppressed by Calvin on purpose and replaced by a new compilation, it fell into oblivion, and has only recently become known again. The editors of Calvin's complete works have since published the Latin edition, while the first French edition of 1537 has recently been found in the National Library of Paris, and has been published (in 1878) at Geneva by Rilliet and Dufour. It is regarded as probable that the Latin text was the original, and the French the translation. A special work on the ethics of Calvin (*Die Ethik Calvins*, Strasburg, 1877) has been published by P. Lobstein.

The "Documents Relating to the History of the German Reformation," which are published by Schultze, were taken from the archives of Naldes, which, like the archives of many other Italian cities, contain many letters and dispatches on the early history of the Reformation which had never before appeared in print. The Report of Cardinal Morone on the Tridentine Council, which is published by Prof. Maurenbrecher, of Bonn, has been obtained from the library of Prince Altieri, of Rome. The celebrated German historian, Leopold Ranke, in his work on the Roman Popes, calls Morone's Report the most important document on the Tridentine Council. Ranke had read it, but had failed to take a complete copy.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Hilgenfeld. Second Number. 1880. 1. ISRAEL, On Jerome's Vita S. Hilarionis. 2. GORRES, The Persecution of Christians at the Time of the Emperors Numerianus and Carinus. 3. HOLTZMANN, St. James the Just and his Namesakes. 4. BONNET, Remarks on the Most Ancient Writings on the Ascension of Mary.

In the January number of the Methodist Quarterly Review we called attention to a remarkable new work published by an Old Catholic theologian, Prof. Friedrich, of Munich, on "The Earliest History of the Primacy in the Church." Prof. Friedrich, after the precedence of several Protestant theologians of Germany, especially Dr. Uhlhorn and Dr. Ritschl, attempted to show that the idea of a primacy was indeed not

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unknown in the earliest Church, but that this idea was not connected with the Apostle Peter and the bishops of Rome, but with St. James and the bishops of Jerusalem; that the office of a primate was at first hereditary in the family of Jesus, but that subsequently it remained connected with the episcopal see of Jerusalem, until the catastrophe of A. D. 135 gave to Rome a favorable opportunity to vindicate successfully its claim to be the metropolis of Christendom. In the above article on St. James, Prof. Holtzmann, of the University of Strasburg, declares a partial assent to the theories of Prof. Friedrich concerning the See of Jerusalem, while in some respects he rejects the views of the Old Catholic theologian. Prof. Holtzmann refers to a commentary just published by him to the "Pastoral Letters" (*Die Pastoralbriefe kritisch und exegetisch behandelt*, 1880) for a full exposition of his views regarding the early constitution of the Christian Church. The article in the present number of the "Journal for Scientific Theology" treats particularly on the person of James the Just, the head of the Apostolic Church of Jerusalem, and his relation to the apostles of the same name. It is well known that a large number of treatises have been writen to elucidate this relationship, which was pronounced by Dr. Neander to be the most difficult question in the apostolic history. Prof. Holtzmann identifies James, "the brother of the Lord," who is mentioned in Gal. i, 19, and James, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, who was surnamed the Just by the ancients on account of his eminent virtues. He finds, however, that the description of this James, as it is given by some of the early Christian writers, ill accords with the accounts given of him in the Acts; that while the Bible represents him as being on friendly terms with Paul, the Ebionitic party of the early Christian Church described him as leading a life of ascetic strictness, and as held in the highest veneration by the Jews. In the writings of this party James, the bishop, ranks the apostles, and is called archbishop. All the teachers of Christianity among the pagans are said to derive from him their authority, and there is an apparent tendency to clothe him with the authority of a universal bishop of the Church. Dr. Holtzmann further holds that James, the brother of the Lord and first Bishop of Jerusalem, was not one of the twelve apostles, and

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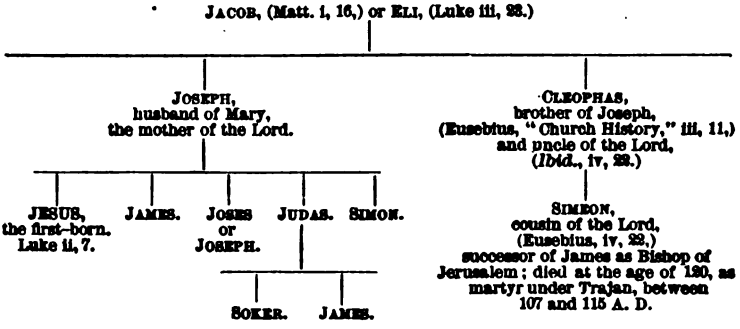
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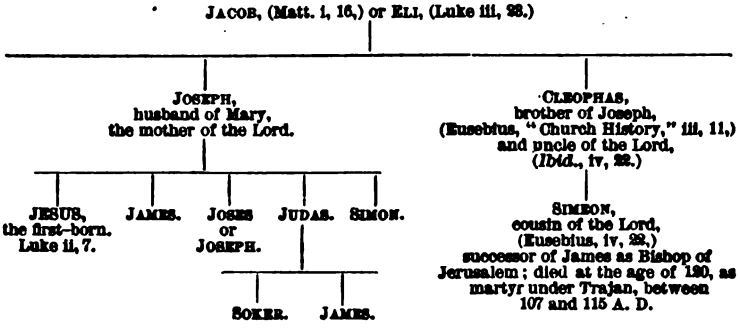
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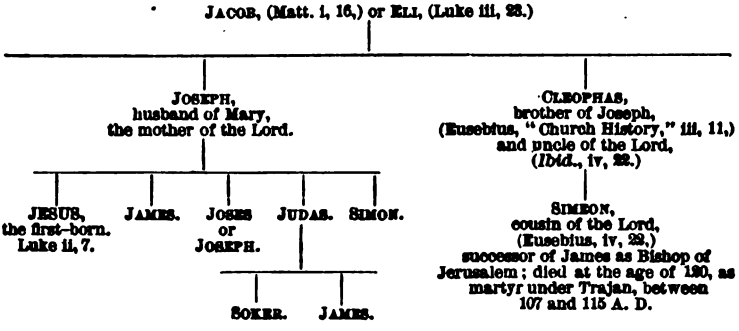
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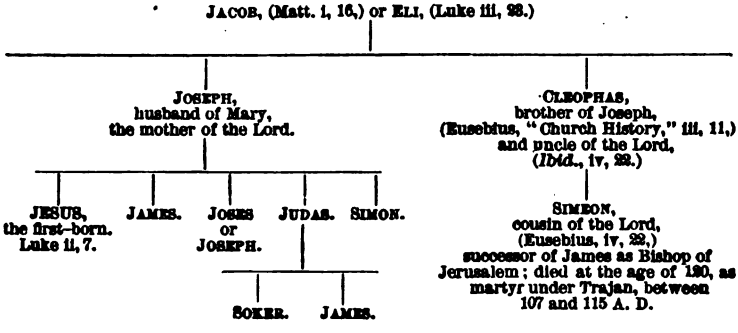
was, therefore, not identical with James, the son of Alpheus; but that the writers of the ancient Church began at an early period to confound James, the son of Alpheus, with James, the brother of the Lord. The relationship which, according to him, existed between Jesus and all the relatives mentioned in the New Testament, is illustrated by him in the following genealogical table:


JACOB, (Matt. i, 16,) or ELI, (Luke iii, 23.)
JOSEPH, husband of Mary, the mother of the Lord.
CLEOPHAS, brother of Joseph, (Eusebius, "Church History," iii, 11,) and uncle of the Lord, (*Ibid.*, iv, 22.)
JESUS, the first-born. Luke ii, 7.
JAMES.
JOSES or JOSEPH.
JUDAS.
SIMON.
SIMEON, cousin of the Lord, (Eusebius, iv, 22,) successor of James as Bishop of Jerusalem; died at the age of 120, as martyr under Trajan, between 107 and 115 A. D.
SOKER.
JAMES.

Soker and James, the sons of Judas, were, according to Eusebius, heads of the Churches in Palestine, probably as assistants of the aged Simeon. Simeon, as head of the Church of Jerusalem, was followed by Justus; at that time no more relatives of Jesus were alive. The brothers of the Lord who are mentioned in the New Testament are regarded by Holtzmann as children of Joseph and Mary, not as step-brothers or cousins of Jesus. He regrets that so many Protestant theologians appear to have, like Hengstenberg, submitted to the papal dictation which designated the belief in full brothers of the Lord as a crime for which even recantation cannot atone. As praiseworthy exceptions to this tendency he mentions Schaff, Wieseler, Pressensé, ("History of the First Three Centuries,") Hofman, (in his "*Bible-werk*,") Grau, (*Entwicklungsgeschichte*,) Laurent, and Gustav Plitt.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) *Essays:* 1. HACKENSCHMIDT, The Teaching of the Lutheran Theologian, John Musaeus, concerning the Visibility of the Church. 2. KLEINERT, Practical Theology, (First Article,) *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. SEIDEMANN, Luther and Bishop John VII. of Meissen. 2. BERTLING, A Transposition in the Gospel of John. *Reviews:* 1. GESS, Christ's Person and Work; reviewed by REIFF. 2. KOFFMANE, History of Church Latin, edited by LUDWIG.

Dr. Bertling believes that, by the mistake of a copyist, the passage John vii, 19–24 has been put in a wrong place; that

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originally it was part of the fifth chapter of John, following immediately after verse 16, and that it should be restored to its original place. We give his remarks in a somewhat condensed form:

In John v, 1–15, the healing of the sick man at the pool of Bethesda is related. According to verse 16 the Jews persecuted Jesus and sought to slay him because he had done these things on the Sabbath-day. In verse 17 Jesus answers: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." According to verse 18 the Jews sought the more to kill him because he said that God was his Father. The answer of Jesus, in verse 17, has no direct reference to the Sabbath. Such a reference may only be thought to be implied in the words, "My Father worketh *hitherto*," which may be understood as meaning that the Father worketh every day, also on the Sabbath-day, and that this justifies the healing of the sick man on the Sabbath-day. At all events the necessary reference to the Sabbath is not expressly made, but must be supplied by conjecture. Now, it is noteworthy that an explicit reference of this kind does find itself in John vii, 19–24, and that in the latter place it seems to break the connection. A transposition of these verses from the seventh chapter of John to the fifth chapter, inserting them between verses 16 and 17, would give us in both chapters the most natural connection. If this transposition is made, Jesus answers the charge that, in healing the sick man, he broke the Sabbath by referring the Jews to the fact that in cases of circumcision they all transgress the law. The Jews, therefore, are admonished, (vii, 24:) "Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment," and the healing of the sick man, like circumcision, is represented as an act of justification and redemption which is not only allowed on the Sabbath, but necessary. The transposition facilitates the understanding of John v, 17; the miraculous healing of a sick man being a remarkable manifestation of the uninterrupted ("hitherto") working of the Father, and, therefore, a proof that such an act performed on the Sabbath-day is no crime, but divine worship. The transfer of vii, 19–24, will also greatly improve the connection between the remaining parts of this chapter, (verses 1–18, and 25 to the end of chapter.) Chapter vii relates that Jesus went somewhat later to the feast of the Tabernacles

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than the others. About the midst of the feast Jesus went up into the temple and taught. Some of the Jews "marveled at his words," inquiring how "this man knew letters, having never learned." Jesus answered that indeed his teaching was not human wisdom—not any thing contrived by man—but that it came from God, and was a divine testimony for every earnest inquirer. The men who speak of themselves seek their own glory, but if one seeks only the glory of God, then the hearers may be convinced that there is no unrighteousness in him. The transition from this assertion (verse 18) to the law of Moses concerning circumcision (verse 19) appears not to be very obvious. On the other hand, by transposing verses 19 to 24 from chapter vii to chapter v, and connecting vii, 18, directly with vii, 25, the transition becomes entirely natural. It appears both from vii, 15, and from vii, 25–27, that the hearers of Jesus were wavering, and could not make up their minds as to what to think of him. Therefore it also appears entirely natural that the powerful argument for the divine origin of the teaching of Jesus (in verse 18) should be followed (in verse 25) by the marveling inquiry "of some of them of Jerusalem," "Is not this he whom they seek to kill?"

In conclusion, the author frankly admits that there is one serious objection to his argumentation. All the ancient manuscripts and translations agree in giving the verses referred to in the very place where they are found in our present Bible. The simplest way to explain this fact is, in his opinion, to assume that in the earliest times, when there was as yet only one copy of this Gospel, one entire leaf, containing verses 19–24, was misplaced while being copied.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne. (Christian Review.) December, 1879. 1. Coussirat, Henry Ward Beecher. 2. Bonet-Maury, The Friends of God in the Fourteenth Century. 3. Alone, Too Probable Not To Be True, (A Novel.) 4. Pressensé, The Free Synod and the New Projects of Conciliation in the Reformed State Church of France.

January, 1880.—1. Fehr, The Religion of Aryan India in Vedic Times. 2. Astie, The Correspondence of Doudan. 3. Irma S., A History which Begins with a Marriage.

February, 1880.—1. Naville, Religion. 2. Astie, The Correspondence of Doudan. 3. The Life to Come, Shall We Recognize Each Other?

The "Christian Review," which began, on January 1, 1880, the twenty-sixth year of its existence, will be conducted

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during the coming year according to the former plan. The bi-monthly articles on German and English affairs which have graced the pages of the Review for several years, and which are excellent specimens of "Foreign Religious" and "Foreign Literary Intelligence," will be continued during the coming year. The articles on German affairs are by E. Lichtenberger. The monthly reviews of French affairs will, as in former years, be alternately supplied by Pressensé and Sabatier. Articles are announced as forthcoming in the course of 1880 from Pressensé, Bersier, Naville, Godet, Astié, Father Hyacinthe, (on Paganism in Paris, formerly and at present,) and others.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

MOHAMMEDANISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN TURKEY AND THE NEW BALKAN STATES.—The treaty of Berlin, as was expected, has greatly changed the religious aspect of the Turkish empire and the neighboring States. Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro have been generally recognized as independent States, and thus a considerable portion of the Balkan peninsula again finds itself under Christian rule. Bulgaria remains nominally a dependency of Turkey, but, virtually, it is likewise an independent Christian State. Even East Roumelia is really made a new Christian State, as it has its own Parliament, under a governor who must be a Christian, and whose appointment must be confirmed by the Christian powers. Besides, Bosnia and Herzegovina have been placed under the administration of Austria, and they can never be replaced under the direct rule of Turkey, but must become either a part of the Austrian Empire or States virtually or really independent, like the other new States just referred to. In consequence of these changes the rule of a Mohammedan government over large territories and a population of several million Christians has ceased, and a considerable number of Mohammedans have now become subjects of Christian governments.

The following table, which gives the total population of each of these States, together with the Mohammedan population and the population connected with the Greek Church, will illustrate the magnitude of the changes which have taken place in the religious aspect of these countries:

Countries.	Total population.	Mohammedans.	Population connected with the Greek Church.
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,212,000	442,000	571,000
Roumania	5,376,000	120,000	4,700,000
Servia	1,577,000	75,000	1,487,000
Montenegro	286,000	25,000	236,000
Bulgaria	1,860,000	600,000	1,260,000
Eastern Roumelia	751,000	350,000	375,000
Turkey, (except Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, and Eastern Roumelia.)	42,000,000	34,000,000	3,425,000

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All the above States, with the exception of part of Montenegro, were, until 1878, subject to the rule of the Sultan. In consequence of the treaty of Berlin the Sultan's authority over a population of nearly 11,000,000 has been wholly, or at least virtually, destroyed. Of this population about 1,600,000 are Mohammedans, who will now be distributed among six different Christian States. They form a minority in each of these States, except in Eastern Roumelia, where they constitute about one half of the total population. The immense majority of these Mohammedans do not belong to the Turkish race, but are descendants of Slavs, who were induced by the prospect of worldly advantages and privileges to embrace Mohammedanism. They still speak the language of the Slavic tribes to which they belong, and the consciousness of a common nationality cannot fail to exert upon them, in the course of time, a strong influence. The national feeling makes itself so strongly felt in all the Slavic countries that it will certainly attract many of the young Mohammedans; and it must, of course, be expected that in proportion as the Mohammedan Slavs begin to feel a more intense interest in the aspirations of their race, their connection with the Islam will be weakened. All the six Christian States of which these Mohammedans are subjects have to make provision for the religious worship of the Mohammedans; and as all of them have a constitutional form of government, it will be a matter of considerable interest to watch the development of the Church government of the Mohammedans in these States.

There is as yet no indication that the decay of the Mohammedan power in Turkey, which has for centuries been on the increase, has received any check. On the contrary, other territorial losses will certainly occur ere long, and a general dissolution becomes more and more probable. Turkey has bound itself by the Berlin Treaty to cede a part of its territory to Greece, and the execution of this part of the treaty has thus far been only delayed by the disagreement of the Greek and Turkish commissioners. In Candia and the smaller islands the Mohammedan element of population is so weak, and the desire of the majority of the population who belong to the Greek nationality for annexation to Greece is so strong, that a reunion with the kingdom of Greece appears to be very probable. In Asia, as the British embassador, in 1879, told the government of Constantinople, the failure of the Turkish government to carry out the reforms promised in the separate treaty between England and Turkey, has stimulated among the Armenians, and also among the other Christian nationalities of the Asiatic dominions of Turkey, aspirations for an autonomy similar to that of Bulgaria and East Roumelia, in Europe. By the pressure brought upon him by England, the Sultan has finally been forced to intrust to an Englishman the task of reconstructing the administration in the Asiatic provinces. The financial condition of this empire is so wretched, and the inability of most of the Mohammedan statesmen to effect any lasting reforms so palpable, that even the chief representatives of the religious interests of Mohammedanism, the ulemas,

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urged, in 1879, upon their government the appointment of able financiers of Christian Europe to assume the control of the Turkish finances.

Turkey is the only country in Europe the population statistics of which are little known. The statements both of the total population and the religious statistics have hitherto greatly varied; only of late greater care has been taken to obtain reliable figures. In view of the probability that the disintegration of Turkey will go on, the following religious statistics of the vilayets or provinces of European Turkey, which are given by M. Jakshitch, the head of the statistical bureau in Belgrade, Servia, will be found of interest:

Vilayets or Provinces.	Christians.	Mohammedans.	Jews.	Total.
1. Constantinople (City).....	121,267	183,540	22,943	327,750
2. Adrianople.....	451,612	273,464	13,492	738,568
3. Salonica.....	419,116	380,974	7,409	807,499
4. Monastir.....	315,521	347,286	2,566	665,373
5. Kossowo.....	288,483	341,548	1,323	631,354
6. Scutari.....	90,255	77,779	.....	168,004
7. Janina.....	533,574	238,812	4,085	766,471
8. Candia.....	234,213	37,840	3,200	275,253
9. Islands, (Thasos, Imbros, Samothrake, Lemnos) ..	40,490	1,884	.....	42,374
Total of immediate possession...	2,484,501	1,883,127	55,018	4,422,646

The table shows that in none of the vilayets the Mohammedans constitute a large majority, and that in several they even are very largely in the minority. The Christians generally would prefer incorporation with one of the Christian Balkan States, and the weakness of the Mohammedans makes it highly probable that a partition of at least European Turkey between the Christian races of the Balkan peninsula is highly probable. In Asiatic Turkey Mohammedanism is, numerically, much stronger. The Mohammedans constitute the large majority of the population, numbering about twelve and a half millions of a total population of sixteen and a half millions. But here, also, Turkey is threatened with great losses in the future. The difference of race makes itself felt in Asia also. Of the Mohammedans only 6,000,000 are Turks, the remainder belong to other races. The Christians, about 2,800,000, constitute a considerable majority in several districts. They have begun to aspire after political independence, or at least autonomy; and if ever they should secure the acquiescence of both Russia and England the Turks will be entirely unable to resist their demands for independence. Another very remarkable fact in regard to the future of Asiatic Turkey is the very rapid advance of the Greek population all along the coast. Almost the entire commerce of the large cities is in the hands of Greeks, Armenians, and other Christians. The Turks feel their inability to compete with the Christians, and more and more fall back from the coast to the interior. In Africa, Egypt has, of late, grown so rapidly that it now has a territory larger than the entire immediate possessions of the Sultan, with a population about equal to that of Asiatic Turkey. The authority of the Sultan in the African dependencies is not much greater than it is in Bulgaria. It must necessarily come to an end if the power of Turkey is still further reduced in Europe and Asia.

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As Mohammedanism continues to decline, the power and influence of the Greek Church, or, as it calls itself, the Orthodox Eastern Church, are looming up. A few years ago this Church had among the independent governments of the earth only two representatives, Russia and Greece, leaving out Montenegro, which was a little principality of only 120,000 inhabitants, and the independence of which was not recognized by Turkey. Now there are four other States in which the Greek Church will predominate—Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Eastern Roumelia. The latter is likely to be, ere long, united with Bulgaria. Every further loss of Turkey will add to the territory, population, and power of these States; and in the history of the Christian Church the Greek Church must, therefore, occupy henceforth a more prominent place than in the past.

This growth will, however, greatly change the inner constitution of the Church. The Patriarch of Constantinople still is, and probably will remain for a long time to come, the most prominent bishop of the entire communion; but the Churches of Russia, Austria, Greece, Servia, Roumania, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and the Churches of the Bulgarian nationality in East Roumelia, have made themselves entirely independent of his jurisdiction. Therefore, although the honorary pre-eminence of the See of Constantinople continues, the direct jurisdiction of the Patriarch has become limited to the Christians of Greek nationality living under Turkish rule. The progressing consolidation of the Bulgarian nationality, and the prospective annexation of large districts of the European part of Turkey to Greece, are likely very soon to reduce this jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople to still narrower limits.

As the Greek Church of Bosnia and Herzegovina is of the same (Servian) nationality as a large portion of that Church in Austria-Hungary, the Austrian government is intent upon establishing the closest union between these two Churches. It is estimated that in Austria-Hungary there is a population of about 8,100,000 which belongs to the Servian nationality. If to this number the Servians of Bosnia and Herzegovina are added, the number of Servians who are under the rule of the Emperor of Austria rises to more than 4,300,000, a number exceeding that of all Servians outside of the Austrian dominions. The establishment of a strong, consolidated Servian Church within the boundaries of Austria appears, therefore, to many of the leading statesmen of Austria as a matter of grave political importance for the future of the Empire. The Churches of Bosnia and Herzegovina were, until the treaty of Berlin, under the Patriarch of Constantinople. Nearly all the bishops appointed by the Patriarch were Greeks, who did not understand the Servian language, and had no sympathy with the national aspirations of the Servians. The latter, therefore, were greatly dissatisfied with their Greek bishops. This feeling was fostered by Austria after it had obtained possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The history of the past relations between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Servian nationality was referred to, to prove that any jurisdiction of Constantinople over Servia was a usurpation. At the time when Servia was a

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powerful kingdom it had a Patriarch of its own at Ipek, whose independence was recognized by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Subsequently a large number of Servians, including the Patriarch of Ipek, emigrated to and settled upon Austrian territory; and in the course of time the Austrian Government deemed it good policy to establish within its own borders a Servian patriarchate at Carlovitz, which claims to be the heir and legitimate successor of the patriarchate of Ipek. The proposition to place all the Churches of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Patriarchate of Carlovitz appears, therefore, to be quite natural, and a measure of this kind would have the great political advantage of promoting the permanent political union of these provinces with Austria. At the end of November, 1879, the Patriarch of Carlovitz and the Bishops of Ofen and Neusalz were summoned to Vienna and Pesth to be consulted on this subject by the Governments of Austria proper and Hungary.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Advent of Christ; An Elucidation of the great Prophecy of our Lord, with special Reference to the Question, Whether Christ will make his Appearing before or after his Millennial Kingdom, together with an Answer to the Question, Did the Apostles expect the Advent of Christ in their own Day? By FRANZ L. NAGLER. 24mo., pp. 222. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

We have given above a translation of the title of a small book written in the Germanic dialect of our great Teutonic speech. Mr. Nagler avows that he once believed, but has now renounced, the doctrine of a premillennial advent. And as he indorses largely, but in a perfectly independent spirit and with some acute criticisms, many of the views which we have put forth distinctively from all other commentators, giving us full and frank credit, our hope is that our commentary, when fully completed, will prove a future safeguard for our people against those periodical fits of expecting the immediate advent which have proved so great a detriment to religion.

Full of mischiefs especially have been the interpretations of the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, both by English commentators, as Whitby and Clarke, and German commentators, such as Stier and Lange. Both have violated the fundamental principles of exegesis in misconstruing that chapter, and have made it pregnant with infidelity and heresy. Modern Universalism was born of the allegorizing of that chapter.

The readers of our commentary on Matt. xxiv and xxv are aware that we hold the phrase "these things," in the disciples'

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questions and the Lord's answer, as designating the temporal troubles of the downfall of Jerusalem and the Jews, and thereby marking a clear distinction throughout between that downfall and the second advent. Mr. Nagler endeavors, in divers sharp ways, to spoil this our nice fix. He quotes Mark, and he might have quoted Luke, as giving the question, not about the "coming," but about "these things" solely, asking what should be "the sign" of their completion. That is, as we interpret, they furnish the question *only about the troubles*, and not about the advent. Matthew, on the other hand, furnishes the question about "the sign" of the advent alone; yet he really gives "the sign" (xxiv, 15) of the crisis when they shall take their flight from the city's destruction. Our conclusion, then, is, that each evangelist makes an omission. Matthew omits the word "sign" in reference to the destruction, Mark and Luke omit the inquiry as to the advent. "These things," therefore, is still without contradiction, limited to the temporal troubles.

Again, Mr. Nagler quotes Luke xxi, 28, "When *these things* begin to come to pass, lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh," and questions whether the city's destruction furnished any such ground of jubilation. We understand our Lord as bidding them not hang their heads in fear and despondency as Jews bound to destruction, but to lift up their brows at the moment of their deliverance from both the despotism and doom of Jerusalem and Judaism, and their escape to their refuge in Pella.

But Mr. Nagler thinks our limitation of "these things" to the troubles is contradicted by Luke xxi, 36, "Watch ye, therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape *all these things* that shall come to pass and to stand before the Son of Man." A proper paraphrase of Luke xxi, 36, we think, would be: Watch and pray, that you, my disciples, may escape *all these* tribulations through which you will be called to pass without apostasy, and may stand uncondemned before Christ's judgment bar. Compare Matt. xxiv, 13.

To those who doubt whether so relative a phrase as *these things* should have so substantive a meaning as our interpretation assumes, we suggest: 1. This phrase, as applied to predicted events, occurs in the three reports of these discourses no less than seventeen times, and must have been actually spoken eight times. The fact that all three evangelists report the phrase with such unanimity implies their strong impression of its prominence; and the fact of its repeated use by our Lord implies a definite and

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substantial import. 2. In all these eight instances at least five clearly designate the troubles of the Jews, and not the second advent. First, in the question of the disciples, as given by Matthew, there is an obvious antithesis between *these things* and *coming*. That this antithesis is real is demonstrated by the repetition of the antithesis in the answer, "*these things* (so Luke) must be, but the end is not yet." Here even Mr. Nagler will admit that *these things* and *end*, the troubles and the advent, are opposites, and exclude each other. Second, (Matt. xxiv, 8,) "*All these* are the beginning of sorrows," where, clearly, the troubles are meant. Third, (Luke xxi, 12,) Before *all these things;* where *these things* refers to the earthquakes and commotions of the previous verse; and so must designate the troubles, and not the advent. Fourth, (Luke xxi, 36,) "Ye may escape all these things, and stand before the Son of man;" where *these things* are first to be escaped before and antithetical to the advent. Fifth, (Matt. xxiii, 36,) "All these things," namely, the temporal punishments for their ancestral sins, "shall come upon this generation." Now these five cases inductively prove that the other three cases must have this meaning, if they will possibly bear it. And then the *sixth*, (Luke xxi, 28,) "When these things shall begin to come to pass," and, seventh, (verse 31,) applying the parable of the fig-tree, "When ye see these things come to pass," must not refer to the advent, because that event was not, like the blossom of the fig-tree, a gradually appearing process, but a sudden and unwarned event, "like a thief in the night." We think, then, we fairly prove that seven of the eight cases refer to the temporal troubles, and, therefore, so must the eighth; namely, Matt. xxiv, 34, "Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away until *all these things* be fulfilled." This celebrated passage does not declare that the advent should take place in that generation, but that the troubles should. And if this argument is valid, our interpretation of that discourse must stand uninvalidated.

We still decline a solution of the difficulties of this discourse by a false definition of "generation." For, 1. The meaning *race* is without, or nearly without, precedent. Delitzsch is indeed quoted as having found a few instances in the Septuagint; but that, if true, does not justify our rejecting its sense in all other Greek literature and fixing it here. 2. Our admission, quoted by Mr. Nagler, that the word in Luke xii, 8 means "kind, class, species," means only "kind, class, species," viewed contemporaneously, not as in a line of descent through time. 3. Even were the meaning

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"race" admissible the parallel passage, (xxiii, 36,) "Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation," decides that a contemporaneous generation is meant. The antithesis is between the sins of previous generations and the concentrated penalty upon "this generation." 4. The meaning "race" gives an inane sense to the words. The meaning, then, is, The Jewish race shall not pass away until the destruction of Jerusalem and the judgment-day are completed! That perverts the passage from telling how soon "these things" shall take place, answering the question "when," to telling us how long the Jewish race shall endure. We may add that, according to Robinson's "New Testament Lexicon," a generation was, Hebraically, understood to include a hundred years, so that the destruction of the city would be included within the period.

We cordially commend the work of Mr. Nagler, especially to the attention of our German brethren, who bring from the dear old "Fatherland" some dreamy Chiliastic theories, which the free, fresh air of our America should blow away.

Faith and Character. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

It is long since we opened a volume of sermons so real and wholesome as these. Many pulpit utterances are pervaded by an air of unreality such that the hearers find nothing in them which touches upon their own duties or experience. The terms are conventional and meaningless, or the statements are strained until they become false. In fact, we would not expose a thoughtful child to the utterances of many pulpits whereof we know, for any consideration, because of the artificial and unreal nature of the ministrations. The pulpit in general has not yet got fully clear of the notion that the aim of Christ is to get men into a physical paradise, instead of saving them from sin and sinning. The Universalist pulpit of the last generation was almost entirely possessed with the notion that hell is the only thing to be dreaded. Dr. Vincent has a more Christian conception. Holy character is made the great aim of life; and each sermon deals either with the relations and bearings of character, or with the principle of faith in the unseen as its only permanent basis. The right of God to our lives, and the power of Christ to save and sanctify all who will accept him, are dwelt upon and emphasized in the most earnest and tender manner. The piety of our time needs nothing more than to learn the Christian way.

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of looking at our earthly life. It is not a prison, not an exile, not an accident, but a divine order in which God gives himself to us for our discipline and development. The daily duty, the dreary routine, the unhonored lot—all these express the divine will concerning us; and by accepting them as such we can exalt and glorify them by our faithfulness and courage and honor. Christ redeems the present life no less than the future, and reconciles us to it. We commend the work in hand as a help to the realization of this thought. B.

Commentary on the New Testament. Intended for Popular Use. By D. D. Whedon, LL.D. Vol. V. Titus–Revelation. 12mo., pp. 483. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

We have some hope that about the time this Quarterly is in the hands of its readers the fifth and last volume of our Commentary on the New Testament will be upon the salesman's counter. In the slender train of our life's history, our readers will excuse us for saying, this completion is an epoch. Gratitude to a gracious Providence that has spared and strengthened us to this end, gladness that it is beyond contingency, solemnity as if at the loss of a dear friend who has vacated his place, are very natural and excusable feelings. The favor with which the work has been received has cheered us in the labor. And we shall be greatly disappointed if our closing volume be not as favorably received as either of its predecessors, and the closing book, the apocalypse, as favorably as any book we have touched in the canon.

Not much later we hope our publishers will be able to furnish forth two more of the volumes of the Old Testament Commentary. The one is by Drs. Burr, Hunter, and Hyde; and the other, on the Psalms, by Dr. Hibbard. We doubt not that both these books will be highly acceptable to the Church. We much regret that, by circumstances beyond our own control, the Old Testament series has been so long delayed. We did expect, at the last General Conference, that the close of the present quadrennium would see the entire work, both Old Testament and New, completed. We can only now say that it is only delayed, not abandoned.

The Doctrine of Man. The Seventh Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By John Laidlaw, M.A., Minister of Free West Church, Aberdeen. 8vo., pp. 397. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879.

This work consists of six lectures, delivered in 1878 at the Free Church College of Edinburgh. They discuss the idea of Man as presented in the Bible, with ample erudition, ancient and modern,

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with no little insight, and in a fresh and copious style. The development of the subject opens a series of important and interesting topics, discussed in a vigorous spirit, if not always with a satisfactory result. Lecture First analyzes the biblical account of man's creation, in which the two narratives of man's creation, given in Genesis, are critically examined and pronounced to be varying, yet consistent, and supplementing each other. This is compared with the evolutionary theories, the evidences of which, together with those adduced in behalf of pre-Adamic man, are pronounced to be, as yet, insufficient. Lecture Second examines the nature of man as biblically presented, introducing an ample discussion of the trinality of man's constitution. Lecture Third inquires into the import of the divine image in which man was created, with a discussion of the true nature of man unfallen. Lecture Fifth contemplates man as fallen, and Sixth the psychologic nature of the new life, which brings up the nature of regeneration and sanctification. Lecture Sixth surveys man's future destiny, including his immortality and resurrection. There are many points on which we differ with the author in his conclusions. His theology is, of course, Calvinistic. We do not think his views of the threefoldness of man's constitution to be clear or conclusive. His doctrine of man's future affirms a "resurrection" verbally only, and really maintains not a *resurrection* of the body, but a substitution of a new body. Yet his volume is well worth the attention of the theological student.

The Typology of Scripture. Viewed in Connection with the whole Series of the Divine Dispensations. By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D. 8vo., vol. i, pp. 420; vol. ii, pp. 484. New York: N. Tibbals & Sons.

For the biblical student, specially interested in the study of the Old Testament and its relations to the New, these volumes are of priceless value. Dr. Fairbairn was a fresh and penetrative thinker—modern without being revolutionary, and rational without being rationalistic. The types of Scripture in former times had been handled in a most wild and lawless spirit. With a fine mastery of the erudition of the subject, and a clear insight into its principles, he traced the laws by which types are regulated, and drew out the true methods of interpretation with great truth and beauty. The result greatly elucidates the connection between the two great volumes of Revelation. The two divine dispensations are revealed as one great whole, and the two testaments appear as one great organic Book. Let our theological scholars master the contents of this biblical master-piece.

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Studies on the Baptismal Question; Including a Review of Dr. Dale's "Inquiry into the Usage of Baptizo." By Rev. DAVID B. FORD. 8vo. Pp. 416. Boston: H. A. Young & Co. New York: Ward & Drummond. 1879.

Mr. Ford's book is a learned and able reply to Dr. Dale's very elaborate discussion of the mode of baptism. Nearly every theological student, in some part of his career, desires to investigate this subject; and when he has finished his research, is very apt to wish a relief from the subject ever after. We have no doubt that, on scripture grounds, the proofs of uniform immersion are an entire failure, and that affusion alone represents that outpouring of the Spirit which baptism is intended to symbolize.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Natural Science and Religion: Two Lectures delivered to the Theological School of Yale College. By ASA GRAY. 12mo, pp. 111. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

The distinguished Harvard professor, in view of the proofs afforded to his mind in his department of Botany, early accepted the doctrines of Darwin. He so did, notwithstanding his orthodox religious views, holding, as he does, the reality of revelation, and the incarnation, and the truth of the Apostolic and Nicene creeds. The religious inquirer into the genuineness of the new announcements of science very naturally turns to him with full confidence that he does not, like a Huxley or a Haeckel, readily incline to make science the pretext for irreligious skepticism. We have, then, in these lectures not a disproof of genetic derivationism, but a presentation of the method by which a Christian scientist reconciles his views of derivationism with his views of the Bible. How can a Darwinist be a consistent believer in orthodox Christianity?

On the Mosaic account of man's creation the professor gives only the following touch: "Man, in short, is a partaker of the natural as well as of the spiritual. And the evolutionist may say with the apostle, 'Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual.' Man, 'formed of the dust of the ground,' endowed with 'the breath of life,' 'became a living soul.' Is there any warrant for affirming that these processes were instantaneous?" This about coincides with a brief reconciliation of the two views given by us soon after the publication of Mr. Darwin's first book, in which we concluded that if the same assumption in regard to time were

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made in our interpretation of Gen. ii, 7, as is usually adopted in the cosmogony of the first chapter, the reconciliation would not be difficult. The cosmogony is an extended development; why not the anthropology?

Toward "the Scriptures" Prof. Gray is reverent and loyal in spirit. But his maxim rather is "the Bible contains the word of God," than "the Bible is the word of God." Of the Mosaic books, he says: "When fundamental principles of the cosmogony in Genesis are found to coincide with established facts and probable inferences, the coincidence has its value; and wherever the particulars are incongruous, the discrepancy does not distress us; I may add, does not concern us. I trust that the veneration rightly due to the Old Testament is not impaired by the ascertaining that the Mosaic is not an original but a compiled cosmogony. Its glory is, that while its materials were the earlier property of the race, they were in this record purged of polytheism and Nature-worship, and impregnated with ideas which we suppose the world will never outgrow. For its fundamental note is, the declaration of one God, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things, visible and invisible—a declaration which, if physical science is unable to establish, it is equally unable to overthrow." And again: "I suppose that the Old Testament carried the earlier revelation and the germs of Christianity, as the apostles carried the treasures of the gospel, in earthen vessels. I trust it is reverent, I am confident it is safe and wise, to consider that revelation in its essence concerns things moral and spiritual; and that the knowledge of God's character and will which has descended from the fountain-head in the earlier ages has come down to us, through annalists and prophets and psalmists, in a mingled stream, more or less tinged or rendered turbid by the earthly channels through which it has worn its way. The stream brings down precious gold, and so may be called a golden stream; but the water—the vehicle of transportation—is not gold. Moreover, the analogy of our inquiry into design in Nature may teach us that we may be unable always accurately to sift out the gold from the earthly sediment."—P. 107.

While Prof. Gray usually talks like a hearty Darwinian, a single page seems to class him with Mivart, whose name, we believe, he never mentions. Thus he says, on page 76: "While I see how variations of a given organ or structure can be led on to great modification, *I cannot conceive how non-existent organs come thus to be*, how wholly new parts are initiated, how any thing can

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be led on which is not there to be taken hold of. Nor am I at all helped in this respect by being shown that the new organs are developed little by little."

If we rightly understand Professor Gray, he maintains that at the bottom the distinction between the animal and vegetable kingdoms not only is concealed, but that it has no existence. At base they are not only apparently, but really, one. Now to our philosophy, if not to our science, not claiming any science, it does seem that such a statement cannot possibly be true. The difference, we venture to imagine, between an animal and a vegetable is the difference between *mind* and *no mind;* between a certain *something* and *nothing*. An animal, however low in grade, has at any rate the lowest grade of mind, a minimum of sensation. And that minimum, according to a distinction elsewhere wittily and wisely made by the professor, "though very little, is very important." It is a minimum in a new direction; toward intelligence, wisdom, omniscience. It belongs to the infinite world of mind, and not to the finite world of matter. Where that minimum begins physics may be unable to tell us, but has no right to tell us that it has no beginning at all. As between the vegetable and mineral the great distinction is life or no life, so the distinction between animal and vegetable is sense or no sense. Life may interfuse with inorganic matter, and form an ocean of "bathybius," but, destitute both of mind and organism, it is below the humblest vegetable. And then the so-called "sensitive plant," lying upon your warm palm, may mimic a crawling creature, yet be no more *living* than the snow-flake that melts upon that same palm. The vegetable fly-trap may catch its victim ever so expertly, and we may wonder at the design that formed so funny a *lusus naturæ;* but it no more invades the field of animal life than does the still-spring mouse-trap. It seems to us wonderful that our scientists should so often entrap themselves by making the word *life* embrace the idea of *mind*, fallaciously holding psychology to be but a department of biology, which is nothing more than the vicious tendency first started by Comte to eliminate mind from the world, and leave us nothing but brain and nerve.

Communism and Socialism in their History and Theory. A Sketch by THEODORE D. WOOLSEY. 12mo., pp. 309. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

Will the time come, some fifty years hence, when the name of Dennis Kearney will be embalmed in eulogistic biography by some future Oliver Johnson? Will the volume that furnishes

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those "sketches of the" agrarian "movement in America, and of the man who was its founder and moral leader," sail with colors flying on the smooth tide of popular approbation when, through revolution and bloodshed, an equalization of human conditions shall be attained? Mr. Johnson professedly rings out his denunciations of the ministry and Church in order to furnish a warning for the future, teaching the Church to lead in the van of all reformatory revolutions. Very well. Must we, then, put ourselves under the guidance of Mr. K., just as we did not under Mr. G.! We think there can be no doubt that Mr. K. is quite the equal of Mr. G. in sincerity, in heroism, in his earnest sense of real wrongs, and, saving some profanity, charged, perhaps truly, by his enemies, as moderate in his spirit and language. That the social wrongs of which Mr. Kearney complains are real and terrible, though there are few that now take the pains or the courage to say or describe, there cannot be a doubt. How much more tyrannical were the plantation lords of 1830 than the railroad kings of 1880? Into how much deeper degradation were the enslaved negroes of that day depressed by the slave-whipping oligarch than are our city slums and all the children of ignorance, penury, and sin, by our money oligarchs? What serf was ever obliged by the whip to walk more strait to his task than the factory or shop-hand by the fear of starvation to his work? And now that the apostle of immediate agrarianization has arisen, he is treated just as the apostle of immediate emancipation was before him. All classes are just as solid against him. Politicians of all parties, editors of all newspapers, merchant princes, and railroad kings, are all unanimously hostile. And as for the Church!—out upon her. She is madly slighting Oliver Johnson's warning to jump under the banner of the next wild-cat reformer that turns up! Her laity are corrupted by the money-power, and her ministers are "dumb dogs that will not bark." O! if the Church were only right, Kearneyism would in a moment be supreme! The Church is the bulwark of plutocracy! The Church is the prop of Mammonism. If every pulpit, every Church, would as one man turn about and adopt *immediate agrarianization*, the money-power would be overthrown, all the laws of property would be reconstructed, every man would be as poor and as rich as every other man, and the Five Points would be equal to the Fifth Avenue. And where is Oliver Johnson himself? Does he take his own warning? Is he lending his vigorous pen to the service of Kearney? Or has he, too, be-

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come conservative? We hear not his voice in the new reform, and fear that he is temporizing. We fear that he is saying to himself that the evils of which Mr. Kearney complains are too inextricably interwoven into the present system of society to be removed by an "immediate" shock; that organic evils must be gradually removed by patient effort, by providential development, and by advancing time; that it is a delicate question that is involved, and that, however great the evil existing, the mode of its "immediate" removal is not clear to human ken; that the laws of property and the inequalities of human condition are clearly recognized in the Scriptures; that Mr. Kearney is not a wise leader, his party are not sound men, and that bloodshed and anarchy would result from pressing his principles and measures. Alas! Mr. J., if he thus reasons, is clearly apostatizing. He is an apologist for plutocracy. He is just as bad as Lyman Beecher, Wilbur Fisk, and Leonard Bacon. He ought to proclaim that all plutocracy is sin, and must be "immediately" abandoned. He must allow no "gradual" reforms. He is reasoning just as the earlier opponents of Garrison reasoned, and as men of sound brain and good common sense must ever reason; but that class of men Mr. Johnson holds up to all sorts of contempt in his preposterous biography of his fetish.

Contemplated from the stand-point of a rational humanity, Dr. Woolsey's subject is of momentous importance. Communism has a past history, as here presented, full of wiser warnings than the Garrisonian biographer is able to furnish. Dr. Woolsey analyzes the principles upon which Communism is based, the forces it has at command, and the probability of its triumph. We earnestly commend the book to the earnest study of humanitarian thinkers.

The Emotions. By JAS. M'COSH, D.D., LL.D. N. Y.: Chas. Scribner's Sons. 1880.

English philosophic, indeed, we might say all philosophic, literature has been relatively barren of treatises on the emotions or sensibilities. This deficiency arises largely from the nature of the subject itself. The cognitive powers admit of easy discrimination and of tolerably exact statement; but it is a peculiarity of feeling that it cannot be expressed in any formula, but must be realized in an experience. A simply cognitive, or thinking, being would never be able to understand an emotion; for the categories of pure thought afford no medium for its expression. Again, the variety of feelings and of shades of feeling is so great as almost to defy any attempt at classification beyond

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the most vague and worthless. And the classifications which are possible are descriptive only, and afford us no insight into the genesis of our feelings, and no new power over them. In the realm of pure thought, on the other hand, there is a certain inner connection of reason, so that we not only see how, but why. The emotions partake of the nature of life. It is in the emotions that the value and beauty and significance of life are found; but, like life, they cannot be understood—they can only be lived.

There is, then, a wide place for Dr. M'Cosh's work. The field is large, and the laborers few. All the more important is it, therefore, that the work be well done. And here we must say, that, thankful as we are for what we have got, the work is disappointing. It is mainly descriptive, and is written throughout in a popular rather than in a philosophical style. It gives a very pleasant account of the various emotions, and the average thinker will ask for nothing more. But the divisions are very general, and even cross each other in a way which scandalizes the critic. The work is, perhaps, to be recommended for the general reader and the practical man, rather than for the philosophical student of the emotions. One point we miss entirely—the significance of feeling for the mental life. The doctor insists that the idea must precede the feeling; but there is a large realm in which feeling fashions the idea. On this account many of the Germans have made the sensibility more fundamental than the intellect, and have made the latter purely instrumental to the former. This is the meaning of their claim, that logic and metaphysics must be founded on æsthetics. And very much can be said for this claim from the side both of psychology and of speculation. These deeper questions we had hoped to find discussed in the present work, but have been disappointed. Perhaps the doctor would demur to this criticism on the ground of a distinction between the feelings and the emotions which he makes in the beginning; but we find no ground offered for the distinction when made, and it is not heard of in the course of the work. Still our criticism is of what is left undone, rather than of what is done. The sin is more of omission than of commission.

Ecclesiastical Law and Rules of Evidence, with Special Reference to the Jurisprudence of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Hon. William J. Henry and William L. Harris, D.D., LL.D. 8vo., pp. 511. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

Years agone, when he was younger than he is now, and filled but the chair of a western professorship, we pronounced Dr. Har-

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ris one of the most judicial minds of the Church. He was the proper churchman to be associated with an eminent jurist to furnish a volume on our Ecclesiastical Law. We hope in our next number to furnish a full review of the work from a professional and amply competent hand.

History, Biography, and Topography.

William Lloyd Garrison and his Times; or, Sketches of the Antislavery Movement in America, and of the Man who was its Founder and Moral Leader. By OLIVER JOHNSON. With an Introduction by JOHN G. WHITTIER. 12mo., pp. 432. Boston: B. B. Russell & Co. New York: Charles Drew. 1880.

Mr. Johnson is a whole-souled devotee. He is both a devout worshiper of his fetish, and a cordial hater of all who bow not the knee at the same shrine. It was the lot of the Editor of this Quarterly to interrupt the full flow of his commemoration of his hero in the "New York Tribune," and so it is said Editor's doom to be victimized in the book in the best Garrisonian style. In our articles in the "Tribune" we fully admitted the great merits of Mr. Garrison's character; but we showed the points which made him a defective leader. We quoted Mr. Johnson's declaration in 1856 that this Editor was a genuine antislavery man, and traced our course, showing that, though a true antislavery man, we ever kept aloof, from beginning to end, from Mr. G. and his peculiarities. We showed that our own Church, although not by any means blameless in the concessions she made to slavery, yet she had an antislavery history of her own of which she was reasonably proud. Mr. Johnson was treated courteously throughout, and in most of his articles was courteous in reply. Yet the Garrisonianism could not but leak out, and when he made the remark that Dr. Whedon's posterity would be ashamed of him he uttered a mendacity that sunk him below the level of decent discussion.

In our article written professedly from memory, away from documents, at the sea-shore, we said that we voted for the antislavery candidate "somewhere about 1834." Mr. Johnson has since examined the files of "Zion's Herald," in Boston, and found that in 1835 this editor charged that the movement would bring politics into the Church, and finds it hard to believe our statement that we voted the antislavery ticket in thirty-four. But we did not say we did so vote at that date. An obituary of Mr. Gillette, the anti-slavery candidate, published some few weeks

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since in the papers, puts the date, as our present recollections are, at 1837; which, in a recollective period of between forty and fifty years, is, as we said, somewhere about 1834. There was no inconsistency in our opposing the bringing the slavery discussion into the Church in 1835, and our voting as a citizen in 1837 for either a Whig, a Democratic, or an Antislavery candidate. In either case we doubtless deemed that our political suffrage need not be brought into ecclesiastical discussion. Later in the history, indeed, when slavery itself invaded Church as well as State to render herself supreme, we did our best to rally both State and Church against her.

Mr. Johnson informs us jubilantly that a new edition of Mr. Matlack's history of the antislavery movement will soon appear. We trust it will. It was prepared by Mr. M. with our cordial approbation; and its manuscript lies on our editorial table, and it will be recommended to our house for publication. It is written by as true and as early an antislavery man as Mr. Johnson, but by a man whose sufferings as an antislavery man never drove him into semi-infidelity. It will be found perfectly free from Garrison worship. Mr. Garrison, so far as we have noted, is but twice mentioned; the first time with a disapprobation, and the second as a subject of a brief biographical item. Of the comparative antislaveryism of Methodism among the denominations, Mr. J. will find himself very conclusively contradicted. Mr. Matlack candidly states the views of the anti-abolitionists, very much in the style of impartial history and not of a partisan pamphlet.

Civil Service in Great Britain. A History of Abuses and Reforms, and their Bearing upon American Politics. By DORMAN B. EATON. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880. 8vo., pp. 469.

Mr. Eaton was chairman of the Civil Service Commission under President Grant, and has written this work after more than a year's residence in England, under request from President Hayes. It is a full survey of the history of patronage from the time of the Conqueror, when all England was divided up as spoils among the victors, down to the time when competitive examinations conferred office according to merit, to the destruction of patronage, under the laws of a wise civil service system. As a historical work, it is written with an ability, and possesses an interest in its narrative, entitling it to take rank with the best histories of our day; and its value as a repository of facts upon a great living question gives it especial claims to the public attention.

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The great value of the work is that it shows the reform to be a positive reality. It is no schoolman's dream, no theorist's romance. How the work was opposed and was obliged to struggle without precedent to guide its way, how it gradually conquered and became a fixed system, what that system is, how it secures its invaluable results, are all described. Of the nature and method of the reform there can be no doubt. What is wanted, is the diffusion of information through the public mind, and the arousing of the public will to action. For this purpose we want another complete volume. Mr. Eaton, or some other competent man, should give us a history of American political patronage from the foundation of our government to the present hour. The usual statement is that General Jackson began the spoils system, which has ever since spread corruption and debasement through our American politics. It was under him that Secretary Marcy proclaimed the sentiment that "to the victor belongs the spoils," and our elections have ever since been, to a large degree, battles for the seizure and distribution of the plunder—that plunder being the salaries paid from the people's pockets for what ought to be the people's service.

Under General Grant the reform was inaugurated, and when first elected he no doubt intended to emancipate the government from the sway of professional politics. But the "strong man" proved weak in the professional hands; he tamely surrendered, and his sin has been his punishment. For with unimpeachable personal honesty it was his sad penalty to have an administration overwhelmingly disgraced by official corruptions. President Hayes proved stronger than the "strong man." Some tangible reforms have been established under his administration. We wish we could say that they promised to be as permanent as they are tangible. But neither of the prominent candidates named on either side suggest any hope that any trace of the improvements will stand against the rush of the full tide of public corruption.

It is the stupendous mass of spoils at stake in our pending presidential election that creates the great danger. The nation is divided into two great hostile camps, ready to spring to battle for millions of official salaries. This enormous prize carries the strife down from the highest to the lowest, and from the center to the extreme boundaries. It is for this reason that violence, trading, and bribery are unscrupulously practiced, and bloodshed and war, ready to carry carnage into our public streets, are now being threatened. Our republic cannot stand under this system,

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grown to such stupendous dimensions. Take away the spoils system, make subordinate offices depend upon tried ability, irrespective of political opinions, and four fifths of the violence of our politics will be diminished.

How can this reform be established? Not by the political profession itself, for that is now created by the spoils system. And here Mr. Eaton's book is eminently instructive. It shows us the way. Let information be diffused through the public mind. Let the moral sentiment of the country speak. Let our religious press open its columns. Nay, as matter of true moral character, it is fit topic for the pulpit. Above all, let the "independent voter" assert, maintain, and exert his unalienable right to "scratch." The caucus and the conclave are terribly afraid of that "scratch." And well they may be, for their corrupt life is very liable to be "scratched" out of existence.

Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. J. M. Reid, D. D. With Maps and Illustrations. 12mo. Vol. I, pp. 462. Vol. II, pp. 471. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Church will receive with a hearty welcome this beautiful narrative of our missionary history. It is written in the fresh idiomatic style of our faithful Missionary Secretary. It begins with the first movement of our missionary life, in 1819, and ends at the hour of writing. In its series of engravings and maps it furnishes an interesting view of the fields where our beloved missionaries are toiling, and aids us to be in spirit with them amid their toils. It refreshes the soul to be able to survey, in brief but full compass, our past missionary work, and the survey cannot but be effective in animating the Church with the missionary spirit. Perhaps it will be a new fact to some sonorous Garrisonian declaimers against the American Churches that the first of the foreign missionary enterprises of our Church was our mission to Africa, to give civilization and Christianity to the negroes. That great philanthropic movement, the American Colonization Society, led the way. Not under its auspices, yet adopting the field opened by the pioneer agents of that noble society, our Church sent to the African shores some of the most heroic missionaries of our history. The names of Samuel J. Mills and of Ashman will ever be memorable in the work of the Colonization Society; and John Seys, if not rightly styled "the father of our Church in Liberia," was a model missionary. But rarely has the missionary martyr spirit shone more purely than in the career

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of Melville B. Cox. He started for this field with full impression that he would there be entombed; and asked that his epitaph should be, "Let a thousand fall before Africa be given up!" We hope soon to furnish a full review of this standard book.

The Logic of Christian Evidences. By G. Frederick Wright. Andover: Warren T. Draper. 12mo., pp. 312. 1880.

Mr. Wright is one of the editors of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and is so distinguished for his mastery of both science and theology as to render him an able mediator between them both. He is an able advocate for Darwinism, and with a calm boldness has defended that theory in extended articles in that evangelical Quarterly. He has even furnished to its pages an ingenious article showing the accordance of Darwinism with Calvinism; an affinity which we are not inclined just now to controvert. We have no controversy with thinkers who are able to hold the new Evolution in combination with Christianity, but would like to have them tell how the harmonization can be clearly shown. Mr. Wright, so far as we recollect, is clearer in his reconciliation of Darwinism with theism and with Calvinism than with Genesis. The difficulty is less theological than exegetical.

The present little volume deals briefly and acutely with Christian evidences. It is divided into Three Parts. The title of the book fits most precisely to the First Part. Here he examines the logic of science, and shows its accord with the logic of Christian evidence. The Second Part discusses the evidences of theism and of the supernaturalism of Christianity. The Third Part shows the logical conclusiveness of the proofs of historical Christianity. It is a very compact volume, and we should think that even a Thomas Paine would rise from its perusal with the consciousness that it furnishes a hard nut for the skeptical hammer to crack.

Die Deutsch-Amerikanische Kanzel. Eine Auswahl Predigten von den berühmtesten Kanzelrednern der Englischen Sprache, in's Deutsche übersetzt. Von Fr. Kopp. Nebst Einer Anzahl in deutscher Sprache gehaltener Vorträge. 8vo., pp. 586. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Our German brother, Dr. Kopp, has here given a selection of sermons in a volume of goodly magnitude, from various authors, translated from the English, with an addition of a number of original specimens. It is dedicated to the venerated Dr. Nast, with a beautiful frontispiece likeness of him. It commences with a preface by Dr. Leibhart, and a preface to the second

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edition by the author. We have, then, a historic sketch of German Methodism and its grounds. Sermons are given by Bishop Edward Thomson, Spurgeon, Talmage, J. P. Newman, Joseph Beaumont, Charles H. Fowler, Eddy, Bishop Janes, George Whitefield, Beecher, Bishop Simpson, William M'Kinley, De La Matyr, Punshon, Bishop Foster, Bishop Ames, Moody, and President Foss. This will be an invaluable volume for our German ministry and people, and for all who read the Teuton dialect.

The Illustrated History of Methodism in Great Britain and America, from the Days of the Wesleys to the Present Time. By Rev. W. H. DANIELS, A.M. With an Introduction by Bishop HARRIS, D.D., LL.D. Illustrated with 250 Engravings, Maps, and Charts. 8vo., pp. 784. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis: Hitchcock & Walden. 1880.

Wesley and historical Methodism, like Napoleon and the wars of the empire, appear in countless shapes, the most popular of which, and so most widely diffused, perhaps, is this now presented form. While written in the hearty spirit of a true son of the great movement, Mr. Daniels' book is remarkable for its breadth and catholicity. It may be read with satisfaction by all branches of American Methodism, and even English, and wherever the great movement has rolled its waves. We learn with satisfaction that it is having a rapid sale.

Educational.

A Sanskrit Grammar, including both the Classical Language and the older Dialects of Veda and Brahmana. By WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

Scholarship has achieved nothing more remarkable in the last decade than the helps it has perfected for the study of Sanskrit. Few of the present generation of classic scholars, born to the luxury of Passow and Freund—where, for the trouble of examintion, one may find all considerable difficulties, even in unusual authors, grappled with for him—accustomed, moreover, to texts emended and smoothened to a degree that probably not seldom simplifies the language originally written—can imagine, unless initiated, the discouragements encountered by the student of the Vedas in 1870. The clue of traditional interpretation which with the ancient glosses preserves for us the meaning of almost every word in the Greek and Roman classics, is largely wanting to the native interpreters of these priceless monuments of the early Aryans. The differences between the Sanskrit of the Rig,

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the oldest of the Vedas, and the later or classical Sanskrit, have been well likened to those which separate the speech of Chaucer from modern English. The many words lost to tradition during the period of so great changes the native commentators make but the clumsiest efforts to supply—efforts which seldom amount to more than blind conjecture. The task of restoring these missing links by searching out and identifying their corresponding forms with meanings known, in the other Indo-European languages, had been going on quietly in a few philological "workshops," chiefly German, for almost a generation; but there was no easy lexicographical access to the results of this patient labor. Each Vedic student was forced, to a greater or less degree, to be his own comparative philologist, and needed a scholarship broad enough to construct for himself lost meanings by identification with words not only in Latin and Greek, but also Gothic, Lithuanic, and Celtic. Of dictionaries then extant Bopp's "Glossary," with which every body began to read Sanskrit, was good through the Hitopadesha and Bhagavadgita. Beyond this there were available only Wilson and Benfey—the mere beginnings of a scientific lexicography.

Of grammatical helps there was as great a dearth. The facts of the language were still too imperfectly known to allow the general assertions of which the complete grammar must consist. The methods of the authors who had ventured upon the task of setting in order the facts that were known of the Sanskrit, were often exceedingly faulty. They were seldom content to make statements of what they and other students had observed of Sanskrit usages in their reading, but suffered themselves to copy, often extensively, from the books of Panini, and other native treatises—marvels of learning and confusion. These would be proper sources from which to draw, were the whole system of Brahmanic learning less abstract, and at all concrete and practical. But the zeal and patience of pundit scholarship is largely devoted to the task of fixing what would be the proper form, if this or that rare, or perhaps impossible, word should ever need to be written, as many as half a dozen rules or exceptions, sometimes wrought with great labor into metrical form, being required, in some instances, for a single root. Of texts, however, there had begun to be available most required by common readers, and excellently edited; the greatest need of all having been supplied by Aufrecht's edition of the "Rig Veda," in 1863.

But the years of patient labor that had been given by a few

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enthusiastic scholars to the study of Sanskrit were nearing their autumn of fruition. When the great "St. Petersburgh Lexicon" under the editorship of Boehtlingk and Roth had considerably passed the point where its accumulated *lieferungen* might aid the scholar, the very excellent compendious dictionary of Monier Williams, Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, appeared in 1872. Grassman's glossary to the "Rig Veda" followed, to which a complete metric translation was soon added. With the final completion, also, of the great "St. Petersburgh Dictionary," in 1875, the last important need of professional Sanscritists had been supplied, while the lack of a grammar for beginners, conceived and executed upon like scientific philological principles, seemed as unlikely as ever to draw off from the labor of original research any one capable of preparing the work.

But the enterprise of a German publishing house was destined to be the means of providing the needed treatise. Messrs. Breitkopf & Härtel, of Leipzig, had projected a series of manuals introductory to the study of several of the Indo-European languages, and were fortunate enough to induce Prof. Whitney, during his visit to Germany, in 1875, to prepare the volume devoted to Sanskrit. The work has been more or less in hand since then, and the past year was spent by Prof. Whitney in Germany for the purpose of supervising its issue from the press in both its English and German forms. This volume, somewhat larger than the nature of the series would have led us to expect, (the first volume, "Lautphysiologie," filling only 150 pages, while this, the second of the series, 486,) was out in time for the first semester of German lectures.

The first remark one is prompted to make after examining the volume is, It is *complete*. So much is yet to be determined by further and more minute investigation of Sanskrit usage, that one is surprised to see how much specific treatment Prof. Whitney has been able to include in it. Thus we have the accent definitely treated, and for the first time in such a work, with reference to all cases of its occurrence. It will be, perhaps, remembered that Prof. Whitney was one of the first Orientalists to treat of the Sanskrit accent, and his paper on this subject, presented to the American Oriental Society as long ago as 1855, is still authority among scholars. Syntax is also treated so far as materials admit, and, for the present, properly under each class of words in the etymological part of the book. More than all, we have all forms treated historically, with a fullness which will

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prepare the observant learner for later studies in comparative grammar. Prof. Whitney has been fortunate in being able to command the labors of several industrious scholars, who have placed at his service the results of years of labor, particularly upon roots and Vedic and Brahmana forms. This mass of material, together with that of Prof. Whitney's own collating, has made it possible to follow a historic plan, beginning with Vedic and descending through the Brahmana to the later classic forms and usages. The method is rigidly scientific, or inductive, nothing being admitted upon authority, but only as established by the observed facts of the language. The whole has been wrought into excellent shape, and exhibits a rare example of sound, scholarly judgment and good taste. Of course, it puts aside all other manuals for the early study of Sanskrit, and by its unexpected fullness of treatment and embodiment of rare forms will serve also as a work of reference for many years.

In this close and manifold approximation to a perfect grammar Prof. Whitney has achieved, probably, the most useful, certainly the most difficult, labor of his scholarship. We have long been proud of having in him a scholar who is acknowledged by themselves to rival the great philologists of the Old World; and no less are we proud of one so loyal to truth, so impatient of all pretense and sham, and, though so eminent among his countrymen, so modest and unassuming.

The great result is, that the book makes immeasurably easier the task of approaching this most difficult language, and this when some knowledge of it is fast becoming indispensable for the common classic instructor. The time is undoubtedly near when the study of Latin and Greek will be put to its most natural use, and the privilege of knowing them more highly prized, as affording the opportunity of understanding the genesis and history of our modern languages. With "Comparative Philology" thus admitted to the curricula of our colleges and higher academies, Sanskrit must have a place forward among the studies that shall prepare the instructors, as now the teachers in the German gymnasia, for their work. And it cannot be long before it will be necessary, also, for the professor of English literature who makes any pretensions to knowledge in his department, to have studied the elements of that language which most nearly represents the speech of our earliest Japhetic ancestry. What light Sanskrit can throw upon anomalies in English, Mr. Oliphant has well shown in his volume on "Old and Middle English." Indeed,

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it is to the historic student of English, especially, we believe, that a knowledge of Sanscrit is of the greatest practical benefit. s.

Literature and Fiction.

An English Version of the Younger, or Prose Edda. With an Introduction, Notes, Vocabulary, and Index. By RASMUS B. ANDERSON. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Price $2 00.

Professor Anderson thus adds to his growing series upon Norse themes an important volume; for the Elder and Younger Edda are the basis of all we know or can know of the early Scandinavian social life and history. There is, indeed, but little material for the study of the second great Aryan immigration apart from what the Icelanders have embalmed in their Eddas and sagas. Of the progress of the Teutons westward we know from Cæsar that they had reached the Rhine half a century before Christ. Tacitus gleans a few characteristics of this strange people from Rome's military contest with them; but, except the invaluable fragment of the translation of the Bible made into Gothic by Bishop Ulfilas in 384, we have no trace or record of the resistless barbarians who obliterated the power of Rome and rejuvenated Europe. But far in the North the legend of Beowulf was saved to us in England, though emended by Christian hands, while it remained for the *ultima thule*, the far-off Iceland, to preserve until modern times the speech of the Northern Goths, or Norsemen, almost unaltered, and in it the treasures of legend and mythology on which its history and philology depend. The Eddas are the religious books of the Norse; hence this volume of the Younger Edda is mainly occupied with their mythology. Our author does not lay claim to original work, but to have collected and adapted material from the best authorities, and to furnish thus the most complete exposition of the Edda yet made in any language. The volume is surely not less than its pretensions. We cannot but regret that the author's enthusiasm has led him to confound the scientific interest of the Eddas with a literary value they cannot be held to possess. We should be surprised if the book "charms" a single reader not in some sense a student of Northern subjects. It is impossible that it should be otherwise. The crude legends and sagas of the Norsemen never please even their direct descendants until recast by a Fryxell or a Tegnér. But the book will edify if it does not charm, and should add much to what we are glad to believe is a growing interest in Northern themes. s.

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Periodicals.

Church Extension Annual, including the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1879. Church Extension Rooms, 1026 Arch-street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Says Chaplain M'Cabe: "I can secure the erection of a church every day if I only have $250 to spend in each case." Thereupon the response of the Church should be, "You shall have $250 every day in the year." The map in this annual is an outline of the entire United States, with a blue cross to indicate a Church aided by this society. Clusters of blue crosses mark particular sections, and a lonely cross or two gleams up in others. There is a nice little wilderness of crosses in the North-west, covering a large area in Iowa, southern Minnesota, and southern Wisconsin, extending southward to cover eastern Nebraska and Kansas. In the South there is a cluster in northern Tennessee, north-western Georgia, in south-eastern Texas, with a sprinkling through most of the Southern States. There are three crosses in Florida, and a lonely cross in Mississippi. Our faithful secretary, Dr. Kynett, reports that there have been four quadrenniums of the existence of the society; the first a period of doubt and danger, the second of completed organization, the third of strengthening and growth, the fourth of maturity, prosperity, and secure permanence. It is becoming, and should become, one of the mighty arms of Church aggression on the domains of sin and Satan.

Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the National Association of Local Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. Held in the North Second-street Methodist Episcopal Church, Troy, N. Y., October 18–21, 1879. With an Appendix containing Reports, Memoirs, etc.

The date of this annual meeting of the "National Association of Local Preachers" indicates that it has passed the period of immature youth. Its claim to a national name was sustained by membership from as far south as Baltimore and Kentucky. An able address was delivered by the president, Rev. Dr. Wheeler, editor of the "Methodist." Dr. Wheeler well argued that it was wise in the Church to maintain, in her local preachers, a body of organized lay workers, instead of being infested with a lot of irresponsible "evangelists, who are little better than tramps." He recalls to memory the local preachers memorable in our history—as Embury, Webb, Thomas E. Bond—and reminds us of numbers of living, efficient workers. He pleads, loyally, for a fuller recognition of the brave guerrilla corps by the Church mili-

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tant. An essay by T. A. Goodwin, on "The Coming Local Preacher," was put on file for the good-coming time when the organized auxiliaries would be a still more efficient aid to the regular army.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1879. 8vo. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Print. 1880.

It is the school-master who is doing the noblest work in solving the negro problem healthfully for both races. The way to raise the negro is not to force him up to a position, but to furnish him with the qualification by which he can place himself there. We rejoice, therefore, that Dr. Rust is able to report a prosperous year. He presents a full view of the educational institutions that are promising well for the future. The Exodus, so far as it has extended, will have rather favorable effects than otherwise, as tending to produce efforts for a better and fairer adjustment between races. It is yet too small a movement on comparison with the great whole to produce much injury to Dr. Rust's enterprise. The addresses by Dr. Curry and Bishop Peck are able and not accusatory in spirit against any portion of the Southern people. The speakers take no pains to produce the impression that the society is aggressive against the best interests of the Southern section or of Southern Methodism.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Roma Sotterranea, Die Römischen Katakomben. Eine Darstellung der älteren und neueren Forschungen, besonders derjenigen de Rossi's. Bearbeitet von Dr. Franz X. Kraus. Zweite Auflage. Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, Freiburg in Breisgau. 1879. 9

The Germans have been behind the English in the special department of research in the catacombs. This work is the most thorough one produced by them, and has been prepared after laborious personal examination, and by the study of such authors as De Rossi, Northcote, and Brownlow. The treatment is broad and thorough. The introduction is after the German usage, which is a *résumé* of the literature of the whole subject. The discovery of the catacombs was made in 1578, and the literature has grown from a few fragmentary notices to a broad and interesting archæological science. The first students of subterranean Rome were Pomponius, Leto, Baronius, Ciaconi, De Winghe, and L'Hereux, and they died before grasping the mag-

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nitude of the subject which fascinated them. The work of Kraus marks the progress of the science through these three intervening centuries. After the introduction, the general divisions are: Book First, "The Origin of the Catacombs." This contains a general description of the catacombs, the political and social condition of the first Roman Christians, Roman law and usages, with reference to burials, and the beginning of the catacombs. Book Second treats the "History of the Catacombs," giving their condition in the first and second centuries; then from the beginning of the third century to the toleration of Constantine, in 312; then to the plundering of Rome by the Goths in 410; and then to the oblivion of the catacombs for a long period of centuries. The Third Book is employed entirely on the most important catacomb, that of St. Callistus. Book Fourth discusses "Ancient Christian Art," its symbols, allegorical images, liturgical tracery, and sarcophagi. The Fifth Book is occupied with the construction and development of the catacombs. Book Sixth is a full description of the inscriptions; Seventh, of the contents of the graves of the catacombs; and Eighth, a general survey of all the Roman subterranean life. The illustrations of the work of Kraus are of a high order, and are the best reproduction of the exceedingly costly work of De Rossi which has appeared. In addition to these, the author, by his living in Rome and having access to all the antiquities, and especially by his intercourse with De Rossi himself, has given many inscriptions and diagrams which had never before been presented to the public. These illustrations are of two kinds; those on wood, distributed with the letter-press throughout the work, and those in colors, on large plates, at the end of the volume. The last of these is a full descriptive map of the whole of subterranean Rome, as large and full as Murray's or Baedeker's map of the city above it. The work closes with a rich glossary, explanatory of all the inscriptions contained in the catacombs, and a copious index of the whole work. We should like to see this book of Kraus translated. It has something of the coloring which would naturally come from the Church of which he is a member, but it is of such scope and scholarship that one can readily overlook the author's confessional standpoint. To the honor of the American Church it must be added that this important study has not been forgotten by us. Withrow's work is a classic, and it is a matter of congratulation that his excellent book on the catacombs has been issued by *our* Book Concern.

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Ursprung und erste Entwickelung der Kirche Christi, in Vorträgen über die Apostelgeschichte des Lucas. Von Dr. H. V. Andrea. Frankfort-au-Main: Heyder & Zimmer.

Dr. Andrea is a layman, who has devoted his entire leisure to theological study. He is known to Americans through his work on Job, but the present work is the ripest fruit of his busy pen. His plan is to give the argument of each section of the Acts of the Apostles, and then to illustrate and elucidate it. He does not introduce textual criticism, or broaden his pages with copious foot-notes or exegetical terms, but aims at a popular exposition of the book. He seems to have examined the whole department of exegesis on Acts, to have grouped the leading thoughts around a common point, and to aim at a forcible presentation of the general ideas of the writer. The work consists of fifty-eight lectures, each with a general title. We then have a genealogical table of the Asmonean and Idumean families, a complete table of chronology of the apostolical period, and an exceeding beautiful colored map of the missionary tours of Paul. A full index closes the work. The value of Dr. Andrea's important contribution to biblical study consists in its combination of thorough scholarship and perspicuous and popular style. We hope he will yield still more such fruit, on other New Testament books.

Miscellaneous.

The World of Prayer; or Prayer in Relation to Personal Religion. By Dr. D. G. Monrad. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by the Rev. J. S. Banks. 12mo., pp. 239. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879.

The Interpreter's House; or, Sermons to Children. By William Wilberforce Newton. 12mo., pp. 349. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1880.

Fifty Bible Reasons for Continuing a Methodist Stated, Proved, and Illustrated. By N. B. Cooksey. Small 18mo., pp. 128. Cincinnati: Printed at the Western Methodist Book Concern for the Author. 1879.

The Chautauqua Text Books. Paper Covers. Small 18mo.—No. 16. *Roman History.* By J. H. Vincent, D.D. Pp. 80.—No. 17. *Roger Ascham and John Sturm.* By W. F. Phelps, A.M. Pp. 53.—No. 18. *Christian Evidences.* By J. H. Vincent, D.D. Pp. 60.—No. 19. *The Book of Books.* By J. M. Freeman, D.D. Pp. 64.—No. 20. *The Chautauqua Hand Book.* By J. H. Vincent, D.D. Pp. 61.—No. 21. *American History.* By J. L. Hurlbut, A.M. Pp. 76. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879, 1880.

A History of Our Own Times, from the Ascension of Queen Victoria to the Berlin Congress. By Justin M'Carthy. In two Volumes. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 559. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Songs from the Published Writings of Alfred Tennyson, Set to Music by Various Composers. Edited by W. G. Cusins. With a Portrait and Original Illustrations by Winslow Homer, C. S. Reinhart, A. Fredericks, and Jessie Curtis. 4to. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

A magnificent exhibition of the poet laureate.

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Philosophy of Methodism. By Rev. WARD W. HUNT, A.M. Watertown, N. Y. 1880.

Studies in the New Testament. By CHARLES S. ROBINSON, D.D. 12mo., pp. 316. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

Sporting Adventures in the Far West. By JOHN MORTIMER MURPHY. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 469. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

English Men of Letters. Edited by JOHN MORLEY. *Nathaniel Hawthorne.* By HENRY JAMES, JUN. Pp. 177.—*Robert Southey.* By EDWARD DOWDEN. 12mo., pp. 197. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Holy Bible, According to the Authorized Version, (A. D. 1611,) With an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter, etc. *New Testament,* Vol. II: *St. John—The Acts of the Apostles.* 8vo., pp. 534. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

Christian Union Necessary for Religious Progress and Defense. Address before the Evangelical Alliance, in Basle, Switzerland. By JOHN F. HURST, D.D. 8vo., pp. 35. Paper Covers. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1880.

The Three Brothers: Sketches of the Lives of Rev. Aurora Seager, Rev. Micah Seager, Rev. Schuyler Seager, D.D. By Rev. E. LATIMER. With an Introduction by D. P. KIDDER, D.D. 12mo., pp. 58. Paper Covers. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1880.

The Expositor. Feb. 1880. Edited by Rev. SAMUEL COX. Contents: 1. The Value of the Patristic Writings for the Criticism and Exegesis of the Bible, by Rev. W. Sanday, D.D. 2. Christianity's First Invitation to the World, by Rev. George Matheson, D D. 3. The Call and Commission of Isaiah, by Rev. P. Thomson, M.A. 4. Two New Testament Synonyms: υἱὸς and τέκνον, by Professor John Massie, M.A. 5. Brief Notices. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Fall Conferences of 1879. 8vo., paper. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The Catholic Church in the United States. Its Rise, Relations with the Republic, Growth, and Future Prospects. By Rev. I. T. HECKER. 8vo., pp. 26. Paper. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1879.

Studies of the Greek Poets. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. 16mo. Two Vols. Vol. I, pp. 488; Vol. II, pp. 419. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Probably no work in the English language gives a view of the Greek poets with such mastery of the literature, such a critical spirit, and such a beauty of English style, as these two volumes.

FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY, 4to. paper: *Memoirs of Madame De Rémusat.* 1802–1808. Edited with a Preface and Notes, by her Grandson, PAUL DE REMUSAT. Translated by Mrs. CASHEL HOEY and Mr. JOHN LILLIE, Part II. *The Munster Circuit:* Tales, Trials, and Traditions. By J. R. O'FLANAGAN.—*Queen of the Meadow.* By CHARLES GIBBON.—*Friend and Lover.* By IZA DUFFUS HARDY.—*Mademoiselle De Mersac.* By the Author of "Heaps of Money."—*The Nineteenth Century,* a History. By ROBERT MACKENZIE.—*A Sylvan Queen.* By the Author of "Rachel's Secret," etc.—*Tom Singleton: Dragoon and Dramatist.* By W. W. FOLLETT SYNGE.—*The Return of the Princess.* By JACQUES VINCENT.

Notices of the following books are postponed to the next number:

Haupt's Epistle of John. Scribner's.

Samson on Wines. National Temperance Society and Publication House.

Farrar's St. Paul. E. P. Dutton.

Walter on Space and Matter. Estes & Lauriat.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1880.

ART. I. — BISHOP WILEY'S VISITATION OF CHINA AND JAPAN.

China and Japan: A Record of Observations made during a Residence of Several Years in China, and a Tour of Official Visitation to the Missions in both Countries in 1877–78. By Rev. I. W. WILEY, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 548. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

To one standing casually upon the ocean beach there seems to be only the same eternal roar, and wave after wave dashing apparently upon the same strand. But if that observer, in his childhood, knew some rock far beyond the reach of the stoutest surge, and now beholds it embraced by the ocean, he irresistibly draws the conclusion that the continent is yielding to the sea; and if such a process were known to be rapidly going on in every part of the earth, natural philosophers would not hesitate to express apprehensions that at some day, more or less distant, land would entirely disappear, and this globe become one vast sea.

When a great Church like the Methodist Episcopal is known to have been without a strictly foreign mission until thirty years ago, but has now its Conferences in all quarters of the globe, and its thousands of members and hundreds of preachers redeemed during that period from heathenism, and when it is known that like success has attended the missions of numerous other evangelical bodies, our faith rises to positive assurance that if the Church is faithful to her great commission

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"the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

In the volume now under review, we have the testimony of an intelligent witness with respect to one of the most important missions of the world. He saw it first in 1851, and spent three years there faithfully discharging his duty as missionary physician of the Foochow Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, forsaking his post only when sickness and bereavement left him no ability to continue his work. He saw it again in the year 1877, when, as a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he went to Foochow in the discharge of his episcopal duties. Nearly a year in all was occupied with this official visitation, and he, therefore, had rare opportunity for observations of a most careful kind. What of Methodism did this missionary leave in China in 1854? and what did this same missionary, worthily exalted to be a bishop, find on his return to China in 1878?

The entire China mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the departure of Dr. Wiley, in 1854, was in Nantai, and on Middle Island, both suburbs of Foochow. The great city itself had not so much as been entered. When Bishop Wiley revisited the mission, in 1878, the performance of his duties required him to skirt nearly the whole coast of China. He had to take in the capital of the empire, and extend his supervision to the farthest north, for the North China Mission had "some appointments as much as four hundred miles away from Peking, reaching up north to the great wall, and south into the province of Shantung." In the intervening space there were constant and faithful itinerations on the part of the missionaries, after the style of the fathers of American Methodism. To complete his visitation the Bishop had to sail five hundred miles up "the wonderful river Yang-tsze-Kiang to Kiukiang, in the province of Kiang-si, one of the largest and richest of the provinces of China," and go the length of the picturesque Po-Yang Lake for one hundred miles, with industrious millions lining its shores. The three districts that compose this Central China Mission extend we learn not how far westward, for the Bishop's time did not admit of prolonged or minute visitation. The old mission at Foochow had penetrated, as he says, within the walls of the imperial city, and well-nigh covered the

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entire Fuhkien province. Well might the good Bishop exclaim as he stood in Peking:

> How great things has God wrought in so short a time! Twenty-five years before, my most sanguine dreams could not have reached the thought that in this brief time missionary stations would be established along the northern coast of China from the Yang-tsze to the head of the Gulf of Pi-chi-li, and that the ministers of Christ would be building chapels within the "Imperial City," and establishing schools within the shadow of the Imperial residence itself. But here it is, a realized fact; and from this great center the "glad tidings" are sounding forth through nearly all Northern China.

The increase of the area of the mission in twenty-five years is truly amazing. It has grown from a single point to cover more square miles to-day than are covered by England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland combined; and it is still growing as never before.

Not area alone, but every other feature of the mission, is expanded. In 1854 there was not a single Methodist Episcopal Church building in all China, nor any thing worthy to be called a chapel. We have not been able to learn from "China and Japan," or indeed from any other source, precisely the number of these now existing, but they are to be counted by scores, with parsonages, school-houses, hospitals, press-building, etc., aggregating in value more than one hundred thousand dollars.

When Dr. Wiley left China, in 1854, there was not in all the empire a single native member or minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Wiley found in 1878 three distinct missions, one of which he organized into an Annual Conference. There was a zealous membership of the Church of more than two thousand, and a gifted native ministry verging closely upon one hundred in number. The author's hope in publishing his work must be realized, and contrasts so striking must interest and encourage those who are really laboring for the regeneration of these peoples.

Progress is to be read in every line of this book. Here is a man who only twenty-five years before had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, traversed the Indian Ocean, and through weary months of voyaging at last reached the Pacific. Now, taking his seat in a railroad car, at the close of July, 1877, and passing over the continent, holding *en route* three Annual Confer-

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ences, he arrives at San Francisco by September 1, ready to depart for China. A steamer was not ready till September 12, and yet on October 1 he was entering the harbor of Yokohama, in Japan. The Bishop marks the event as follows:

On the one side of us is a smoking volcano; on the other, the sublime Fuji-yama, an extinct volcano, a perfect cone, nearly thirteen thousand feet high, with its summit capped with snow, glistening in the sunbeams. It was one of the grandest sights I ever saw, and is the pride and glory of Japan. All along, on both sides of the bay, are strung the Japanese villages. At two o'clock we anchored in the bay of Yeddo, before Yokohama, a mixed city of foreign and Japanese life.

At San Francisco, before his departure, the Bishop had found what he justly terms "genuine missionary work" among the Chinese on our own coast, and gives a passing notice to the heroic Gibson and his Christly efforts. The house, the chapel, the school, the retreat for women, were all inspected, and the Bishop concludes that this mission to the Chinese in America is destined to triumph, and become an important element in the wise and just settlement of the vexed "Chinese question."

The Bishop's duties did not at this time detain him in Japan; hence in twenty-four hours he was off to Kobe, the port of Ozaka, the New York of Japan; thence through the Inland Sea, than which he thinks nothing on earth can be more beautiful. He says:

Our course lay among more than a thousand islands of every conceivable shape, some of them entirely bare, but most of them covered with the richest verdure, and nearly all cultivated and terraced to their very summits. All of them are mountainous, full of peaks and water-washed ravines. Towns and cities, some of them fortified, are seen hid away in every little bay. It has been like traveling through Fairy-land.

October 13 the steamer was at the mouth of the Woosung, in China, twelve miles from Shanghai. As she moved up the narrow and crooked river the changes that twenty-five years had wrought greatly impressed the Bishop. He says:

Then Shanghai was just becoming a port of foreign trade. A few inferior hongs and dwellings were stretched along the river, and the stream was literally crowded with native junks of all sizes and classes, with here and there only a sailing ship or two from foreign lands. Now every thing is changed. As we en-

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tered the river we saw a huge fortification, into the construction of which foreign ideas and foreign skill had largely entered. A little farther up the river was an arsenal, where natives, instructed and guided by foreigners, are manufacturing all kinds of large and small fire-arms. Near it is a ship-yard, where the natives are manufacturing steam and sailing vessels and gun-boats. Two fine symmetrical gun-boats, built entirely by Chinese, were lying here at anchor. As we ascend the river I see but few of the old cumbersome junks, and notice that they have been displaced by steamships, many of them owned by the "Chinese Merchants' Steamship Company." The harbor now presents quite a foreign, instead of a Chinese appearance. Along the banks of the river were beautiful villas; and when we reached the city, instead of the few bungalows and hongs of twenty-five years ago, there was a magnificent foreign city, with some as fine buildings as the eye could wish to see. To be sure, beyond this foreign city there was the old native Shanghai, shut up within its walls, as immovable, as noisy, as dirty, as ever.

The ever hospitable Lambuth welcomed the Bishop to his home in the city, and they sweetly worshiped together. That home of this beloved brother of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, like the temple of Janus, was never closed in time of war, but, unlike the temple of Janus, it also stands open in time of peace. "Fraternity" at the Shanghai mission house has been a clear, unremitting, and abundant stream. Of the mission of the Church South the Bishop says:

> Our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have a very prosperous mission, whose head-quarters are in this city. They have work in Shanghai, Kahding, Naziang, Wangdoo, Soo Chow, Fahuho, Singkyung, and Tsungsoo; four foreign missionaries and six native preachers, four deacons and two elders, nine schools, and the "Clopton Girls' Boarding School," with over a hundred children in their schools.

But the Bishop was not a sauntering, idling tourist; he had earnest work to do, and nothing but work, and in forty-eight hours he was again under way.

The Chinese steamer upon which he embarked gave considerably reduced fare to missionaries, showing how the more advanced Chinese appreciate missionaries and their work. The president of the steamship company had in early life received much education and training under Dr. Brown, a well-known missionary. They proceeded up the bold and rocky coast, all along which for seven hundred miles are missionary outstations,

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which were in view from the steamer, where native or foreign missionaries are laboring to evangelize this empire.

As they passed up the coast the Bishop was surprised to find that the Yellow River had changed its place of *embouchure* into the ocean. Years ago it discharged its immense volume of muddy water into the Yellow Sea, a hundred miles below the great Shantung promontory; now it has cut for itself a new channel, and empties into the Gulf of Pi-chi-li, a hundred miles north of the promontory—fitting emblem, this, that Chinese immobility is passing away. "This promontory extends far out into the sea, and is a couple of hundred miles in width, and all over it are mission outstations of the American Southern Baptist, American Presbyterian, and United Presbyterian Church of Scotland." The vessel grounded in the Peiho, and, with Rev. Mr. Lowry, the Bishop forsook it for a donkey that bore him to Tientsin.

Tientsin is the great emporium for the north of China, as Canton is for the south. It extends for several miles on both sides of the river, on the banks of which are many quays and docks, with large public buildings, chief of which are the custom-house, warehouses, and temples. The stores are handsome and well furnished, but the private houses are no ornaments to the streets, being built, as in all large Chinese cities in the North, within a court inclosed by a brick wall. We find here a busy scene. All the vessels of the "Chinese Merchants' Company" were hurrying up rice to be conveyed from this port into the interior, to relieve the terrible famine. Here we see the weakness of Chinese civilization. Tens of thousands of bags of rice were piled upon the docks, with no means but donkeys and donkey-carts to convey any of it two hundred miles into the interior to touch the famine-stricken district. This was, in part, the cause of the great amount of suffering—not the lack of food, but the inability to convey it to the starving people.

During the episcopal tour in North China from this point all became Chinese. There was no alternative in travel but mule carts or Chinese boats, of which the company chose the latter, but were almost sorry they did so; yet had the decision been otherwise, it might have merely reversed their regrets. They at length reached Tung Chow, one hundred and twenty miles from Tientsin, and thence proceeded at once to Peking, the center of the North China mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

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Having completed his duties in North China, the Bishop left the great city of Peking on the 6th of November, the cold weather threatening to close the navigation of the Peiho, and, therefore, hastening his departure. Taking chair and cart, the company, passing out of the eastern gate of the southern city, soon struck the Grand Canal, which with the Peiho extends to Tientsin and stretches thence onward across the Yellow River to the Yang-tsze-Kiang. This canal is wide and deep everywhere, and without locks, the boats being dragged with great labor up sluices to the different levels; often unloaded and loaded again at the other level. Between Tung Chow and Peking this is necessary five times. The country was beautiful, the modes of agriculture after the style of Bible times, and the road self-constructed. As they entered Tung Chow at sunset, a poor carter, whose cart had passed over his leg and broken it, was seen surrounded by a crowd in great consternation because they saw the man could not stand. The physician-Bishop set the limb, but had great difficulty in persuading the friends of the poor fellow not to remove the bandages. This Christly service rendered, he passed on. From Tung Chow they had a beautiful run to Tientsin, which is "a well built city, but one of the most filthy . . . in all China, and where all sanitary laws are set at defiance." All the drainage of the city finds its way into a moat ten feet wide, which surrounds the city wall, and disgusts the traveler with its stench as he crosses it to enter any one of the city gates. Dogs and pigs dispute with humans the possession of the streets. The Bishop writes:

> In the western part of the city, on the river bank, we saw the ruins of the Roman Catholic cathedral, left after the massacre and fire of 1870. They have refused to rebuild it, but after receiving a large amount of indemnity, far more than they lost in money value, left these ruins standing as a monument of the persecution and the martyrdom of their priests and nuns, and went into another part of the city to erect their building. Some twenty-two persons lost their lives in this outbreak in Tientsin in 1870, most of them Catholic priests and nuns.

Thence our travelers took steamer to Shanghai. Several tedious days of detention on the bar at the mouth of the Peiho failed to convince them of the desirableness of the protection which the Chinese think is thus afforded by nature to Peking.

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In due time they were again amid the delightful hospitalities of the home of Rev. J. W. Lambuth. Here at Shanghai another steamer received them, and bore them five hundred miles up the Yang-tsze-Kiang to Kiukiang. The chief city passed on this great river was Nanking, the old Ming capital. Our author describes it with his customary perspicuity and beauty of style. We indulge in extracts of greater length than usual because of the special interest of the passage:

The streets are not so broad as those of Peking, but are on the whole cleaner and better paved, and bordered with handsome shops. The ancient palaces have nearly all disappeared. The only monuments of royalty which remain are some sepulchral statues not far from the walls, and are near an ancient cemetery which the foreigners call the Tombs of the Kings, and they form an avenue leading up to the sepulchers. They consist of gigantic figures, like warriors, cased in a kind of armor, and stand on either side of the road, across which at intervals extend finely-carved Pilaus. The ruins also of colossal figures of horses, elephants and other animals may still be seen scattered about. Nothing has made Nanking more celebrated abroad than the Porcelain Tower, of which, alas! we have now to speak in the past tense, and say that it stood pre-eminent above all other buildings in China for its elegance, the quality of the material of which it was built, and the quantity of gilding with which its exterior was embellished. This building, and the report that the tower was covered with gold, and that the great gilded ball at the summit was also of solid gold, led to its destruction by the iconoclastic and avaricious rebels. Its form was octagonal, divided into nine equal stories, the circumference of the lower one being one hundred and twenty feet, and decreasing gradually to the top. Its base rested upon a solid foundation of brick work ten feet high, up which a flight of twelve steps led into the tower, whence a spiral staircase of one hundred and ninety steps carried the visitor to the summit, two hundred and sixty-one feet from the ground. The outer surface was covered with tiles of glazed porcelain of various colors, principally green, red, yellow, and white. The body of the edifice was of brick. At every story there was a projecting roof covered with green tiles, and a ball suspended from each corner. The interior divisions were filled with a great number of little gilded images placed in niches. This remarkable structure was built in 1430, having been nineteen years in building.

Nanking has extensive manufactures of fine satin and crape, and the cotton cloth which foreigners call nankeen, but of which very little now reaches foreign coasts, derives its name from this city. Paper and ink of fine quality, and beautiful artificial flowers of pith paper, are produced here. Nanking is renowned

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for its schools and literary character as well as its manufactures, and in this particular still stands among the first places of learning in the country. It has large libraries and bookstores, all indicating and assisting literary pursuits, and the superior care and elegance of the editions of the classics published here combine to give it this distinguished place.

Wu-hu is a modern annex to the city of Nanking, exhibiting externally the impress of foreign civilization in its streets, architecture, stores, etc. To all the cities along the river the missionaries from Kiukiang extend their itinerations.

Kiukiang is described as a walled city, about four miles in circuit, on the south bank of the river; and our mission property is admirably located, part of it within the walls, and part without in the foreign "concession." Engrossing duties filled up the stay of the Bishop, and then he promptly retraced his steps to Shanghai, and bade Kiukiang a final adieu. The Bishop says:

Kiukiang is admirably located for a mission center, being surrounded in every direction for many miles by towns or cities, nearly all of which can be reached by rivers or lakes. The climate is very mild, and gives every indication of healthfulness. None of these cities opened on the river are fulfilling the hopes of foreigners as places of foreign trade, but are found to be very thriving and enterprising places for native manufactures and trade, and very important and promising for missionary operations. We have reason to congratulate ourselves on the success and hopeful increase of our mission on the great river. Our missionaries entered Kiukiang late in 1868. We are the only mission operating in and around the city, except an occasional itinerant visitation from representatives of the "Inland Mission."

The city of Shanghai is on the right bank of the Woosing, a branch of the Yang-tsze-kiang, about twelve miles from its mouth. It has a population of one hundred and fifty thousand, and the wall of the city is about three miles in circumference, pierced by six gates. A canal flows all around the wall, and three canals, with numerous small branches, penetrate the city. The projecting roofs of the low wooden houses overhang narrow streets that are paved with tile and are reeking with filth and vilest odors. The shops are numerous and well stocked. Our author continues:

Shanghai is really a triple city, native, foreign, and mixed. The native city is surrounded by the universal wall, dark, gloomy,

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and dirty, every-where wearing the aspect of squalor and want. No foreigners live inside the walls. Indeed, one can hardly think of a more miserable imprisonment for a foreigner than to be compelled to live within those walls. All the missionaries are, however, working within the city, while dwelling outside. The foreign city consists of three "concessions"—English, American, and French—stretching for three miles along the curve of the river, and separated from each other by narrow creeks. This foreign city is really beautiful and quite unique, as it differs from all other cities by combining the European and Oriental style in its buildings and general appearance. There are some very magnificent buildings. The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Company's building is one of the finest in all the East. A public garden runs for quite a distance along the river. The long beautiful curved street-way bordering the river is called "The Bund," and is open all along one side to the river, and is built up with very imposing buildings on all the other side, nearly all of them having tasteful front yards, filled with semi-tropical vegetation. . . . It is a suggestive fact that the Chinese are every-where pressing in among the foreigners with their homes and business, and most of them building Chinese homes and stores in an improved Chinese style, showing that they can appreciate an improvement on even Chinese houses and comforts, while some of them come boldly to the front, and build large stores and hongs, and enter into direct competition with foreigners, even in matters of foreign trade. . . . The missionary force working in and about Shanghai numbers about thirty, English, Scotch, and Americans. Drs. Yates, Muirhead, Nelson, Young, Lambuth, Roberts, and Farnham, seem to be leaders among them. The Church of England has a fine cathedral as an architectural structure, but almost worthless to speak or hear in. The Presbyterians have a neat church building for English services; and the "non-Episcopals" have a union chapel for English services. The Presbyterian Publication House is an extensive building, and is doing a great and good work in publishing the Scriptures and many other works in the Chinese language. From Shanghai as a center these missionaries are operating far out in the country, all the missions having "outstations," some of them a hundred miles away.

The Bishop now proceeded down the coast to the mouth of the river Min, on which is situated Foochow, his next point of destination, and to him and the Methodist Episcopal Church generally the one of far greatest interest. The important cities of Ningpo and Hangchow are noticed as having been passed *en voyage*. The vessel now suddenly tacked and bore them into the Min. Winding their way "through a picturesque group of islands, called the White Dogs, and which seem like

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savage sentinels guarding the entrance of the river," they pursued their way. Scenes familiar to the Bishop twenty-five years before met his vision on every side, and he was well-nigh overcome by the inexpressible emotions that were naturally excited. Yet many changes had taken place. When he first entered this river the Portuguese lorchas were the most eligible conveyance within his reach. Now he was sailing up the river in a snug little English steamer. The Bishop says:

In the summer of 1851 we chartered one of these vessels at Hongkong, and a voyage of eight days along the bleak and barren coast of China brought us to this same outlet of the river. Now three or four lines of steamers are running up and down the coast of China, and regular steam communication is kept up between Foochow and Shanghai on the north, and Hongkong and Canton on the south.

The pages under review abound in fine descriptive passages, and the one that introduces us to the city of Foochow is worthy to be presented as a specimen. The author says:

The scenery of the river Min inspires universal admiration. Travelers have frequently compared it to the picturesque scenery of the Rhine, but Americans find a better comparison in the beautiful scenery of the Hudson, which it equals in grandeur and surpasses in the beautiful blending of the rich low-lands, cultivated rice-fields and tributary streams. The principal entrance to the river is narrow, bounded on each side by ranges of lofty and undulating hills, most of which, however, have been made to yield in many places to the ingenuity of Chinese cultivation, and exhibit in numerous spots along their steep sides beautiful verdant terraces, producing on their level surfaces a large variety of articles of food. This beautiful and striking feature, exhibiting the industry and ingenuity of the Chinese husbandman, is constantly repeated along the steep and naked sides of the high mountain range which extends along the northern side of the river, as well as on the more gentle slopes of the numerous hills which range in varied scenery along the southern bank of the stream, and the effect is too beautiful to weary the observer by its repetition. This narrow pass is now strongly fortified by the Chinese government.

After passing between the two hills, which almost meet together at the mouth of the river, the stream widens into what appears to be a beautiful hill-bound lake, enlivened along its banks with numerous villages, and dotted over its surface with a multitude of small boats, constituting the homes of a large number of natives who make their living by fishing and disposing of

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their supply to the people of the villages along the river. On the right bank of the river is a large village, Kwantow, where there is a military establishment and a custom-house, which used to be the general clearance office for the city of Foochow.

Continuing to ascend the stream, the traveler reaches another narrow pass, called the Mingang, with columns of rocks on either side, piled up to the height of a thousand feet, between which the deep waters rush with great velocity. Beyond this the stream again widens into a beautiful, broad, and deep river, skirted on the north by a high, broken range of mountains, glittering here and there in the sun's rays, with the torrents and cascades which rush down its precipices. On the south side it is adorned by alternating hills and large level areas of paddy fields, through which in one place is seen winding a large creek, leading back into the fertile country, and in another opening out into a deep ravine, through which flows a large branch of the river, which here returns to meet again its parent stem, from which it had separated a few miles above the city of Foochow. In the north-western extremity of this view of the river are seen two beautiful and, in this warm climate, ever green islands, lifting their hemispherical forms from the bosom of the river; and about three miles to the south of this, at the other extremity of the scene, is discovered a large triangular island, on the upper extremity of which rises the seven-storied pagoda which has given its name to this island. This part of the river constitutes the principal anchorage for vessels of large tonnage. In it were now lying a number of sailing vessels and several steamers.

After ascending above the Pagoda Island the river separates into two large branches, the principal of which, taking a north-easterly direction, leads to Foochow; while the other, ascending more to the south and west, again joins with the principal branch, about eight miles above the city, after encircling a large and fertile island about thirty miles long, and which, opposite the city, is six or seven miles in width. As soon as we rounded the head of Pagoda Island, we felt that the old Foochow of twenty-five years ago had wonderfully changed. As we turned toward the right bank to look for our venerable friend of twenty-five years ago, the high, picturesque mountain range of Kushan, we beheld, stretching along the line of the river, for quite a mile in extent, a large number of foreign buildings, and heard the puff of steam-engines and the clatter of hammers, which indicated to us another great arsenal and ship-yard, owned and directed by the Chinese government. Lying in front of these buildings were four very fine-looking gun-boats that had been built by the Chinese.

As we ascend the river the range of mountains recedes from the stream, and in irregular and broken masses sweeps along the northern boundary of the large amphitheater in which lies the city. On the southern bank of the other branch of the river is another high range of exceedingly irregular hills, whose dark outlines are visible from Foochow, thus completing the beautiful

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basin in which the city is situated. One of these hills, quite abrupt and mountainous, called Tiger Hill, which towers up in the distance just opposite the city, is supposed to have a strange influence over the destinies of Foochow. It is said that an early prophet declared that when this hill, which terminates in an abrupt precipice on the river's edge, should fall, the city would be destroyed. To prevent this great catastrophe two large granite lions are set up within the city walls immediately facing this threatening hill, which are supposed to counteract all evil influences of this rugged elevation.

As we come nearer the city we discover that another wonderful change has taken place. All along the southern side of the river we now see a number of foreign houses, many large merchant's hongs, and many beautiful homes on the side of the hill back from the river. A foreign population of about two hundred, and a foreign trade of millions of pounds per year, has sprung up in the city since we left it, twenty-five years ago. But old China is still the same. As we approach the city, hundreds of "*sampans*," or small row-boats, and larger vessels more permanently located, here throng the river, and serve as residences for their owners. These water residences are one of the striking features of Chinese life, and are found in all parts of the empire. The river population of Foochow must amount to several thousand souls, born and reared and spending their lives on these boats. Here, too, are the many junks of the olden time, of all forms and sizes, from the massive uncouth vessels coming down from Shantung, to the neat little black painted crafts of Hingpo; and these vessels pursue the same old method of sailing down the coast during the early fall and winter by the aid of the north-east monsoon, and then lying here for nearly six months, to sail back again when the monsoon shall have changed to the south-west. Here, too, in the center of the river, is the same Tongchiw, or Middle Island, connected with the banks on each side by stone bridges and densely covered with buildings, and occupied by a busy, thriving multitude, numbering several thousands. Several native official residences are found on this island, and formerly we made our own home upon it, accompanied by two mission families.

This city is the capital of the Fuhkien province, which has an area of fifty-seven thousand square miles, and a population of fifteen millions of the most hardy and adventurous natives of the empire. On the south side of the river is a great suburb called Ato, containing a population of fifty thousand, with extensive shops and markets and numerous massive temples. As it is well said:

Circumstances have fixed this locality as the chief center of our mission at Foochow. Here, on an extensive compound on the

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southern face of the hill, we have five excellent residences, one of them owned by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. We have a large three-story girls' boarding-school, also belonging to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. We have another large three-story building, with basement, the lower part of which may be called the "Methodist Book Concern" of Foochow, and the remaining two stories may be designated the "Theological Institute," of the Foochow Conference.

On the front face of the hill we have a fine brick building known as the Tieng-ang Tong, the "Heavenly Rest Church," divided into two compartments, the one for English and the other for Chinese service. A little removed to the west of this great compound is located the home and hospital of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, under the direction of Miss Sigourney Trask, M.D.

On the west bank of the river is a still more populous suburb, extending two miles above the great bridge, and one mile below it, spreading out in some places considerably over the plain, and containing not far from one hundred thousand souls. On its main thoroughfare, leading to the gate of the city, is the Methodist Episcopal Church of Iong Tau, and in another portion of this same suburb is another commodious church, called Ching-Sing Tong, "Church of the True God," the first church erected in our China Mission.

The one hundred and fifty pages of the work that follow from this point are occupied with a vivid description of the city of Foochow and its environs, with a lucid historical sketch of the city, especially as connected with Christian missions, and particularly those of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Deeply interesting accounts of the transactions of the conference, and of the exercises and institutions connected therewith, are also given. The Bishop was also among the heathen and Mohammedan temples of the region, and saw the ceremony of the false worship therein, and gives us his meditations thereon. He also favors us with a most discriminating consideration of the character and writings of Confucius, which concludes the whole. All these various chapters are interspersed with incidents illustrative of Chinese manners and customs. Of these well-written and deeply-interesting chapters we can give but the merest outline.

We follow the Bishop as he enters within the walls and threads his way through the ten-feet-wide streets, jostled by

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baskets of fruit, bags of rice, boxes of tea, sedan-chairs, etc., the din of gongs and bells, angry and vulgar epithets, and perpetual cries of "Look out!" "Take care!" and "Keep to the right!" ringing in his ears. He does not accept the multitude of temples that he beholds as evidence of the devotion of the masses to the reigning faith; but, on the contrary, the temples themselves bear witness to the decaying state of these idolatrous and unmeaning systems.

> Nearly every one of them exhibits evidences of desertion and decay. Many of them seem never to be opened at all, and are covered with dust and filth; others, entirely abandoned, are crumbling into ruins. Their walls are fallen and overgrown with weeds and mosses. Their spacious courts are empty and desolate, and their huge idols are broken and crumbling to dust on their deserted shrines.

At one place he turned aside for a noisy wedding procession, while at another he saw the drill of native soldiers who had been trained under French and English officers, and felt that the Chinese were becoming formidable as a military power. He revisited the place where years ago he had accompanied the British Consul to witness an execution, and from which he had fled after seeing two, out of nineteen, decapitated. He accepted an invitation to a Chinese wedding in high life, and felt quite at home, treading upon Brussels carpet, and surrounded by foreign pictures, easy-chairs, sofas, etc., though feast and customs were all Chinese. He toiled up the Kushan Mountain to the magnificent ancient monastery of the Bubbling Spring, (Kushan,) near its summit. His eye could hardly be satisfied till he had fully taken in the field where for years he had toiled in great faith and some hope. All this sight-seeing was but incidental to the greater business for which the Bishop had come to Foochow.

His visit to the rural regions was chiefly that he might inspect the mission work at Kucheng. A delegation of native Christians met the visiting company two miles outside of Kucheng, who were re-enforced at a nearer point by the presiding elder, the saintly Hu Yong Mi, and other members of the mission. We cannot pause to rehearse the affecting Christian experiences that the Bishop records as given at the love-feast, or to speak as we would of the high Sabbath at Kucheng, or

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of the great spiritual outpouring with which the assembled Church was favored. Every part of the occasion was of a type to be compared only with Methodism of the olden style, and reminds us of the glory revealed on like occasions to our fathers. The chief interest was concentrated in the organization and session of the conference, held after the Bishop returned from Kucheng to the city of Foochow. The Bishop says:

It was an occasion of intense interest to myself, as well as to all. Twenty-seven years ago I had come to this city among the earlier missionaries. Twenty-three years ago I had left the city with but very little encouragement or indication of what was to be the grand result. Then there was not a single merchant here, all the foreign trade that there was at that time being carried on by two opium ships, located near the mouth of the river. Now I find a large mercantile settlement, filled with elegant residences and busy hongs. Then there was not a church nor a native Christian; now there are in this city three large churches of our own mission, besides several of other missions. Then we could not, by treaty rights, pass more than five miles beyond the city; now our missionaries and native preachers have their districts and their circuits, reaching one hundred and fifty miles to the north and west, and two hundred miles to the south and east. Now there are over four hundred native Christians in the three missions and in this Church. I now see before me eighty native Chinese preachers, and between two and three hundred native Chinese Christians, representing a Church membership of more than two thousand, ready to be organized into an Annual Conference.

The Bishop transferred five missionaries and fifteen native preachers from conferences in the United States, where they held their membership, and declared them to constitute the Foochow Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, authorized by the General Conference of 1876. Of the two secretaries one was native. Committees were raised on self-support, opium, Sunday-schools, the Sabbath, etc. Anniversaries were held, and all the business of the conference done as in conferences in our own land. The Bishop continues:

There was an affecting scene when we began the examination of character. S. L. Baldwin, who had been superintendent of the mission, stood first on the list, and Hu Po Mi was called upon, as presiding elder, to represent him. The venerable brother arose and said: "I cannot do it, I cannot do it," and the tears began to roll down his cheeks, and he said again, "I cannot do it. The like was never seen in China; these foreign

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teachers have come here to teach us of Jesus, and now we are in an Annual Conference, and I am called upon to represent the teacher. I can think of nothing like it but when the Saviour insisted on washing the disciples' feet." The whole conference was much affected. The Sabbath of the conference was a day of full work and blessed enjoyment. The love-feast commenced at half past eight in the morning, in which a large number of the brethren gave excellent and interesting testimonies to the reality, the value, and the blessedness of the religion which they enjoyed. Some of them had endured serious trials and persecutions during the year for the cause they had espoused. To this day it is not a matter of gain, but of very serious loss in every temporal and earthly respect, to the Chinese who become Christians. It is not, therefore, for the hire, which is but a little pittance, which these native preachers get from the Missionary Society, that they enter into this work; but always with great pecuniary sacrifice, and with opposition every-where, and with persecution in most places. They enter into this work, being called by the Holy Ghost, and sustained by a conscious personal Christian experience. Every one of our presiding elders could immediately retire from his Christian and official character and make three or fourfold the amount of money he is receiving in the Christian work. . . . Immediately after the adjournment of the conference we had a consultation with the missionaries and presiding elders as to the distribution of the missionary money appropriated to the native preachers. The rate was fixed at three dollars a month for each of the preachers, a dollar and a half for his wife, and seventy-five cents for each child. As large a part of this as is possible is paid by each circuit and district, and the balance is then paid by the mission. The conference itself passed a resolution that all the circuits in the older work ought to be able to support their own preachers in five years from this time, and recommended that missionary money should not be paid to the preacher, but to the stewards of the charge, as supplementary to whatever they could do, and to be administered by the stewards; and they also passed a rule that the amount appropriated to any circuit should gradually diminish from year to year, and cease entirely within a limited period.

At this scale of prices it really looks strange to an American to see such men as Hu Yong Mi, Hu Po Mi, and Sia Sek Ong—men who, in character and ability, if they had the same experience and acquaintance with American life as they have with that of China, would be qualified to fill the highest places in the Church in the United States—receiving as the compensation for their labor three dollars for themselves, one dollar and a half for their wives, and seventy-five cents for each child, making in the case of the saintly Hu Yong Mi six dollars a month for his invaluable services. Sia Sek Ong for some years has refused to receive any missionary money, and has depended entirely upon the contributions of his district, which has been able to contribute

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to him about this same rate of pay. Surely these men cannot be suspected of secular or mercenary motives in engaging in this Christian service. We were profoundly impressed with the godly sincerity and earnest devotion of all these native preachers. No one can look upon them for a moment without believing that God is with them, and that he is using them as his chosen instruments for the accomplishment of great results in China.

Of the schools of the mission only two receive special attention in this volume. First, the theological school, in which are thirteen bright and promising young men, among them a son of Hu Po Mi and one of Hu Yong Mi. There are Christians now of the fourth generation of this Hu family. Of the descendants of Father Hu, who was one of our first converts, four sons are now in the ministry, three of whom are in the conference. This school of the prophets will henceforth supply an intelligent stable ministry for the conference, and is of surpassing importance. The second school referred to is the Girls' Boarding School, in charge of the Misses Woolston. Neatness, good order, thoroughness, and spirituality are all given as its characteristics. Due praise is also awarded the medical work, in charge of the almost worshiped Miss Dr. Trask.

The chapter on Confucius is very discriminating and appreciative. We have never read six other pages in which so much is so well said to meet the general want on this subject. Confucius, to the author's mind, just met the limited cravings of the Chinese heart of his time. The Chinese are not like the people of India, philosophers and metaphysicians, for, as Huc has well said, "They ask of time only what may suffice for life; of science and letters, what is required to fill official employment; of the greatest principles, only their practical consequences; and of morality, nothing but the political and utilitarian part." This is just what Confucius has given them. But our author says:

His reign, however, is enduring too long. China can advance no further until she breaks away from and passes on beyond Confucius. He has been a beneficent conservative power during the past centuries, but he is utterly unable to carry his people beyond the semi-civilized state in which they have been living for twenty centuries. Something infinitely broader than Confucianism is needed to lift this great nation into the higher plane of civilization and enlightenment.

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With a sad heart the Bishop looked upon the receding shores of his old-time mission field as he took his departure, probably to see it no more. An untold measure of love, of anxiety, of sorrow, of bereavement, of prayer, of faith, of hope, of toil, on his part are all embalmed in this now great mission. By way of Amoy and Swatow, in due time he reached Hongkong. On every side evidences of the influence of foreigners were manifest, and yet his observations led him to some remarkable inferences. He says:

> The Chinese of Hongkong are very enterprising, and here, as well as at Canton and Shanghai, they are gradually taking much of the trade out of the hands of the foreigners. They can do it so much more cheaply that it is a serious question whether before many years they will not make it unprofitable for foreigners to do business in China. The natives have this notion themselves, and are working toward it. They have bought up a large number of steamers, and the government itself is making a large number of steam war vessels. Charles of Sweden is fast teaching Peter of Russia to take care of himself. The Chinese are rapidly learning the same lesson.

From Hongkong the Bishop proceeded to Canton, and from that port embarked for Japan. Canton is of special interest to Christians of the United States, arising out of the fact that most of the Chinese who come to this country are from this province. The Methodist Episcopal Church should have missions in Canton. It has at times proposed to have them, but lack of means has to this present prevented. In view of this we pause to give a few of the Bishop's observations on Canton.

The approach to the city is through the Bocca Tigris, and up the Pearl or Canton River. The anchorage for foreign shipping is at Whampoa, twelve miles below Canton. The growth and prosperity of Victoria have diminished the trade of Canton. The first thing that meets the eye is the river population. Not less than two hundred thousand of the people of Canton inhabit floating homes. Next you see the frowning fort, that tells of Chinese advance in the art of war and national defense. The city front is crowded with all sorts of boats. The author continues:

> On each side of the river you find a large number of boats of considerable size moored to the shore, in which whole families are living. Some of these dwellings are very handsomely

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worst. Nevertheless numerous societies are here, doing and daring for Christ, among which are the American Board, the London Missionary Society, our Presbyterian and Baptist Missionary Boards, and the British Wesleyans. This is the field of Rev. George Piercy, who went out to China at his own cost, and by his Christian zeal won over the Wesleyan Missionary Society to adopt him and his work.

Neither from Chinese books nor the masses of China can a clear idea be obtained of the religious systems of the Chinese, if such they possess. Such confused notions as exist in the one, or are found in the other, are well stated by our author. The undefined State religion is not idolatrous, yet the people are idolaters. Our author regards Confucianism as not a system of religion but of morals. Taouism is more spiritual than the native faith, teaching the separate existence of the human soul, and future reward and punishment. But, altered and corrupted as it now is, these doctrines of Taouism have been greatly modified, and made the basis of most absurd opinions and practices.

The author's history of Buddhism, and statement of its doctrines and usages, are of much interest, but that which is most striking is the similarity he traces between this false system and Roman Catholicism. Our author says:

> This is one of the first things that arrests the attention of the observing foreigner. He is at once attracted by its great show of temples, monasteries, nunneries, way-side joss-houses, frequent processions, and multiplied festivals. The long-robed and shaven-headed priest, with his slow and measured tread, his pusillanimous air, and his Jesuitical cunning, strikes him as a quite familiar personage. Even when he enters the Buddhist temple or monastery things wear a familiar aspect. The images, the statue of the "Holy Mother," or "Queen of Heaven," with her babe, the walls adorned with paintings, some exhibiting passages in the life of Buddha, but more displaying the adventures of the Holy Mother, the altar, with its numerous vessels and instruments of service, the burning candles, the smoking incense, the ringing bells, the service in a foreign tongue, the prostrations, the mock solemnity, the muttered prayers, and the monotonous chantings, all forcibly remind him of scenes in Romish chapels. Nor will it aid in dispelling the illusion to find here and there, in the different apartments of the establishment, devout-looking priests counting over their beads, and repeating over and over again the same brief sentences, till he fancies he can almost catch the

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and the rich Chinaman is usually ridiculous for his pride and conceit.

The Bishop visited the Buddhist temple of "the five hundred gods," which has five hundred images of saints or deified disciples of Buddha, arranged on platforms around the temple. They are of life-size, sitting on their folded legs, and each one bears something to indicate the reason for his canonization, such as eyes turned to heaven that are supposed never to have winked, a hand held so steadily out that a bird builds its nest in the hand, etc. The Bishop "next visited the Buddhist temple of horrors, the chief feature of which is ten cells, in which are exhibited the various pains of the Buddhist hell, or purgatory."

The actual scenes are exhibited in clay figures about two thirds life-size. The first cell, about ten feet square, which is about the measurement of each of them, is the hall of judgment, where the poor wretches are tried. Then came one chamber where a man is receiving from the demons a terrible whipping, being stretched on the ground face downward, by two men, while the third is beating him with a large paddle. The next cell exhibits a criminal fastened in a frame head downward, and being sawn in two, lengthwise. In the next another is suffering the torture of slow burning; another is supposed to be sitting under a red-hot bell. In the next they are in cages, and some chained with the Chinese cangue; in another they are being beheaded; and in another they are ground in a mill, and pounded in a mortar. In the next they are boiling a poor fellow in oil, and in the last some poor wretches, for having been guilty of eating beef, are being themselves slowly transformed into oxen. Several figures in this cell present the various steps of this transformation. In all these cells numerous figures of demons are looking on with expressions of diabolical satisfaction, and, strange to say, around the sides of each of the cells are ranged, in scenic manner, mountain and hill-side retreats, on which are seen smaller figures of the good and saved, seeming to take an equal delight in witnessing the pains of the unhappy ones who have missed of paradise. Notwithstanding all these horrors booths are rented out before all these cells, and a lively traffic is carried on, and the priests themselves drive a large trade in selling paper fans, sacrificial money, etc., which are to be burned for the use of these suffering wretches.

Canton is the oldest and most difficult of Chinese mission fields. The vices and aggressions of foreigners, and the animosities engendered by war, seem to have here done their

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followers out of the hands of the native authorities and deciding cases of crime or debt according to their own judgment or prejudice. They even in some places assume to arrest natives who are not members of their Church, but who have committed a crime against their members, or fail to pay debts which they owe them.

Under a very unrighteous clause in the French Treaty, by which they were to receive the lands formerly held by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century, they claim large possessions of land which they undoubtedly never held, and large compensations for grounds which it is impossible for them now to recover. All these things tend greatly to increase and intensify in the minds of the Chinese, and especially of the authorities, what is really the greatest obstacle to more liberal foreign intercourse and trade, and to more generous treatment of missionaries and their work, which is a fear on the part of the government that the final object of all foreigners in China is to get possession of their government and country. If this fear could be removed from the minds of the Chinese, and they could be made to feel that there are no ulterior plots or schemes, looking to the endangering of their country, or the disruption of their government, all other obstacles would soon give way, and we might have free intercourse in all parts of China to live and trade and preach the Gospel.

No attempt was made to give the Bible to the Chinese till Rev. Joshua Marshman, of the Baptist Missionary Society, attempted it in 1799, but it was not really done till Rev. Robert Morrison, of the London Missionary Society, who began his labors in 1807, accomplished it. The Churches of the United States did not send missionaries till 1830, then the American Board sent Rev. C. C. Bridgeman to Canton, who was followed the next year by Rev. David Abeel, who went to Amoy. In 1833 S. W. Williams went from the same society, and gave forty years to the work. Dr. Peter Parker went out in 1834.

After the opening of the five ports by the treaty which terminated the "opium war," missionaries flowed into China in great numbers, and the work of evangelizing the great empire has been ever since vigorously prosecuted. Our author considers that but twenty-five years of actual mission work has been done in China, and he says:

During that twenty-five years the open ports have been increased from five to sixteen, extending along the whole coast of China, from Canton to Peking, and a thousand miles up the great Yang-taze-Kiang; and the places where missionaries actually

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reside have increased in that time from 6 to 91, and in addition to these places of residence there are 511 "outstations" where the gospel is preached. The little company of about 30 missionaries in 1850 has grown to 473, and the 11 missionary societies operating in 1850 have become 30 in 1877. Of these 11 societies are American, 13 British, 3 Continental, and 3 are Bible Societies.

The missionary force is now 344 married missionaries, 66 single males, 63 single females, a total of 473. Of these 209 are American, 222 British, 33 Continental, and 8 representatives of the Bible Societies. There are 9 English, and 10 American physicians, 3 of the latter being ladies. There has been an increase within the last ten years of 5 societies, 35 stations, 115 missionaries, and more than 150 outstations.

The whole is summed up as follows: 91 stations; 511 outstations; 312 organized Churches; 43 self-sustaining Churches; 243 partly self-sustaining; 13,035 communicants, of which 8,068 are males and 4,967 females; pupils, 3,602; in theological schools, 20; students, 231; Sunday-schools, 115; Sunday scholars, 2,605; school-teachers, 29; colporteurs, 76; ordained native preachers; 73; assistant native preachers, 511; Bible women, 90; church buildings, 243; chapels, 437; hospitals, 16; patients, 3,780; out-door patients, 87,515; dispensaries, 24; applicants, 44,281 money raised, $9,271.

"China" is concluded by an epitome of the history of Methodist missions in China, which embraces the M. E. Church, South, and British Wesleyan missions, giving a total for all these of 14 stations; 109 outstations; 103 organized Churches; 2,319 members; 1,016 probationers; 71 schools; 1,288 pupils; 4 theological schools; 51 students; 78 Sunday-schools; 1,375 scholars; 25 ordained preachers; 113 assistant preachers; 21 Bible women; 43 church buildings; 114 chapels; 3 hospitals; 23 indoor patients; 604 outdoor patients; 3 dispensaries; 681 patients; 57 missionaries, and 30 wives.

These results are both amazing and inspiring. All the more so because the work has for this whole period been in its initiative. Starting from the present vantage-ground, what may it not be hoped will be effected within the twenty-five years next to come? What, ere a century will end? Truly the evangelization of this empire, so vast and populous, is not after all so very remote. The child may be born that will see China a Christian nation. This is an inference from what we see, as

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well as the product of a living faith that the stone cut out of the mountain shall fill the whole earth.

Seven or eight chapters of the book remain. These are devoted to Japan, and abound in graphic descriptions of scenes and scenery; in a history of Christianity in Japan from its first introduction, in 1549, by the Jesuits under the leadership of Xavier, until it was extinguished at Shimabara by Iyeyasu, and of its re-introduction in 1854 in greater purity and power by Protestant missionaries; of Shintooism and Buddhism, the false religions we would displace by the bringing in of a better hope; and, lastly, of the suffering of women in Japan, and their need of the Gospel. The wonderful transformations that have so speedily been accomplished in this land appear from these chapters to be evidently the morning rays of a new civilization that ere long must pervade the whole nation, bearing amid its bursting glories the spiritual regeneration of thousands.

A mission just begun is thus placed by the side of a mission a quarter of a century old, only the more to invigorate the hope and strengthen the purposes of the people of God.

Will the author allow one to whom the great mission work is a specialty to render him thanks, on behalf of thousands of Christian hearts, for this interesting and valuable contribution to the missionary literature of the time?

Art. II.—THE ETHICS OF EVOLUTION.

Data of Ethics. By Herbert Spencer. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1879.

A right estimate of Mr. Spencer's ethics is impossible without referring to his general theory of mind. In common with many speculators of the same general tendency, he is very sensitive to the charge of materialism. Haeckel, Huxley, Spencer, and all the rest, indignantly repudiate this charge, and insist that only a fool or a knave can make it. Self-confessed materialists are as scarce as self-confessed thieves. What is materialism?

Materialism has many forms. It may be built upon the crude conceptions of matter which are framed by uncritical common sense, and it may be built upon a mystical notion of matter which defies comprehension. The first form is practi-

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cally obsolete. For the modern materialist matter is not what it seems to be, but something mystic, subtle, wonderful. He never tires of dilating upon its mystery; and even while declaring it to be all-sufficient, he also insists that it is past finding out. But to the common mind the essence of materialism does not consist in an insight into the nature of matter, but in the claim that mind is but the unsubstantial product of organization. This claim is quite compatible with the loudest wondering over the mystery of the molecule, and even with idealism and nihilism. The idealist, who regards the organism as an ideal thing, may still hold that the organic idea so conditions the mental idea that the latter cannot exist without the former. The nihilist, too, who views both mind and matter as unsubstantial phantoms, may also insist that mental phantoms can exist only in connection with material phantoms. In fact, the union of idealism and materialism is nothing rare in the history of thought, for it was by this road that German philosophy descended into the materialistic slough. Strauss in his work, "The Old Faith and the New," insists that the difference between idealism and materialism is of names and terms rather than of principles. He himself remained a Hegelian to the last. Probably every thoughtful student of Hegel has felt that a slight change in terms would turn many parts of his system into a scheme of materialistic development. So the left wing understood the master, and they were not without excuse. The monistic materialist would have little difficulty in accepting Spinoza's root principles as identical with his own; and there are points of view from which parts even of Leibnitz's doctrine approach dangerously near a pantheistic form of materialism. There is an idealistic materialism, and there is also a materialistic idealism.

The ground, then, of the current repudiation of materialism by those who still make mind an unsubstantial product is, that materialism may be tested by its doctrine of matter and by its doctrine of mind. The monists judge themselves by their doctrine of matter, while common sense judges them by their doctrine of mind. Since they repudiate the crude and brutal notions of matter held by untaught common sense, they deny and resent the charge of materialism. But since they also teach that mind is a function of matter, common sense insists that they are materialists; for the common thought of materialism is not

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that it teaches this or that theory of matter, but that it makes the soul nothing. This double point of view is the source of those charges and repudiations of materialism which are now so frequent, and which common sense finds so bewildering. Our own judgment is that if our yea is to be yea, and our nay, nay, then the English language has no word which better describes the views of the so-called advanced scientists than materialism. Its use will not mislead the popular mind to any such extent as its rejection. At the same time the critic cares nothing for a name, provided the thing be understood. When, then, the so-called materialist rejects the name, the critic wishes to have it remembered that this rejection means only that the rejecter does not hold the vulgar and spontaneous view of matter. Whatever his name, he insists that mind is only a function of the body, just as pointing time is a function of clock-work. Judged, then, by his doctrine of matter, Mr. Spencer, with many others of his school, is not a materialist. Judged by his doctrine of mind, Mr. Spencer, with many others of his school, is a materialist. If materialism means an acceptance of the vulgar view of matter, he is not a materialist. If materialism means viewing the mind as a function of matter and motion, he is a materialist. What is his doctrine of mind?

In common with many other evolutionists, Mr. Spencer denies that mind is any thing substantial. The self is declared to be nothing but an aggregate of mental states, ("Principles of Psychology," vol. i, p. 500,) and these states are held together by the nervous system. A man does not have thoughts and feelings, but is only the sum of his thoughts and feelings. The objective fact in evolution is declared to be a "redistribution of matter and motion;" and the problem of the evolutionist is to find its law. The result of the redistribution is the birth of the solar system, the genesis of the various physical forces, and finally of life and mind. The process is, of course, mysterious in its inner nature; but all these phenomena result, nevertheless, from the redistribution of matter and motion. If mind were excluded from the formula, the latter would no longer be all-embracing, and mind would appear in an outside realm by itself. But this would be an unallowable break in the continuity of the system. Mind, then, is only a general name for mental phenomena, and these result from the redistribution of matter and motion. To

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be sure, matter and motion and mind are all declared to be but symbols of the unknowable; but the symbol, mind, is throughout regarded as causally connected with the symbols, matter and motion. It is this dependence of mind, be it reality or symbol, on matter and motion, be they realities or symbols, which, to the common thought, constitutes Mr. Spencer's system a form of materialism. It is worthy of note that Mr. Spencer dwells on this symbolic character of matter and motion only when the question of materialism is up; at other times they are "relative realities," and as real as the unknowable itself. It would sound rather odd to speak of the redistribution of matter and motion as a redistribution of symbolic conceptions. Mental states, then, according to Mr. Spencer, are only adjuncts of certain physical facts. As such they are highly mysterious indeed; but, whatever their mystery, they are such adjuncts and nothing more. We shall see this more clearly if we raise the further question, What is the relation of mental states to nervous action?

It has been proposed to call the nervous series neurosis, and the mental series psychosis. Adopting this terminology our question becomes, What is the relation of neurosis and psychosis? On this point the advanced scientists are not all agreed, and very few writers are consistent with themselves. Some regard psychosis as a transformation of physical energy in such a way that the energy displayed in psychosis has, for the time, no physical representative. It has disappeared from the physical realm entirely. Upon this theory, if we should measure the physical energy of a brain just before it began to think, and should afterward measure it when thought had begun, we should find that a certain amount of physical energy had been expended without any physical effect. The energy expended would be found, not in the physical, but in the mental realm. This view was very common for a time while the correlation of the forces was a new and misunderstood doctrine. The thought was that "force" was at last proved to be a single essence which undergoes endless transformation; and hence there was a general readiness to believe that thought itself is as real a form of energy as the matter itself. Many passages in Mr. Spencer's works imply this view. Consider the following quotation:

> How this metamorphosis takes place; how a force existing as motion, heat, or light, can become a mode of consciousness; how

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it is possible for aerial vibrations to generate the sensation we call sound, for the force liberated by chemical changes in the brain to give rise to emotion—these are mysteries which it is impossible to fathom. But they are not profounder mysteries than the transformation of the physical forces into each other.—*First Principles*, 1st ed., p. 280.

This passage proceeds on the view mentioned. It takes the correlation of physical energies as the type of the process. But when one form of energy passes into a new form, it no longer exists in the old one. We should expect, then, that when physical energy passes into thought it no longer exists as physical energy. On this theory there may be a passing back and forth of physical energy between the nervous and the mental realm.

But in spite of this and many similar passages, Mr. Spencer and the evolutionists in general do not accept this view. It involves a serious break of physical continuity, and implies that the laws of motion do not determine all physical changes. The nervous state at any moment is determined not merely by the antecedent nervous state, but by that plus an irruption from the mental realm. Besides, the notion that physical energy should suddenly lay aside its distinctive character and become a thought, borders on the grotesque and the irredeemably absurd. These considerations have led to the view, now largely adopted by evolutionists, that neurosis does not pass into psychosis, but is attended by it. According to Prof. Clifford, the physical series goes along by itself, and the mental series goes along by itself. The favorite statement with Mr. Spencer is that the physical and the mental series "are the subjective and objective faces of the same thing." Prof. Bain also uses similar language, affirming a mental fact to be double-faced, being on one side a mental state, and on the other side a nervous change. Unfortunately this language is not so clear as could be desired. Both mind and matter appear in Mr. Spencer's formula as "faces;" but the relation of these "faces" is left undetermined. Are they mutually independent, so that the two faces go on by themselves? or does the mental face depend upon the physical face? Mr. Spencer thinks to escape materialism by this double-faced theory; but in vain. He points out at great length the impossibility of assimilating the mental to the physical series. One passage ("Principles of Psychology," vol. i, pp. 157–162) has become classic among the Spencerians. "That a unit of feel-

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ing has nothing in common with a unit of motion becomes more than ever manifest when we bring the two into juxtaposition." "Nevertheless, it may be as well to say here, once for all, that if we were compelled to choose between the alternatives of translating mental phenomena into physical phenomena, or translating physical phenomena into mental phenomena, the latter alternative would seem the more acceptable of the two." This paragraph is often appealed to by the Spencerians as conclusively disproving the charge of materialism, and even as overthrowing materialism itself. It does not agree very well with the following utterance, also meant to be decisive: "See, then, our predicament. We can think of matter only in terms of mind. We can think of mind only in terms of matter."—*Principles of Psychology*, vol. i, p. 627. Mr. Spencer adds that we can get values of y only in terms of x, and conversely. We can hardly believe that he was betrayed into the latter statement by the alliteration and the antithesis; and yet there seems to be no better ground for it. Let one try to think of motion in terms of love, or of love in terms of motion, and the absurdity becomes apparent. Moreover, the previous quotation is a distinct refutation of the latter; and as the statements there made were made "once for all," we must regard them as Mr. Spencer's final view. Yet, antimaterialistic as it seems, the affirmation is merely that mental phenomena cannot be conceived in terms of any thing else; but it does not deny that they may be, and are, the product of something else. Thought and feeling as mental states are incommensurable with matter and motion; but this is an irrelevant commonplace so long as it is allowed that they result from the redistribution of matter and motion. For the question is not whether they can be joined in a common thought, but whether thought depends on matter and motion. What was said before about the "opposite faces" applies equally to the incommensurable series. The physical series is viewed as the independent fact, and the mental series as only a concomitant product. It is this fact which justifies common sense in ranking Mr. Spencer with the materialists.

Mr. Spencer's working theory is best expressed in the following quotation: "As shown in the earlier part of this work, an idea is the psychical side of what on its physical side is an involved set of molecular changes propagated through an in-

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volved set of nervous plexuses. That which makes possible the idea is the pre-existence of these plexuses so organized that a wave of molecular motion diffused through them will produce, as its psychical correlative, the components of the conception in due order and degree. This idea lasts while the waves of molecular motion last—ceasing when they cease; but that which remains is the set of plexuses. These constitute the potentiality of the idea, and make possible future ideas like it."—*Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii, p. 484; see also vol. i, pp. 270,406.

In this passage and in many others the independence of the physical fact, "face," or series, is plainly affirmed. With equal clearness the dependent and transitory nature of the mental fact, "face," or series, is affirmed. Both may be "faces," and incommensurable, but none the less, the physical "face," compared with the mental "face," is independent and abiding. The bewildering statements about double-faced somewhats and opposite manifestations of the unknowable, must not be allowed to obscure this fact.

But even yet we have no clear statement of the relation of neurosis and psychosis. The doctrine is that psychosis is the concomitant of neurosis, but the doctrine is also that the energy of neurosis never passes into an energy of psychosis. The physical series goes along by itself with unbroken continuity. If, then, we could accurately observe nervous movements, we should find every nervous antecedent exhausted in its nervous consequent, and we should nowhere get any hint of the mental series supposed to be going on at the same time. But this view calls up the gravest difficulties. The mental series in this case is not caused by the physical series, but attends it. If, then, the mental series have any energy, or if it have any laws peculiar to, and founded in itself, we must seek its cause outside of the physical series. And if the mental series goes along by itself, and the physical series goes along by itself, then we have no means of accounting for their harmony or even for their connection. The difficulty is the old one with which the students of Spinoza are familiar. He viewed being, as extended, as going along by itself, and being, as thought, as going along by itself. Nothing happens in the physical world which is not fully accounted for by its physical antecedents, and nothing happens in the mental world which is not fully ac-

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counted for by the mental antecedents. Between the two there is no interaction. But in that case, how account for their parallelism and co-existence? Neither accounts for the other, and we seem able to save knowledge only by a theory of pre-established harmony. We gain no relief by calling them opposite faces of the same thing, for then in logic we should make the opposite faces inseparable, so that mentality should be as universal as materiality; and even this expensive solution would not help us. For neither face, as face, explains or affects the other. The opposite faces still go along by themselves in mutual indifference. Nor would it avail to take the extreme positions of identifying the opposite faces, and say that all being is at once material and ideal according to our standpoint; for being, as thought, would be determined by the laws and norms of logic, while being, as material, would be determined by the laws of motion. The two views would not unite. If now we hold to physical continuity, we must either allow that the mental series is independent and has its cause and ground outside of the physical realm, or we must affirm that the mental series is merely a powerless attendant upon the physical processes, and is determined by them in every respect. Psychosis is merely the shadow of neurosis, and, like all shadows, is unsubstantial and powerless. The shadows come and go as the nervous states change, but they have no bond of connection among themselves. The bond which binds them is the nervous mechanism; but this bond appears among the shadows as a rational connection. This notion is admirably expressed in the following passages from Professor Huxley's lecture "On the Hypothesis that Animals are Automata:"

> The consciousness of brutes would appear to be related to the mechanism of their body, simply as a collateral product of its working, and to be as completely without any power of modifying that working as the steam whistle which accompanies the work of a locomotive engine is without influence upon its machinery. Their volition, if they have any, is an emotion indicative of physical changes, not a cause of such changes. * * * *
>
> It is quite true that to the best of my judgment the argumentation which applies to brutes holds equally good of men, and, therefore, that all states of consciousness in us, as in them, are immediately caused by molecular changes of the brain substance. It seems to me that in men, as in brutes, there is no proof that any state of consciousness is the cause of any change in the mo-

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tion of the organism. If these positions are well based, it follows that our mental conditions are simply the symbols in consciousness of the changes which take place automatically in the organism, and that, to take an extreme illustration, the feeling we call volition is not the cause of a voluntary act, but the symbol of that state of brain which is the immediate cause of that act.

Similarly Mr. Spencer, in the division entitled, "Special Synthesis," ("Principles of Pychology, vol. i,") teaches that instinct, memory, reason, feeling, and will, are but subjective symbols of nervous processes, which processes go on by themselves. Reason is explained as follows:

> For though when the confusion of a complex impression with some allied one causes a confusion among the nascent motor excitations, there is entailed a certain hesitation, and though this hesitation continues as long as those nascent motor excitations or ideas of the correlative actions go on superseding one another; yet, ultimately, some one set of motor excitations will prevail over the rest. As the groups of antagonistic tendencies aroused will scarcely ever be exactly balanced, the strongest group will at length pass into action, and as this sequence will usually be the one that has recurred oftenest in experience, the action will on the average of cases be the one best adapted to the circumstances. But an action thus produced is nothing else than a rational action.—Vol. i, p. 455.

On page 496 he describes volition in the same way as a conflict of nascent motor excitations ending at last in the victory of the strongest. It is not ideas as ideas which conflict, but ideas as nascent motor excitations, that is, as "nascent excitations of the nerves concerned." The premises do not determine the conclusion, and reason does not determiue the will; but underlying all is a mechanism of nervous states subject only to the laws of physical motion, whose resultant appears in consciousness as reasoning and volition. In the strictest sense of the phrase, the physical series goes along by itself without interference from the mental side. Doubtless many passages could be found in Mr. Spencer's works which conflict with this view, but a "mazy mingling of inconsistent views" is a prominent feature of his writings. We are sure that no competent and candid critic can interpret his system so far as it is a system, other than we have done. Neurosis is the independent fact, and psychosis is its unsubstantial shadow.

We have made this lengthy preamble for the sake of show-

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ing the relations of "advanced science" to materialism, and also to give an insight into a new species of fatalism. It is well that the laity in science and philosophy should know the grounds for charging advanced science with materialism, and also the grounds and meaning of the denial.

It follows immediately from the admission that mental states produce no physical changes, but only accompany them, that there is no warrant whatever for affirming consciousness in any beings but one's own self. It is a commonplace of psychology that the existence of conscious beings external to ourselves is only an inference based upon their action. All that we can see in connection with them is a series of physical changes, and since these are independent of consciousness, it follows that they are no proofs of consciousness. They are indifferent to both its presence and its absence. Belief in other minds is a gigantic act of faith without any ground whatever. We seek in vain to help ourselves by appealing to our own experience, for if we have mastered our faith we see that even our own motions are no marks of consciousness, for they are in every case the outcome of nervous action without any interference from our purposes or volitions. Human history embraces a great series of physical changes. Homes and cities have been built; battles have been fought, and empires have arisen and decayed; commerce has covered the continents with its roads, and the sea with its fleets; and heroes and martyrs, too, have battled and died for truth and righteousness. We leave to the imagination to picture the manifold activities which center in the family and the fireside. And we have thought that in all this the human mind was manifesting itself, its loves and ambitions, its manifold purposes, and above all its power. But we are mistaken. There is no reason for believing that consciousness can produce any physical change, and hence all these things have gone on without any control from the mental side. Human history reduces to a vast product of automatism into which neither thought nor feeling has entered. A man leaving his house on a raw and gusty day puts on his hat and overcoat and takes an umbrella. The common and crude conception of the matter is that he takes these things because he foresees a need, and, foreseeing, makes provision. Nothing of the kind is true. The fact is that the environment and the nascent

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motor excitations at the time were such, that a complicated set of physical changes was inaugurated which resulted in clapping the hat on the man's head, in drawing the overcoat on his back, in carrying him through the door, in raising the umbrella, and, finally, in marching off with him down the street. The entire affair, we may believe, was accompanied by the idea of the end, and by the purpose of securing it, but neither contributed any thing to the result. In truth, it is an act of pure faith to admit that they were present at all. Probably Mr. Spencer himself in uncritical moments yields to the fancy that in writing his system of philosophy his purposes and other mental states counted for something, but by his own showing he is mistaken. Considered psychically, Mr. Spencer is only an aggregate of mental states held together and produced by a certain nervous system; considered physically he is, for the looker on, a set of "nervous plexuses," which set is "the permanent internal nexus," for those mental states which constitute Mr. Spencer as a mental self. The truth is that the physical face of the unknowable, better known as matter and motion, had been passing "from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity through continuous differentiations and integrations," until at last particular sets of nervous plexuses in particular relations to the environment were organized. Divers waves of molecular motion along lines of least resistance coursed through the plexuses, resulting in the conflict of manifold nascent motor excitations, and the total outcome of the whole was that books were written, printed, read, criticised, accepted and rejected, yet without any intervention of thought whatever. Some features of the system are not inharmonious with this view, but in general it seems almost extravagant. Still it must be allowed that on Mr. Spencer's own system there is not the slightest reason for believing that he ever thought a thought, or even for believing that the series of mental states which composes his psychical self has any existence whatever. We accept Mr. Spencer only by faith. The physical face goes along by itself, and the physical face is all we can perceive. If mind were present, modifying and controlling the physical series to any extent, the case would be otherwise; but this hypothesis is sternly excluded as unscientific.

We can very vividly imagine that any Spencerian among our

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readers has by this time lost all patience, and may well be in a high state of indignation at what he will call our unjust caricature; that is, the nervous plexuses and the nascent motor excitations are in that violent state of activity which appears subjectively as indignation. But we reply that our statements are no caricature, they are only an unfolding of the plainest implications of the doctrine. If the theory be true, these and many other equally startling propositions are true. Of course, we do not imagine that Mr. Spencer actually holds these views; neither sanity nor insanity could do that. But with Mr. Spencer's personal beliefs and inconsistencies the critic has nothing to do. The critic's function is to expound the nature and logical implications of an impersonal system, and he cannot but resent the charge that his exposition is an attack on the personal character of the author of the system he criticises. Further, he equally resents the attempt to make "indignant repudiation" and charges of caricature break the force of logic. A system stands or falls by its logic. The authors of systems may be as illogical as they choose, but a system is responsible for all that is contained in it, and if it cannot square with the facts it is doomed as a system. A strange illusion seems to have mastered our advanced scientists at this point. Having always made a strong point of logic, they suddenly begin to show contempt for it. Consistent reasoners are termed "consequence-makers," and logical consequences are called "the scare-crows of fools." When this does not suffice, they next "indignantly repudiate" the conclusions drawn from their premises. It may be well to point out here that "consequence-making" is the universal and only method of testing theories. We used to have an emission theory of light, but some "consequence-makers" pointed out that the theory had certain "logical consequences" which facts did not recognize. That theory perished from "logical consequences." We had also an electro-chemical theory of chemical action, but the "consequence-makers" got after that, and it, too, died of "logical consequences." Imagine the scorn of the scientific world if the defenders of these and other exploded theories had responded with the bravado that "logical consequences are the scare-crows of fools." But it has become a recognized part of the tactics of the advanced scientists, when the logical implica-

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tions of their doctrines are pointed out, to reply with contemptuous remarks about "consequence-making," and with "indignant repudiation" of the conclusions. They distinctly teach that men are automata, but when human action is described in terms of their theory, they complain of caricature. They wish to make men machines in theory, and to deal with them as men in practice. Only upon this condition can their doctrines live at all. If human life and action were consistently described according to their view, that view would break hopelessly down at once through sheer excess of absurdity. Hence the propriety of denouncing the "consequence-makers;" hence, also, the value and necessity of "indignant repudiation." Meanwhile it will be well for consistent reasoners to point out that, as logic goes, a conclusion rightly drawn cannot be repudiated without also repudiating the premises. The syllogism is impregnable to indignation.

We suggest, therefore, to the indignant Spencerians that for once they forego repudiating and take to reasoning. But, alas! even that is impossible. There is no self-determination in thought, and reasoning is the powerless symbol of nascent motor excitations. If, then, the plexuses are set for repudiation and bad logic, out they must come. But if there were any power of self-administration in reason, and if our pluxuses would permit, we would suggest to the Spencerians the following questions: 1. In a system of physical automatism, what warrant can there be for affirming co-existent minds? 2. How can an automaton have duties? 3. In a system of automatism, what is sin? 4. What is the difference as to merit or demerit between sin and righteousness? 5. In what is a so-called wicked man morally worse than an exploding volcano? 6. What moral difference is there between a murderer and the dagger which he uses? 7. What can the new ethics effect in a system where the physical series goes along by itself, and, in going, determines the mental order? 8. Dare we admit that there is no moral difference between sin and righteousness? 9. If our system destroys all moral distinctions, should we not admit and avow it, under favor, of course, of the plexuses? 10. If our system leaves moral distinctions as valid as ever, is there not some better way of proving it than

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by whining about theological bigotry and misrepresentation? If there were a power of self-control in men, we should really insist upon an answer to these questions; but as there is no such power, we expect no relevant answer. The disciples will probably be carried off by the nascent motor excitations into irrelevant moral exhortation, indignant repudiation, and the like. Still, we are not entirely without hope, for the unknowable does not seem absolutely to have set its face against considering the question. We cannot, of course, claim any more self-control for ourselves than we allow for others, though in setting these questions we seem to have done so. The fact is, that the nascent motor excitations have jotted down the questions, and this leads us to hope that they will also permit a relevant answer. Unfortunately, the last clause smacks of the superstition of freedom; for it speaks of the excitations as permitting an answer, as if the answer could come from another quarter. The nascent motor excitations must themselves give the answer. But to whom? We are hampered still by inherited fetters. We have spoken of ourselves as setting questions and hoping for answers, etc.; but this language shows traces of the superstition of a substantial personality. We do not hope, we are the hope; and if an answer were given we should not receive it, we should be it. Alas! that language should be so saturated with falsehood as to be incapable of expressing the truth without betraying it. Perhaps it will be well while considering these questions to inquire, also, if rationality itself does not imply self-control and self-determination.

Doubtless the Spencerian's nascent motor excitations are still in the state corresponding to indignation and to the ideas of caricature, slander, and so on. But the fundamental reality of which we are only a "face," or mask, or modification, protests through our nascent motor excitations that it has neither caricatured nor slandered the system. The same high authority declares that it is ready to cancel all it has said as soon as it is shown to be no implication of the leading doctrines of the system; but until then it insists that the conclusions shall stand. It further avows that not one word has been uttered as sarcasm or ridicule; its only aim has been to secure a logical exposition of certain principles which form the foundation of the new philosophy. It also cheerfully admits that Mr. Spencer may be

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an aggregate of the most lovable mental states and the most charming inconsistencies; but it points out that these matters are not in dispute. The one and only question is, What is the logical outcome of a certain impersonal system? And, finally, it adds that even when logical consequences seem absurd, to state them is not to ridicule the system, any more than to state the untenable consequences of the emission-theory of light is to ridicule it. Backed by this high authority of the fundamental reality, we venture to point out that the human mind in general, the inner face of the unknowable, is so constituted that the nascent motor excitations which produce the idea of automatism will not combine with those which produce the ideas of responsibility and demerit; and it is further so constituted that where the former set get the mind to themselves, the resulting nascent motor excitations are apt to be of a kind which would be described in the obsolete terminology of the past as earthly, sensual, devilish. In the common mind the idea of automatism explodes the idea of duty and cancels all sense of responsibility. Now, if a consistent reasoner were possible, it would be his duty either to reconcile these antitheses or to abandon one or the other. Mr. Spencer has done neither. His nascent motor excitations have borne him off to write, or, rather, they themselves have written of ethics without considering whether and how ethics is possible. Still the outcome is as good as could be expected. The treatise is the product of a series of nervous changes, and there is no warrant for believing that any state of consciousness can produce any physical change. Thought, then, having had nothing to do with its production, one cannot wonder at occasional marks of thoughtlessness. On the contrary, it is really surprising that the plexuses have done so well. That they have not done better is a part of the misery of being; that they have not ground out better logic is one of the pessimistic features of existence. There seems to be an innate irrationality in the unknowable which forbids consistency. Formerly, when engaged in theology, it was notoriously illogical, and it does not seem to have improved now that it has taken to philosophy. If ever we looked longingly toward the new era, it was from the belief that there we might be logical and be at peace. The new era has arrived, and has been received with all the honors; but, sadly enough, bad logic still reigns supreme.

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Rationalism is as odious a nuisance in the new faith as it ever was in the old; and the methods of dealing with it are the same, namely, indignant repudiation and the like. Alas! that it should always be naughty and wicked to ask questions. We thought we might ask any question when the new ethics should arrive.

The ethics of evolution is based on the conception of physical automatism. Why, then, are not duty, responsibility, and guilt, empty words? And if empty words, why should we as rational beings regard them? The illusory idea of freedom is at the bottom of these "pseudo-ideas," and they disappear with it. These are crucial questions of ethical theory. Already many are using the positions of the new ethics as a reason for relaxing moral restraint, and ominous mutterings are coming from the under-strata of society. But we have our theory to maintain; and what can we do with the questions? Nothing is easier. Since we cannot answer them, and since we dare not avow the conclusions of logic in the premises, and since we hate to abandon our theory, let us escape the difficulty by judiciously and colossally ignoring the whole subject. If we next add a few remarks about altruism and a bit of commonplace moral exhortation, we can safely trust to the average dullness, not only to overlook the sleight-of-hand, but even to defend us against the critic. To help on this good end, while we make men machines in theory, we must be very careful to deal with them as men in practice; and above all, we must resent as slanderous all demands that we shall not use language which has a meaning only in a system we reject. Certainly we have as much right to our common language as our opponents. Finally, let the critics be repudiated with great firmness, yet kindly, and more in sorrow than in anger, taking care always to remark that this hardness of the critical heart has been foreseen and forgiven, and success will be complete. Of course there is a kind of brutal hard-sense in those seeking an excuse for moral laxity which will not be deceived with such chaff; but, then, the wicked have always been a great embarrassment in every theory.

We pass now to consider some of the specific features of Mr. Spencer's ethics. Ethics he regards as the science of conduct, and conduct is an adjustment of the individual to his surroundings. Conduct is distinguished from action in general by be-

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ing limited to action performed with purpose, but this is a logical inconsequence. Purpose in this sytem has nothing to do with action. By viewing conduct as adjustment, it is brought into line with his definition of life and mind, and is made to appear as only the highest form of a process essential to all organic existence. The process is simply the adjustment of inner relations to outer relations. In the "Principles of Biology" this simple formula is made to exhaust the significance of animal life in all its forms. In the "Principles of Psychology" it is extended to include all mental phenomena. In the "Data of Ethics" it is made to cover conduct. The formula has been worked out with great apparent thoroughness, and it has so impressed many minds of an inert and passive type that they view it as a magnificent generalization, scarcely, if at all, inferior in significance and indicated genius to Newton's discovery of the law of gravitation. The formula is indifferently given as the adjustment of inner relations to outer relations, and as the correspondence of inner relations to outer relations. We may get some idea of the apparent thoroughness from the fact that eleven chapters are devoted to its exposition in relation to mind. When food drifts against a polyp's tentacles, they contract, the polyp is fed and lives. This is one of the lowest and simplest forms of correspondence, or adjustment. It is direct and homogeneous. The squirrel, acting as if he foresaw the winter, gathers a store of nuts and thus lives till spring. Here the correspondence is vastly more extended than in the previous case, but it is still a correspondence. Finally the man adjusts his thoughts to the movements of the seasons, of the stars, and by mastering nature's laws he reads the past, and foresees and provides for the future. Here the adjustment, or correspondence, is of the most complex and far-reaching type, but it is still correspondence. It is of essentially the same character as that first movement of the polyp's tentacles in response to external excitation. It is throughout an adjustment of inner relations to outer relations. It is easy to see that conduct comes under the same lead. A man who feeds his children, pays his taxes, and does not rob his neighbor, is simply adjusting himself to external relations. The outline is at once so simple and so vast as to be very imposing indeed. And yet what does this formula mean? First of all, what is meant by this adjust-

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ment or correspondence? In one way or another every thing is adjusted and corresponds to every other. The chemical elements are perfectly adjusted to one another. The coal corresponds beautifully to the oxygen which consumes it. The planets correspond most wonderfully to the sun and to one another. Every atom within the grip of gravitation is adjusted with perfect accuracy to every other. The parasite is adjusted to the organism which it devours. Correspondence and adjustment of some sort are universal, and unless all correspondence is intelligence, the mental correspondence must be of a peculiar kind. If we say that the peculiarity of this adjustment is that it is a mental adjustment, the definition includes the thing. It is not, then, adjustment in general which constitutes life and mind, but the adjustment of inner relations to outer relations. But what is an inner relation on this theory? If a living, thinking being is simply a combination of physical elements which are all as external to one another as are the members of the solar system, this notion of an inner relation is a suspicious one. As applied to a living thing, it secretly recognizes a vital agent with a definite range of activity; and as applied to mind, it can only mean consciousness. Mind, then, is the adjustment of relations in consciousness to external relations. But what is a relation? Wherever there are relations, there must be things related. By internal relations Mr. Spencer seems to mean thoughts and their orders of co-existence and sequence. By external relations he seems to mean external things and their orders of co-existence and sequence. So, then, the formula for mind whittles down to the statement that mind is the adjustment of thoughts, and their order, to things, and their order; or, more briefly, it is the adjustment of thought to thing. With this clearing up, the eleven chapters devoted to the elaboration of the idea of adjustment or correspondence reduce to the commonplace statement that our knowledge of reality grows from more to more. The air of awe and mystery which attends the use of unfamiliar terms for familiar things of course vanishes, but the meaning is the same. It is also plain that the formula contains an implicit abandonment of the theory that thought is only the powerless symbol of the physical series, for if that series goes along by itself, then the absence of thought, to say nothing of its maladjustment, would

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be physically without significance. To bring in thought as effective cancels the physical completeness of the system, and to leave it out cancels the formula. That the formula has a different meaning when applied to life is evident. Its apparent identity for life and mind is due to the use of terms which are made to include every thing by excluding all definite meaning. Knowledge cannot fail to be unspeakably advanced by formulas of this kind.

In addition to this vagueness, a glaring defect of the formula, as has been ably pointed out by Dr. James, ("Journal for Speculative Philosophy," January, 1878,) is, that it takes account of the mind as knowing only, and not as feeling, or as moral, religious, and esthetic. For the development of this point we refer the reader to the paper in question. We next point out that nothing has been said as to how the adjustment is secured. Do the thoughts adjust themselves, or do the outer relations first produce the inner, and then adjust them? The latter is Mr. Spencer's view. Any other, he thinks, shows an insufficient belief in causation. To hold that his thought and purpose have had any influence on his philosophy would show an imperfect appreciation of causation. But when are inner relations adjusted to outer? In some sense they are always adjusted; hence by adjusted we must mean rightly adjusted. But what is a right adjustment? Here appears one of the most curious features of Mr. Spencer's system. The test of right adjustment is in every case survival, and true thoughts and right conduct are simply such as lead to continued existence. The ill-adjusted or non-corresponding animal dies, and the ill-adjusted mind also perishes. Although neither we nor our thoughts have any power over physical changes, yet when our thoughts are maladjusted the organism comes in conflict with reality, and destruction results. Survival is the only test of adjustment, and hence of truth and righteousness. Mr. Spencer assumes that there must be survival, and he often speaks almost as if it were a necessary aim with the unknowable, to secure the continuance of the organic world. At this point he borders on Hartmann's doctrine of the unconscious world-force which has aims without knowing any thing about them. Mr. Spencer recognizes ends in the most liberal fashion. He speaks (page 171) of "the naturally revealed end

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toward which the power manifested throughout evolution works." The individual and the species must live, and mind and morals are both brought in as means to this end, although it is hard to see how they could help the matter, since they affect nothing in the physical series. The individual could not live if it failed to correspond, hence the need of mind. The species could not continue without moral order, hence the need of ethics. In truth, Mr. Spencer's system is teleological through and through. From the conception of physical survival as an end he has deduced the need and thus the fact of mind and morals, and both are what they are because of the peculiar demands made upon them by the conditions of survival. Had these been different, truth and righteousness would have been different. Hence our conceptions in mind and morals properly express nothing but the conditions of survival. Where these conditions have not been observed, life and thought have come quickly to an end. Survival has been possible only along certain lines, and by heredity the thoughts and conduct fitted to secure it have been integrated and transmitted until at last our mental laws and moral instincts have been built up. To us they appear as first truths; but, in fact, they express only the conditions of existence. This principle is throughout assumed, but it is not as explicitly stated as we could wish. If utility is to be taken as the test and measure of truth, the belief in God, retribution, the future life, and even in Christianity, would make a respectable show. But as these beliefs do not agree with our own, it may be well to keep the principles for strictly private use. Indeed, if natural selection be the determining principle of belief, the faith of the future will not be materialism, atheism, agnosticism, or deism, but Christianity; for all other beliefs are relatively depressing and demoralizing.

Mr. Spencer's ethics is little more than an exposition of this conception. If the individual should perish, the species would also perish; for it exists only in the individual. Hence there must be egoism. But pure egoism would make society, and thus the individual, impossible; hence there must be altruism. Pure altruism, on the other hand, by condemning all egoism, would lead to non-survival. Hence there must be "conciliation" and "compromise." We must be neither too egoistic nor too

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altruistic. In all things the golden mean seems to be the rule of life which will most probably lead to survival.

This view is interesting from its novelty. Never before was there a system so amazingly teleological. Much as Aristotle and Leibnitz made of the notion of final cause, they still admitted some things as unconditionally true and right, or as such without any reference to an end. But with Mr. Spencer the true and the right are conditioned entirely by their relation to the particular end of survival. It is not entirely plain what would become of many scientific and philosophic speculations if they were tested by this standard; and as we have an interest in both, we forbear to inquire. Another interesting feature of the theory is, that its possibility is a striking testimony to the truth that "the power, not ourselves, makes for righteousness." Whether we regard the laws of righteousness as expressing only the conditions of existence, or as the expressions of an august and holy Will, in either case we admit that they are our life. But as a moral theory, apart from the author's fatalism which reduces all theories to necessary impertinences, this view is lamentably imperfect. In the first place, the scheme will have no authority at all with one who does not recognize physical survival as the end of conduct. On the one hand, the Christian and the theist insist that there are things better than living, and other things worse than dying. The law of righteousness must never be abandoned, though the fagots be gathered and the instruments of torture be spread. This conviction has left indelible marks in human history; indeed, pretty much all that is noble and reverend in history has sprung from it. On the other hand, the pessimist will repudiate survival as an end, alleging that he sees no value in the end. Considering the misery and irrationality of being, he thinks that non-survival would be vastly more desirable. To Mr. Spencer's claim that we must survive, he answers that he knows of no such need. To the threat that failure to adjust or correspond will lead to destruction, he replies that such a consummation is devoutly to be wished. Mr. Spencer points out that moral principles are necessities of social equilibrium; and the pessimist replies that he sees no necessity for social equilibrium. If there were any essential sacredness in righteousness, or any inalienable obligation, he might think otherwise; but since it is only a matter of survival or non-survival,

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he inclines to non-survival as the most desirable. It may be said that no moral theory can do any thing with a pessimist; but it is also true that some theories lead directly to pessimism, and to abandon them is to discharge the pessimism. One need not be incorrigible in order to deduce pessimism from fatalistic materialism. Mr. Spencer seems to have no conception of the spread of pessimism since the dawn of advanced science. He has always been such an ardent apostle of progress as to forget to inquire whether the progress was worth having. Others have made the inquiry. The world turns out to be only a large machine which has ground us into being, and which, after having tortured us awhile to no purpose, will grind us to powder. Goodness is due to the viscera. There is nothing reverend or noble in existence. We have nothing to be proud of, for the viscera have managed every thing. We have nothing to hope for except annihilation, and even that will not come until the bungling mechanism has racked and mangled and butchered us. We can only stand at bay and wait for the end. This being the case, men are beginning to sneer at progress. The very word is greeted with moody and scornful laughter. Reason will no longer be stupefied with the cordials and soothing syrups of the apostles of progress; and men are growing indignant at the apostles' attempts to cover up the death's-head which grins horribly through all their theories. And so they stand up and swear that the world is worse than none. A ghastly and haggard pessimism is rapidly seizing upon all the earnest minds in the ranks of advanced scientists. They see clearly that whoever may have words of eternal life, the new science and the new philosophy have them not. But of this state of affairs, Mr. Spencer seems not to have the least conception. In spite of his fatalism, in spite of his materialism, in spite of the annihilation toward which the race is hurrying, he still pipes and sings of "that grand progress which is bearing humanity onward to a higher intelligence and a nobler character."

A second defect of Mr. Spencer's ethical theory is that, from making success the standard of right, it leaves the question of right forever open or forever subject to revision. Taken in strictness, it would say that we do not know the right until the event has declared itself. It would then always be allowable for us to do our utmost to make our side succeed. The right

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and the wrong would thus appear as two advocates between whom we could not decide until the case had decided itself. We could not even call them right and wrong in advance, for the problem is to know which is which. Pending the decision each side might properly do its utmost for success. Mr. Spencer might give two answers to this objection. First, he might fall back on his fatalism, as making such an indecision impossible; but this solution would be very expensive, for it would reduce all moral theories to a farce. He might next say that this case has been debated through the ages. The survival of the fittest has been nothing but such a debate, and hence it is quite too late for us to think of re-opening the question. But even this answer fails to meet the case. We know that the unknowable has gone on changing its opinions on various matters; and who shall assure us that it has made up its mind in morals? And even if the so-called wrong has failed thus far, how do we know that it always will? Mr. Spencer expresses a great and just indignation at the conduct of the British government toward the tribes and nations of Asia and Africa. He glows at times with such fervor as to lead to the fear that he secretly believes in God and eternal righteousness. Yet, gratifying as this moral enthusiasm is, it is a logical inconsequence. For England has succeeded, and why, then, is not her conduct right? May we not see in such success an indication that the unknowable has no settled scheme of morality? And on this theory, why should not England, in fixing her Asiatic and African policy, settle the question by comparing her military strength with that of the other side? Our own trouble with the Indians arises largely from imagining that right is independent of survival; but it is becoming plain that the unknowable is bent on rooting them out, and why should we not lend a hand? The shortest cut to social equilibrium in this case would seem to be extermination. Mr. Spencer has no valid answer to these objections. The outcome of his view is Spinoza's position that right is measured by power, and this, in turn, is only another form of Hobbes' doctrine that might makes right. Would some Spencerian mind showing us how the theory can fairly escape this conclusion?

To the common conscience, Mr. Spencer's ethics is especially obnoxious on account of its low tone. This low pitch is due to the fact that he is bound to get all his sanctions from the

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earthly life. When this limited view is combined with the doctrine that happiness is the only source of obligation, the result is a theory of duty which is very flat and uninspiring. The earlier selfish systems of morals are generally abandoned in theory, and all moralists feel called upon to insist upon the duty of self-sacrifice for the good of the many. The result is that all utilitarian systems have great trouble to get any rational basis for the duty of self-sacrifice. Our own conviction is that the selfish systems have been theoretically too much decried. There is an element of truth in them which must be taken into account. A reasonable self-love, as Butler calls it, is as much justified as any altruistic principle of action. But in our revolt against selfishness we have overlooked this fact, and have failed to reflect upon the postulates of self-sacrifice as a duty. If we may not assume that the interests of the one and the many are at bottom identical, there is no justice in sacrificing the one to the many. Mr. Spencer recognizes this, and aims to show that a wise egoism leads to altruism and conversely a wise altruism will lead to egoism. Thus there is "conciliation," and "compromise," and survival is secured. Unfortunately in the actual world this view does not always apply. In a vague, general way, it is valid, but when applied to the details of life it is unsufficient. How shall we reconcile egoism and altruism when it is a question of carrying help into a yellow-fever district, or when life is worn away in caring for the helpless and useless? If there were some outlook upon the heavenly and the eternal the solution would be easy, but when one is dead forever, it is hard to see how the "compromise" is possible. Compromise can be effected only while both parties are alive. Theoretically there is no escape for the Spencerian from admitting that when the law of duty brings us into such straits as these, we may rightly draw back. Indeed, Mr. Spencer rather boasts that he has made ethics pleasant. The current views of duty are stern, severe, and forbidding. He aims to show a more excellent way. And it must be allowed that his doctrines are not pitched in a heroic key. In a theoretical world of tame, well-meaning people they might suffice, but they are too mild and insipid altogether for the actual world and its abnormal relations. They are the ethics of the well-fed and prosperous. Of the tragical issues between

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right and wrong, of the terrible dilemmas of conscience, they say nothing. They do not suffice for the half-starved operative, or the terribly-tempted man of business. The hero and the martyr would look in vain to them for inspiration, and dark temptations to hidden crime find in them no barrier. Perhaps Mr. Spencer would say that his ethics is only meant for a normal order, and express only the conditions of the ideal moral state, but in that case we are left without any ethics for the actual and abnormal. What are we tempted men and women to do here and now, where faithfulness often means loss and ruin, and where death is forever putting an end to all chances to "compromise?" We need guidance for our own action, and not for the good time coming. We believe, indeed, with Mr. Spencer, that the laws of righteousness are the conditions of social equilibrium, and in general of individual well-being. But while man endures men are dying, and in the present abnormal state of affairs the law of duty is often too large for earthly comfort. The Greek and Roman moralists saw this clearly. Aristotle has pointed out that virtue may lead to the "last things," to shame and torture and death, and, having no outlook upon the heavenly, he wavers as to what should be done in these extremities. What shall we do when, from an earthly stand-point, duty does not pay? Here is one of the antinomies of conscience. Reason and conscience alike insist that no law can be binding which does not exist for the good of all its subjects. When, then, duty appears too large for our earthly comfort, there is but one alternative: Either we must enlarge the life to fit the law, or we must cut down the law to fit the life. Christianity and the great masters in morals do the former. Mr. Spencer ought to do the latter; but in general he ignores all these deeper questions and offers his sweetened-water theories with the most blissful confidence in their sufficiency. It would not be surprising, however, if some Spencerian should flame out at this point with some of the old-fashioned intuitional morality, and should affirm the eternal sacredness of duty apart from any consideration of consequences or of length of life; but such an exhibition would only be a new example of the illogical ways of the plexuses and the nascent motor excitations.

Thus we have outlined Mr. Spencer's ethical teachings.

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Upon the whole, we cannot think highly of them. The old epigram applies perfectly, the new is not good, and the good is not new. But by the aid of an inflated terminology he has succeeded in giving an air of novelty to familiar commonplaces. He has made some excellent, and more mistaken, criticisms of other ethical views. If when he had finished he had directed the same critical attention upon his own theory, the results would have been highly beneficial. The "Data of Ethics" would probably have remained unpublished, that is, of course, if the plexuses and the nascent motor excitations would have let logic have its way. Perhaps in another article we may attempt some detailed criticism, under favor, that is, of the editor as well as of the excitations.

Art. III. — THE FRENCH REFORMED CHURCH, ITS SYNOD OF 1872 AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]*

In our preceding article we saw the opening of the National Synod convoked by the decree of November 29, 1872. At present we shall briefly consider the proceedings of the Synod, the subsequent attitude of the two parties in the Church, and the recent *status* of French Protestantism in the matter of education and evangelization, with a word concerning its prospects.

I. The Debates and Conclusions of the Synod.

Besides the official report, we have from M. Bersier a valuable account of these proceedings.† The session of the Synod extended from June 6 to July 10. Aside from the details of a new organic law, three main questions arose for determination. First, The competency of the present Synod to act as the supreme authority of the Church. Second, The propriety of formulating a Confession of Faith, and the terms of such Confession. Third, The obligatory character of the Confession and the religious qualification of electors. We are chiefly interested in the treatment of these points.

* It is to be observed that this Article is printed as it was written in Oct., 1879.

† *Histoire du Synode General de l'Eglise Réformé de France. Paris, 6 Juin—10 Juillet*, 1872. Eugène Bersier.

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1. The discussion of the first question was introduced by the presentation of a declaration from the consistory of Lyons, signed also by forty-two Liberal delegates, to the effect that since the present Synod was constituted by elections from the several consistories on a basis of numerical inequality, the first and only duty of the Synod was to provide for a new election on a more equitable plan; and that, therefore, no supreme judicial authority could be accorded to the Synod in any action it might take, the establishment of a Confession of Faith being least of all within its province. It was asserted that one consistory, that of Paris, embraced thirty thousand persons, while some others numbered not over six hundred; that twenty-seven consistories, embracing one hundred and sixty thousand Protestants, were not represented; that the Law of Germinal having made no mention of National Synods, virtually abolished them, and that, at all events, the system of synodal government had lapsed by desuetude.

On the other hand, it was argued that the decree of convocation had done well in respecting the original rights of the separate consistories or individual presbyterial bodies, notwithstanding imperfections which might exist in the proportional allowance of delegates; and that it was not the Protestant population, in a civil sense, which constituted the Church, as claimed by the Left. M. Laurens affirmed that the silence of the Law of Germinal concerning the National Synods could not be construed into an abolition of them, the former discipline of the Church being in that document specially recognized; that "on the very day when the government pronounced the moment as opportune for the convocation of a National Synod, the Reformed Church then found itself in full possession of its ancient and complete organization;" that, in point of legal form, the law of 1802 and the decree of March 26, 1852, being the only basis, the decree of November 29, convoking the Synod, plants itself on both these enactments, and is, therefore, "whether in principle, or form, or intent, as perfectly legal as any thing can possibly be." As the result, an "order of the day," which treated the calling of the Synod as a recognition of the "liberty and autonomy of the Reformed Church of France in religious matters," and asserted the supreme authority of the Synod under Government over the con-

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stitution of the Church, including the power to modify the electoral system, was adopted by a vote of sixty-one to forty-five.

2. In reference to the second question, M. Bois had presented on the third day for adoption the following Confession of Faith: "At the moment when she takes up the continuity of her Synods, interrupted for so many years, the Reformed Church of France feels above all things the need of returning thanks to God, and of testifying her love to Jesus Christ her divine head, who has upheld and comforted her during the course of her trials. She declares by the organ of her representatives that she remains constant to the principles of faith and liberty on which she was founded. With her fathers and martyrs in the Confession of La Rochelle, with all the Churches of the Reformation in their different creeds, she proclaims the sovereign authority of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith, and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, Only Son of God, who died for our offenses and was raised again for our justification. She, therefore, preserves and maintains at the basis of her teaching, her worship, and her discipline, the grand Christian facts represented in her sacraments, celebrated in her religious solemnities, and expressed in her liturgies, notably in the Confession of Sins, the Apostles' Creed, and the Liturgy of the Lord's Supper."

This was the brief and moderate expression of the evangelical faith which the party of the Right undertook to defend, and finally contented itself to affirm. In view of the fact that the majority of the Synod would probably insist upon some doctrinal declaration, the Left at once came forward, in the person of M. Gaufrès, with a substitute for the above confession, to the effect that, "as taught by the Fathers a true knowledge of the Gospel is to be found in the sacred Scriptures," and that "the existing divergencies of belief should not be allowed to break the unity of the Church, where all were following the same source of light, the Bible; and all found there the same Master, Jesus Christ; the same Father—God, who invites all to the one hope of eternal life and the one pursuit of moral perfection." The Left Center presented a proposition which differed from this simply in a more distinct affirmation of the divine Sonship of Christ. Certain amendments to the proposition of M. Bois were also suggested from the Liberal side. Petitions were presented from different consistories,

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synods, and pastoral conferences on this subject, containing very diverse views.

The position of the Liberals was defended with great ability, the arguments of the speakers being chiefly directed against the adoption of any formal creed regarded as obligatory. The proposition of M. Bois was also specially criticised. M. Pécaut affirmed that the chief interest of the Reformed Church at the present day was the avoidance of schism and the destructive effects which would necessarily follow continuous divisions; that Protestantism is truly preserved only by securing the individual independence of all human authority in the study of morals and revelation. To undertake to make a formula of faith obligatory would be but to repeat the futile attempts of former councils and synods to determine the position of the columns of Hercules, which has been as often unsettled. A national Church, properly considered, is neither a sect nor a sacramental institution, but a community of fellow-countrymen, where we may heartily sympathize in religious sentiment and co-operate with a multitude of persons who differ from us in opinion. M. Clamageran, a lawyer, made a historical plea, asserting that the Reformed Church grew rapidly and with a prospect of large success in France, from 1521 to 1559, without a formal dogmatic union; and that with the adoption of a creed the vigorous life of the Reformation was arrested. He also argued that dogmatic formulas could not preserve a people from the intrusions of error; that they gave occasions for hypocritical professions of faith, and only tended, within the pale of Protestantism, to the multiplication of sects.

No one spoke on the Liberal side with more solid ability than M. Fontanès. Having criticised M. Bois' proposition, not very forcibly, indeed, as being devoid of clearness, adaptability to popular comprehension and genuine life, he proceeded to assert that diversity of opinion in the Church was rather to be welcomed as a proof of the ennoblement of the individual, the intensity of his religious, and sincerity of his mental, life. Religion is a sentiment of the soul and not a conviction of the intellect. Dogma is only secondary, the product of reflection, and cannot be proposed as the condition of religious life. We should guard against making a breach upon the spirit of morality by weakening the power of individual belief. The apostles

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had the tact to preserve the unity of the Church in their time, notwithstanding the prevailing diversities of opinion. In the attempt to secure dogmatic unity, the venerable traditions and powerful organization of the Vatican have always the advantage. "If you would achieve," said M. Fontanès, "a grand success, and offer an asylum to humanity weary of this ritual and dogmatic Christianity, which seem to stand as an obstacle to civilization, form a Church of liberty, of love; a Church which promotes union rather than division. France has lost its faith in Catholic dogmas, but is not yet freed from the spirit of Catholicism; offer to it a grand example of liberality and sympathy; bring healing to the country by demonstrating your respect for liberty of conscience."

M. A. Coquerel spoke with his usual vivacity. He affirmed that there have always been Liberals in the Church, while they have especially asserted their presence during the last seventy years, since the legal reconstruction. "For my part," said he, "I have assumed but one obligation, that of preaching the gospel according to my conscience." The faith of the Liberals is as intense and as living as that of the Evangelicals. Their number is also very considerable, even in the Churches called Orthodox. Schism should be especially shunned and dreaded in the existing political crisis, in presence of the two enemies, the Romish Church and the Germans. M. Colani showed an intellect equally ready, but accompanied by greater learning and more penetrating in matter of criticism. He charged that the Orthodox party, in the proposition they had presented, had manifestly departed from the faith of the Fathers. The doctrine of predestination, the key-stone of the ancient arch, appears no more. Here is no mention of the Trinity, none of the divinity of Christ in the sense of the Nicene Creed. As to the doctrine of salvation, how is the statement to be understood? What does Paul mean precisely by the term, "raised again for our justification?" One passage in St. Paul's writing has had, indeed, three hundred and twenty-one interpretations put upon it. As to the Scriptures, the doctrine of literal interpretation is abandoned, and the proposition limits their authority to "matters of faith." But who determines what are "matters of faith." "I remain," said he, "in your Church; yes, in the Reformed Church of France, constituted as you are about to

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constitute it. I remain there by the same title as you yourselves, while denying every article of your Confession of Faith; and I remain even in the name of that Confession, since it declares itself submissive to the authority of the Scriptures, freely interpreted." It is a new thing to take the liturgies and sacraments as the basis of doctrine. The liturgy in general use is that of Geneva, which is pervaded by the spirit of the materializing philosophers, of the friends of Rousseau, and so destitute of the old orthodoxy that the men of the revival period did not cease to protest against it. The liturgies, moreover, have always been used with freedom, and have never been considered binding. M. Colani boldly disputed the miraculous facts asserted in the Apostles' Creed, and called the question of the physical resurrection of Christ "a Byzantine problem." In like manner M. Fontanès had asked, "How can the destiny of the corpse of Jesus Christ be a matter of vital concern for us?" Thus the extreme Liberal leaders made known the spirit of radical unbelief which animated them.

If the speeches uttered on the part of the Right were less brilliant than those of their opponents, they were, nevertheless, generally sound and reasonable. M. De l'Hombres replied to the principal charge of M. Colani, that "theological formulas may vary without altering the substance of belief," and that the present aim of the Right was simply to formulate the fundamental principles of a religious society. M. Bastie affirmed that the attempt to make sentiment the supreme bond of unity was absurd, since our sentiments are determined by our ideas, and that the body of the Church membership have a right to protect themselves against pastors who are at war with the ideas which have determined the whole religious current of their lives. M. Pernessin, a laymen, found the Liberals of the day to be not Protestants but Neo-Protestants. A Protestant, down to 1864, had been defined as one who exercised liberty of examination under the authority of Scripture; but the opposite party were now placing their reason above Scripture. In place of the fear of the Catholics or of any other enemy with which M. Coquerel had sought to alarm us, let us put the fear of God, and be guided by it alone. M. Delmas drew attention to the vigor of Protestantism in Scotland and the United States, where standards of faith had constituted the

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bond of denominational life. Indeed, the radical scheme could produce only moral impotency and the ultimate decadence of all religious power.

M. Guizot entered into the discussion in all the dignity of his character as a statesman and a philosopher. He took occasion to defend himself against the accusation of yielding to Romanizing tendencies in the opinions he had published concerning the temporal power of the Pope. While charitable toward Catholicism and its mission in France, and liberal in his treatment at the present session of the party of the Left, he yet showed himself an earnest believer in the ancient faith of Protestantism. The presence of the Synod and the sight of the open Bible above the seat of the moderator, suggested to him the grand associations of the past. "And have we gathered here," he said, "to form a new society, to proclaim a new faith? This I have not supposed for one moment." There can be no religious society without a common faith; a truth which has been manifested at every epoch and under the most diverse conditions. This common faith must be a faith in the supernatural. The greatest philosophers, as Socrates and Plato, have no more been able to found and maintain a religion by their philosophical principles alone than have statesmen such as Cæsar and Marcus Aurelius, by their power.

M. Bois finally appeared to defend his proposition and the right as well as duty of the Synod to give a formal expression to its faith. His address was remarkably able and persuasive. The Liberals, he said, claim a liberty for the pastor to speak as he pleases; but what of the rights of the laity, who, if they remain in the Church are compelled to listen? What is here claimed but the absolute omnipotence of the clergy, the very negation of the Protestant principle? There may be thus as many doctrines as preachers, which is division without limit. Changes introduced into the liturgies are illustrative of the same spirit of division. It is not a mere shadow of differences which separate the two parties in this discussion, but all the difference there is between truth and error. The natural and supernatural theories of religion are diametrically opposed. The right of rational examination of the Scriptures is granted; but "if such examination led me," said M. Bois, "to any other result than devout submission to the word of God, I should no

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longer call myself a Christian." It is true, there are differences of opinion among us as to the mode of inspiration; but "one belief dominates, for us of the Right, over all this discussion, namely: There is a supernatural revelation from God made to the human race, and the Bible is the book inspired with this revelation. Is that statement equivocal?" We are accused of using simple, popular, and indefinite terms in our proposition; but how great would have been the complaint had we used metaphysical terms! Christ is here called "the only begotten Son of God," by which expression his divinity is affirmed without entering into the metaphysical question of his precise relation in the essence of his being to the Father. We appeal to the liturgies as containing the expression of our faith to-day, because history would search for it in these rather than in the discourses of this or that pastor. It is not our object to decree, but simply to affirm definitely, the actual faith of our Church. This it is our duty to do. We do not pretend to give a full expression, but to state its essential points. "The fundamental question which separates the two parties is this: Is there, or is there not, a supernatural revelation from God? We want to determine whether Christianity is that revelation or not, and whether the Reformed Church which has hitherto professed Christianity desires to change its religion." The proposition of M. Bois, with a slight verbal modification, was adopted, June 20, by a vote of sixty-one to forty-five, as a formal expression of the present faith of the Church.

3. The question of making subscription to the Confession of Faith obligatory upon the pastors occupied three days, and involved a repetition of some of the points already made on either side. M. Laurens reported from the committee the proposition that "every candidate for the sacred ministry must declare, before receiving consecration, that he adheres to the faith of the Church as it has been determined by the General Synod."

M. Martin Paschoud, in opposing the proposition, said that, while the Church remained the same, its government, rules, and usage had changed. Such was the case with France itself, which was no longer the France of Henry II. The proposition contained the spirit of the ancient discipline; but Samuel Vincent had said that, "to put into effect the ancient discipline

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and Confession of Faith in the present era, would be a radical revolution, and nothing less than the annihilation of religion." M. Gaufrès compared the proposed action to that of the late Vatican Council, which had silenced its own liberal party by the decree of papal infallibility. He had rather hoped that the essential aim of the Reformation would be here cherished, in delivering Christianity from the yoke of ecclesiastical bondage.

In defense of the requirement, and in denial of the charge that its enforcement would naturally promote hypocrisy in the clergy, M. Delmas appealed again forcibly to the example of the Churches of Scotland and America. "Ah! gentlemen," said he, "that grand Anglo-Saxon race, educated by such Churches, has not been the nourisher of the Machiavels and the Tartuffes; but has rather displayed the most lofty examples of sincerity which the world has ever seen." Without some such requirement, to what vagaries shall we not be exposed? A highly respected Liberal pastor has even announced that, if he came to believe in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, he would preach it in his Church. M. Bois, in like manner, set forth the absurdity of the assumption that the pastor could justly perform his functions, and maintain harmony in the Church, while he is allowed free utterance for every change of opinion. "To-day Jesus Christ is represented as having died for our offenses; to-morrow, as having died only like all martyrs for the faith. To-day, he is raised for our justification; to-morrow, he remains in the tomb. To-day, the Scriptures are our rule of faith; to-morrow, they are but a respectable book from which each one may take what counsel pleases him best. Behold this perpetual change erected into a system! And now what becomes of the flock? Poor flock, obliged to follow the strange pastor —what will become of it? Whither is it being conducted? What shall it believe?" Several substitutes were presented from the Liberal stand-point for the above form, such as, that the pastor shall engage to "respect" the main facts of Christianity as represented in the liturgies, etc.; but the original proposition prevailed by a vote of sixty-two to thirty-nine. As to the pastors already in office, their position was left untouched by this action.

Another part of the present question concerning the obligatory character of the Confession, which was determined indeed

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previously to the one just treated, was the proposal of a religious qualification for the electors of the several parishes. This is the broad and important question which had found a place throughout the agitations of the last few decades, namely, that of fixing with definiteness the character of the Reformed Church as a Church of believers rather than one of the multitude. It was not, however, in the immediate aspect here presented, discussed at great length in the Synod, the interest of the times being engaged rather about the position of the pastors.

M. Gaufrès regarded the Reformed Church as traditionally a Church of the multitude, and asserted that the fathers, though subscribing freely to the Confession of Faith for two hundred years, had done so generally without the spirit of critical examination, and without that idea of the distinction between the converted and non-converted which has arisen since the religious revival of 1820. It is now proposed to form the Church of those who profess themselves actuated by a certain class of Christian sentiments in distinction from the totality of Protestants. This is contrary to the modern spirit, to the principles of a universal priesthood, and of fraternity and equality among Christians. M. Etienne Coquerel considered the present as the central question before the Synod. It is the question whether the Synod has the right to impose dogma as the test of Church membership in the national Church. If this right is admitted, why may not each Synod impose what dogma it chooses?

On the other hand, it was said that, aside from faith in the Bible, there can be no such thing as a Protestant; that the fathers, men of the Bible, were really the founders of our modern liberties; that nothing could be worse than to continue the present state of uncertainty in all that concerns the faith and character of the Church. The following regulation was finally adopted: "Such persons are electors as declare themselves heartily attached to the Reformed Church, and to the revealed truth as it is contained in the sacred books of the Old and New Testaments." The conditions of electoral capacity in other respects, both civil and ecclesiastical, were to remain as before, except that the minimum age was reduced from thirty to twenty-five, and ability to read was required of all electors after January 1, 1875.

Thus were the great questions at issue determined in favor

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of the evangelical party. A minor proposition urged by the Liberals was that providing for a division of the consistory of Paris into two, or of establishing in the city a number of independent presbyterial councils. This idea had been broached long before, and was ably combated in the Synod, especially by M. Mettetal, and rejected. The scheme was designed to counteract the existing predominance of the Orthodox party in Paris, and would probably enable their opponents to capture the position in detail. There was no reason, it was said, for making Paris, in this way, an exception to other cities; and, from the relative location of the different classes in the several quarters of the city, such a division would be peculiarly inappropriate and disastrous to the interests of Protestantism. The authority of M. Coquerel, père, was quoted in support of this view.

The formal details of the Organic Articles and the Regulations to be established under sanction of the present Synod were fixed without much difficulty. The presbyterial councils which had been re-established by the law of 1852 are retained as subordinate to the consistories. The pastor, who must be a Frenchman by birth, twenty-five years of age, and possessed of a bachelor's degree from some one of the theological faculties recognized by the government, is nominated by the council, subject to the veto power of the consistory and ultimate appeal to the Provincial and General Synod. The council, consisting of the chief and assistant pastors in each parish, with a certain proportionate number of elders, is renewable by one half every three years. The consistory, embracing all the pastors within its jurisdiction, and a number of laymen elected from the councils double that of the pastors in chief, is renewable in entirety every three years. It determines the limits of the parishes, supervises the celebration of worship, the administration of discipline, the monetary and other affairs in the several parishes, and serves as intermediary between the council and the government, as also between the council and the Provincial Synod.

The Provincial Synod, whose territorial limit is fixed by the General Synod, is composed of as many members as there are pastors within its jurisdiction, one half being laymen, nominated by the councils, and chosen for three years. It assembles

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at such time and place as it may have designated at the preceding session. It nominates to the government candidates for the chairs in the faculties of theology. The members of the General Synod are chosen every three years, after the renewal of the presbyterial councils, and by the Provincial Synods, enlarged for the purpose by the accession of all the pastors not otherwise members within their several jurisdictions, and of the laymen elected for the purpose by each council. The delegates are apportioned at the rate of one to every six pastors, and consist of pastors and laymen in equal numbers. The General Synod may assemble annually at a place designated in the preceding session. Before the close of each session a permanent Commission is appointed, composed of three pastors and four laymen, to see to the execution of special enactments, and to make all necessary provision for the next session.

It remains to notice two or three propositions acted on provisionally by the Synod. One concerned a fusion of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, with petitions to that effect from various Lutheran and Reformed bodies. Nothing more definite than an expression of general desire for such union could be formulated. M. de l'Hombres presented a report in favor of the transference of the faculty of Montauban to Paris, and the addition there of chairs to be filled by Lutherans. Various opinions on the subject were expressed. The proposition of M. Colani, that the Synod favor the transference of both the faculties of Montauban (Reformed) and Strasburg (Lutheran) to Paris, and their fusion in one, prevailed by a small vote.

Several propositions were presented on the subject of the separation of Church and State. The desire for such a result seemed to be general with both Orthodox and Liberal parties, though opinions differed as to its present practicability. M. Colani proposed that the government be petitioned to suppress the budget of all the forms of worship from January 1, 1874, and that the Synod provide for the establishment of a central treasury for the Reformed Church. The committee, M. Viguié chairman, to whom the general subject was referred, reported that it was not advisable to urge the separation of the Reformed Church from the State while the Catholic Church still enjoyed the advantages of State support; since that condition of things

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would place the Catholics before the people in the attitude of being the sole national Church, and remand the Protestants to a perilous position of social inferiority. It was believed that, on the whole, the time had not yet arrived for such separation. The following conclusion of the report was adopted as the voice of the Synod: "The General Synod, regarding the reciprocal independence of Church and State as the principle suited to the constitution of modern society, and convinced that the Reformed Church of France is disposed to accept with confidence a separation from the State whenever such separation shall be made applicable by the civil authority to all forms of worship, now invites the Church to prepare itself for such a change of relations."

The Synod appointed, according to the established regulation, a permanent Commission, consisting of MM. Vernes, Bastie, and Bois, (pastors,) and MM. Cazenove, Mettetal, and Pelon, (laymen,) through whom the new constitution and discipline of the Church was to be presented to the government for its sanction, this sanction being essential to give legal force to the regulations adopted. A second session was appointed for November 15, of the same year, but through the delay of action on the part of the government it has never yet met.

We have thus endeavored to present in considerable detail, and with distinctness, the action and conclusions of the Synod of 1872, in order that the complicated affairs of the Reformed Church in France, and the events from time to time transpiring, in the present crucial period, in its relation to the State and in relation to the parties composing it, may be better understood.

II. The Subsequent Attitude of the Two Parties in the Church.

As is made apparent in our former article, the proposed convocation of the Synod was regarded with great disfavor by the Liberals; and we now find its decision, as was anticipated, conformed to the views of the Orthodox party. Such was the formal result achieved. The alarm and irritation of the Liberals, however, arose, as is well understood, from the fear that the government would actually put the new regulations in force. This they considered a positive invasion of their legal rights. The Liberal journals strongly denounced the action of the Synod,

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and for several months thereafter some of the pastors of this school were engaged in exciting a spirit of opposition among the congregations. About forty consistories out of one hundred and three adopted a protest against the proceedings of the Synod. The Liberals in Paris made various movements, such as applying directly to the President for the formation of a second consistory in Paris, to involve the surrender of the Oratoire and other churches to them, and proposing to secularize the consistories in general, making them only administrative and devoid of jurisdiction in questions of doctrine.

This persistency of revolt against the Synod, as authoritative and compulsory, had been foreseen. Though the right of liberalism, in its present radical form, to any privilege in the Reformed Church was absolutely denied by some, as by M. Doumergue, editor of *Le Christianisme au XIX^e^ siècle*, yet the majority of the Orthodox party have been inclined to a lenient position; not proposing to urge the government to the use of extreme measures in applying the new electoral condition, and seeking to promote an "amicable separation" of the two parties, with a just partition of church property and government support. M. Pressensé, from his position in the Free Church, has continually pressed this view upon the Orthodox leaders. Before the assembly of the Synod he commended such a separation as the only just solution of the problem, since the Liberals held their position in the National Church by the usage of the century, and so by *historic right*. The schism will involve difficulties, and must be the precursor of a separation of the Reformed Church from the State. "But," says M. Pressensé, "whenever the religious and intellectual life has awakened in a Church, the opposing tendencies appear, and the administration inclosure becomes the arena of the hottest and most perplexing conflict, because the civil tie preserves a fictitious unity. It is the true torture of Mezentius—tying corpses face to face with living persons. When Churches reach this point there is nothing for them but to separate from the State." Several Evangelical pastoral conferences soon expressed themselves in this sense. Such separation was asked for in a letter addressed to the government by a meeting of Liberal delegates, being one third the members of the Synod held in the autumn of 1872. The following summer a body of Evangelical pastors in the

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south-west petitioned the Synodal Commission to the same effect, and expressed the hope that a new Synod would declare that the regulations are not to be imposed upon such parishes as decline to accept them.

As yet the sanction of the government, so much dreaded by the Liberals, had not been rendered to the determinations of the Synod. On February 28, 1874, however, the Confession of Faith, accompanied by the new electoral conditions, was officially promulgated by the Council of State. Minister Bardoux, nevertheless, announced to the Synodal Commission that "the religious guarantees of the electorate remain beyond the sphere of the government." An official committee was appointed to provide for "difficulties of application" in the law. This action of the government was bitterly denounced by the Liberals, and the Synod called a Protestant Pope, the Confession a Syllabus.

At the elections in April for the presbyterial councils great confusion prevailed. In Paris, out of two thousand five hundred and seventy-two electors, one thousand four hundred gave in formal adhesion to the new conditions. The remainder, for the most part, voted without regard to it, claiming a legal right so to do. In the country, also, there was little uniformity. This course of things put the Reformed Church in a more perplexing attitude toward the government than ever before, which was especially a disappointment to M. Thiers and M. Simon, who had confidently hoped for a harmonious result from the Synod. In October a government decree annulled the elections which had not conformed to the new condition. The forty-two Liberal consistories thereupon expressly declined to renew the elections, and petitioned the government for an equitable separation. Without an equitable division of property and support, however, they claimed the right to remain in the Reformed Church, advocating such opinions as their "consciences" might dictate. In April they appealed from the Minister of Public Worship, who had annulled the elections, to the Council of State. Meanwhile the whole evangelical press advocated leniency and the policy of equitable division, except the leading organ, *Le Christianisme au XIX^e^ siècle*, which called upon the Liberals to submit, or else abandon the name "Reformed." The prominent Orthodox leaders,

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also, seem to have influenced the government against conciliation; and, with the accessions to the Republican party in the State, in February, 1875, the opportunity for an amicable separation seems to have been lost, since a disturbance of the Liberals was now out of the question.

An apparent epoch in the complications was reached, however, when, in June, 1876, a body of delegates, called the "Pacification Committee," of the Liberal party, appointed at a Liberal conference, held in Paris in April, sought to form a compromise with the Commission of the Synod. The delegation declared itself, in a document dated June 14, "ready to accept the synodal presbyterial organization and the electoral condition; to acknowledge that the Confession of Faith is the expression of the general faith of the Church, and that the Confession cannot, either in itself or in its contents, be the object of attack by the pastors in the exercise of their functions." On its part the Synodal Commission agreed in substance to advocate at the coming Synod a modification of the ordination imposed upon the pastors, to the effect that they be simply required to read the Confession of Faith, while a change in the electoral law might be secured at the next Synod, and in any case the mode of its application was to be left to the *wisdom* of the several consistories. The Liberals at the same time agreed to withdraw their appeal to the Council of the State about the elections. This compromise was readily accepted by the Liberal Conference of Nismes, July 12, but under the express assumption that hereby "the Orthodox party have frankly acknowledged that in the bosom of Protestantism there undoubtedly exist two ecclesiastical principles, and that a *modus vivendi* must be found corresponding to both without sacrificing either to the other." On hearing of this very broad interpretation put upon their action, M. Bois and four other members of the Synodal Commission at once withdrew their names from the agreement. An Evangelical conference, held at Le Vigan, in the following autumn, rejected the compromise for the same reason. A conference, mostly of the Right Center, at Rouen, and one at Lille, in the same season, again proposed an adjustment not differing much from the one above mentioned. The Synod was to exercise no repressive authority over doctrinal utterances, except on complaint of the "competent authorities," which must

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mean the consistories and local presbyteries. The only subscription to be required of the electors was that they should listen to the reading of the required qualification. A truly unhappy situation is here implied—a Confession of Faith without any obligation, an electoral law without guarantee, a Synod without power. As in the relations between Church and State, so in the mutual attitude of the two parties, the action of the Synod seems only to have wrought confusion. For one step forward there have been two backward. The dispute appears interminable, and threatens to exhaust the spiritual force of the Church. Yet all have looked to a new Synod as a solution of the problem.

In the autumn of 1875, the decision of the Council of State on the renewal of the elections being still withheld, appeared M. Doumergue's pamphlet, "*L'unité de l'Eglise réformée*," which denied the existence of any occasion for schism, on the ground that the new liberalism, being properly rationalism, had no rights (*droit de cité*) within the Reformed Church. M. Sayou, of the Left Center, in *Le Régime synodale*, defended the authority of the Synod, and sought to persuade the Liberals to submit. The notable reply of M. Maurice Vernes, Liberal delegate, aimed at the same practical result from an extremely radical point of view. It attributed such a fluctuating tendency to theological opinions as to make subscription appear a matter of small scruple and easily rendered for the sake of peace and material advantage. M. Vernes though an applicant for a theological chair at Montauban, is the author of *Les idées messianiques*, wherein he exhibits a radicalism quite beyond that of MM. Colani and Réville concerning the authority of Jesus. The book was severely criticised by M. Pécaut in the Liberal journal *La Renaissance*.

While arguments thus drawn from the utter annihilation of the faith are applied to the pacification of the Church, and the government has seemed quite at a loss to know how it may put an end to the complications, the Churches have suffered from an unusual dearth of pastors. In the spring of 1877 forty-five pastorates were vacant. The cause lay partly in the poverty of the Churches, but also in the discords prevailing and the unsettled state of doctrinal opinions. The number of candidates for the ministry at the theological seminaries also considerably

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diminished. During this year MM. Bersier, Theodore and Ernest Monod, and John Bost, founder of the asylums at La Force, passed over from the Free Church to the National. The Church of *L'Etoile* was received as a mission and M. Bersier recognized as an assistant pastor. In a letter to a friend he announces his abandonment of the hopes he had vainly cherished, as an enthusiasm of his youth, for the abolition of the principle of State Churches and Concordats in the present epoch. He had, in 1873, decidedly approved the vernacular liturgical service of Père Hyacinthe, and the next year introduced it into his Church, besides certain observances hitherto characteristic of the Lutherans. In his published discourse, (pronounced June 3, 1877,) the accompanying preface, explanatory notes, and letter, he declares plainly for a sacramental Church, embracing all baptized persons, in distinction from a Church of "*professante*," or subscribers to a creed, which for the times is an institution too narrow and precarious. The principle of individualism is not adequate; the spiritual rights of the community at large must be regarded and fostered. The separation of the Protestant Church from the State at present would be disastrous to the cause of Protestantism. The Free Church has not succeeded in its enterprise. On the latter point M. Pressensé, in his criticism on the above publication, responds, "Pray let him tell us what has succeeded in our unhappy French Protestantism." Theodore Monod, son of Frederic Monod, accepted the Church of St. Marie. In his letter of acceptance he wrote, "Moreover, I am of opinion that I am thus [in returning to the National Church] in no wise unfaithful to the memory of my father, convinced as I am that he would not have dreamed of forsaking the National Church had the Synod of 1848 done what that of 1872 has done." The Free Church, though saddened by these losses, was not disheartened. It was cheered by the accession of the strong Church of Lyons to this union, and both branches of Protestantism have had reason to be encouraged by the growing influence of their principles and of their adherents in the country at large. An unusual destitution of the Churches with respect to settled pastors has, however, continued, sixty-one vacancies being reported in March, 1878.

Many elections, both regular and renewed, were held early in

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1877, where the Liberals subscribed to the new condition and prevailed with their votes. The Orthodox minorities thus found themselves under the official control of their opponents. M. Dufaure, Minister of Public Worship, and his successor, M. Martel, had issued circulars to the presidents of the consistories urging conciliation in the conduct of the elections. Two conferences of the opposite parties, however, held at Paris in April, pronounced against the late measures of compromise, the Orthodox taking extreme ground concerning the rights of the Synod. The Liberals again besought the government to reverse the decree annulling the illegal elections. They continued to prevent the confirmation of Theodore Monod, and petitioned again for a division of the Paris Consistory. A commission of Catholic lawyers, of which Dufaure was chairman, was appointed to examine into the legality of the proposed division. The only conclusion reached by the report was to recommend conciliatory action to the dominant party in the matter of pastors for Liberal congregations. An unusual event occurred in March, 1878, when a body of senators and deputies called before them certain members of the Liberal party to hear their complaints and learn their wishes, and thereupon agreed to petition Minister Bardoux for the establishment of two consistories at Paris and for the approval of all the elections held according to the law of 1852, besides certain action regarding the special elections of Mazamet and St. Foy. The minister acceded, but appeal was taken to the Council of State. In thus seeking or admitting government interference, the Liberals were but doing, in an irregular way, that for which they had blamed the Orthodox, who had sought to establish themselves by formal statute. After the lapse of many months, however, these vexed electoral questions have come no nearer a solution. Liberal pastors also continue their ministrations without subscription to the Synodal Confession of Faith.

A remarkable change has, however, lately occurred in the attitude of the government, which has seemingly proposed to cut the Gordian knot of party differences in the Reformed Church by resuscitating the powers of the Central Council established by the law of 1852. This is an institution of the empire, and an instrument of absolute control over Church affairs. Former members of the council had deceased, and the functions

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of the body were almost forgotten. The method of filling vacancies is not fully determined by statute. Its reorganization has been talked of since the last winter, and favored by the Liberals. The government assumed the right to fill vacancies by ministerial appointment, which resulted in the introduction of many Liberals, some being of the extreme radical type. The council met July 9. A project for the regulation of elections was presented, but decisive action deferred till the next session, to be held in October. It remains, at the present writing, to be seen whether this movement of the government will be so conducted as to render quite "abortive" the work of the Synod.

Another notable step in the direction of arbitrary governmental action, which occurred last April, was the appointment of two professors, MM. Viguié and Bonnet Maury, respectively to the vacant chairs of Practical Theology and Ecclesiastical History in the Paris faculty. The appointment was made without consulting either the consistories or the faculty, though the latter are considered to have given silent consent. A profound sensation was created by this action, and a formal protest will probably be presented by some of the consistories before the Council of State against such disregard of the Synodal provision for appointment to the professorial chairs. The ministers generally, however, are said to have approved beforehand the legality of the appointment. The delay of the Orthodox party in the Reformed Church to present candidates, through their dissatisfaction with the establishment of the faculty at Paris, and the undue eagerness of the Lutherans to possess the vacant chairs, may be justly blamed as the occasion for this step, and evangelical organs are urging upon their friends speedy action in the case of the vacant professorship at Montauban. The new professors were the candidates of the Liberal party, which has welcomed their appointment and the manner of it. The Liberal influence has manifest ascendency with the present government, which does not stop at arbitrary measures to satisfy it.

On the other hand, there have come into existence during the past year, as a means of action and defense for the Orthodox, the *synodes officieux*, or semi-official synods, the idea of which seems to have originated largely with the Montauban faculty in the autumn of 1878. The Orthodox Churches, or the minority Orthodox party in a Liberal Church, send delegates to a

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circonscription Synod. In two thirds or more of the *circonscriptions*, these free Synods, independent of State authority, are now formed, the scheme having been readily adopted by the Orthodox, and a General Synod of this kind, delegated from the *circonscriptions*, is expected to meet in Paris in November. The movement is naturally regarded as a large step toward the separation of the Orthodox portion of the Reformed Church from State dependence. Many of the Orthodox leaders anticipate from the action of such a Synod some happy deliverance from the present intolerable state of indecision and perplexity. The Synod will have assembled, and some advanced action entailing important consequences will perhaps have been taken before this article meets the eye of the reader.

In May last a delegation of forty-one presidents of consistories met in Paris, and assumed action, as an intermediate or prudential body in place of the Synodal Commission, which has been for a long time entirely inefficient. There is little hope at present that another National Synod will be summoned, and, indeed, the results attained by that of 1872 seem to be practically annulled. None the less was the assembling of the latter a highly important epoch, and the survey of subsequent events in the legal relations of the Church, though a tedious study, yet presents an important factor in the great religious problem which has been called the "Sphinx of France." When French Protestantism enters upon its grander career, then will the true significance of the struggles it is now undergoing in the trammels of the State subordination, established by the empire, be appreciated.*

III. We turn to glance for a moment at THE RECENT STATUS OF FRENCH PROTESTANTISM IN THE WORK OF EDUCATION AND EVANGELIZATION.

The interests of education in connection with the Church, while calling for some difference of opinion, have yet attracted in good degree a harmonious co-operation. The importance of the theological schools is confessed by all; and in the late dis-

* Authority for some of the above statements may be found in certain communications from M. Pressensé to the London *Christian World*, which have been reproduced by Professor Baird in the New York *Christian World*.

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cussions concerning the transfer of the Strasburg and Montauban faculties to Paris, both parties in the Reformed Church, and the whole Lutheran Church, have taken a lively interest. The theological seminary, founded by Antoine Court, at Lausanne, in 1730, directed by him during the remaining thirty years of his life, and subsequently transferred to Geneva, had furnished the Reformed Church with pastors almost exclusively, till Napoleon, in 1810, founded the theological faculty of Montauban, a small town not far from Toulouse. A Reformed seminary had, indeed, anciently existed there from 1598, and was suppressed by the Jesuits in 1661. A second seminary established at Lausanne and one at Neufchâtel also furnish pastors for the Reformed Church.

We have seen that the question of transferring the Montauban faculty to Paris was considered in the late Synod. This was not a new question, and the same arguments were used on either side as had been employed before. In 1834 a commission appointed by M. Guizot, then Minister of Public Instruction, to consider the needs of the Protestant schools, reported next year in favor of the foundation of a new theological faculty at Paris, and the strengthening of those at Montauban and Strasburg. Against the project of a faculty at Paris it was argued with much earnestness, in the Chamber, in the press, and elsewhere, that the moral atmosphere of Paris and the expense of living rendered it an unfit place for Protestant students; while the actual establishment of a faculty there would, on the whole, operate destructively upon the patronage of Montauban. The opposition came then, as of late, mainly from the Orthodox party. It was feared that the Liberal influence would predominate at Paris. In favor of the project it was urged that Protestantism languished precisely for the want of that larger contact with the world and that broader culture of its ministry which a faculty at Paris would secure for it. No action of the kind proposed, not even in strengthening the old faculties, was then taken, though the discussion was for a long time continued. The accession of MM. Jalaguier, (1834,) Monod, (1836,) and De Félice, (1839,) to the faculty of Montauban revived the prospects of the institution, and brought to it an era of greater influence.

The general awakening of energy incident to the establish-

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ment of the Republic after the war of 1871, and the attention directed to the subject of education, called up again the question of a Protestant faculty at Paris. A removal of the Lutheran faculty from Strasburg seemed necessary after the political changes, and the Lutheran Synod of 1872 petitioned for its transference to Paris. The Reformed Church, and especially the Orthodox party, were in doubt as to which course to favor about the faculty of Montauban. The influence of Paris life was dreaded, and at the same time courted. Many feared to leave Montauban in rivalry with Paris, yet the maintenance of an institution in the south seemed highly important. Probably the wisest suggestion has been that of transferring the Montauban faculty to Montpellier, where it would be associated with the provincial university. This plan would accord with the favorite national scheme of fostering such provincial establishments, and would give the faculty a rank corresponding to the Catholic universities now organized. The Protestant institution would be in the bosom of the Huguenot population of the departments Gard and Hérault, equally distant from those of Ardèche and Drôme, where are one hundred thousand Protestants, of Tarn and of Tarne-et-Garonne. As yet the faculty remains at Montauban.

In 1873 a free school of theological science was opened in Paris, with the general co-operation of leading Protestants, Reformed and Lutheran. It was not designed to form a new theological faculty, but "to offer solid and serious theological instruction in courses of lectures which will supplement the teachings given in the faculties." An extensive library was to be attached to the school, and prizes were offered for papers on specified subjects. The course was opened December 1, and lectures delivered by MM. Pressensé, Lichtenberger, Hollard, Bersier, Sabatier, Matter, and Doumergue. The rapid advance of the Catholics in securing the right to organize education under exclusive control of the Church, first in the primary and secondary grades, and, in 1875, in the foundation of universities, hastened the determination of the Protestants to erect their new school, if possible, into a full faculty of theology. The government, however, took other and welcome action. M. Waddington, the Minister of Public Instruction, issued a decree March 27, 1877, transferring the faculty of Strasburg to Paris,

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or, rather, reorganizing it there. The faculty, consisting of M. Lichtenberger, Dean, and Profs. Matter, Berger, and Sabatier, were formally installed June 1, 1877, under the auspices of the *Recteur de l'Academie de Paris*, in the ancient *Collège Rollin*, Rue Lhomond, near the Pantheon. This was a great day for Protestantism, the jealousy of the Sorbonne having forbidden any such establishment in Paris, even during the happiest times of the Edict of Nantes. Eight scholarships were granted by the government of eight hundred francs each. Two chairs were left to be filled by the Reformed Church, but the Synodal Commission has delayed action, and the Lutherans have sought to occupy the positions. The important new action of the government has been noticed above. In August, 1878, the faculty graduated five students. The same number of candidates for the ministry were presented by Montauban. This seems to be a feeble showing for the hope of the French Protestant Church. There were not, indeed, last year, over one hundred theological students in all the schools.

In the matter of general public education the Protestants have shown a worthy interest. The position which the Protestants have maintained, and the wide influence they are now able to exert, notwithstanding the civil disabilities so long endured, demonstrates their thorough devotion to the work of education within their own fold. They have not, however, built up distinct institutions of the secondary grade to any notable extent. For the education of their sons they have depended upon the government colleges or lyceums, which furnish all that is necessary for intellectual training. Private schools for girls as well as for boys, or *pensions*, exist in Paris and in the provinces. There are two or three preparatory theological schools: that at the Batignolles, in Paris, under the auspices of the *Société Centrale*, which has given a large number of candidates to the ministry, being well known.

Special attention has been bestowed upon the work of primary instruction. The "Society for the Promotion of Primary Instruction among the Protestants of France," founded in 1830, has sent out over twelve hundred breveted teachers from its normal schools, and some thirteen hundred schools have been through its aid transformed into communal schools under government support. Of late, however, fears are entertained that,

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in presence of the new energy displayed in the government and Catholic schools, the Protestant private schools in Paris, of which there are nearly one hundred, more than one third being of the National Reformed Church, will lose their relative position. Funds are lacking to supply the teachers necessary for the modern system of division in the work of instruction. The private schools with lay instructors have been losing ground generally in France before the advance of the government system and the powerful Roman ecclesiasticism. This appears from the report of M. Bardoux, published in August, 1878. From 1854 to 1865 one hundred and sixty-eight such institutions of secondary grade perished; from 1865–76, one hundred and sixty-three. At present only four hundred and ninety-four remain in France. In twenty years, at this rate, all will disappear. "Ce sera," says the report, "le duel de la caserne et du couvent." The late rapid progress of primary instruction is shown in the report of M. Gréard, Director of Public Instruction in Paris—*L'enseignement primaire à Paris de* 1865 *à* 1877—which was open for inspection at the Exposition of 1878. The percentage of children at school was, in 1831, before the law of 1833, 16.67; in 1836, 20.86; in 1856, 21.68; in 1866, 27.63; in 1873, 30.54; in 1875, 39,61, an increase of 9.17 per cent. in three years. Still, one third of the pupils, or 66.490, were in the free schools. Protestantism will need to display great energy to maintain itself as a distinct factor in this educational development, though we may, of course, anticipate that the general spread of education will awaken increase of favor toward the Protestant principle.

We will now review briefly the direct work of evangelization. During and immediately after the war of 1871 some of the secular papers uttered repeated lamentations over the dearth of religious faith. "Does any moral life exist in France?" said the *Siècle:* and further: "What we want is, to change our hearts." The Protestants in Paris, during the excitement, seemed timid about aggressive evangelistic work, though the popular feeling was favorable to them from its reaction against the priests. In October, 1871, the Evangelical Home Missionary Society was founded at Nismes, embracing the various branches of Protestantism. Next year the Protestant pastors were surprised at the ready reception they met when they opened pub-

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lic halls for preaching. In 1873 Pastor Armand de Lille, whose zeal was exceptional in 1871, had marked success in his meetings for the middle classes in Paris. These meetings, held in Rue Royale, have since continued to grow in power, as was manifest particularly in 1877. In 1874 very successful union meetings were held in Paris by the excellent Theodore Monod, who prosecuted from year to year his itinerating labors for the new Home Mission. Interesting revivals occurred from time to time in the Haute-Loire, Ardèche, and Gard, as also in the winter and spring of 1875 at Montmeyran, and in the Drôme, the old home of religious zeal, and at Marseilles.

In the winter of 1876–77 remarkable openings for evangelization appeared in the departments lying farther to the north of Yonne, Côte d'Or, Nièvre, and Creuse, where Catholic communities *en masse*, and whole villages, petitioned for the labors of Protestant pastors. In 1877 occurred the notable conversion to Protestantism of M. Bouchard, counselor of Côte d'Or; M. Turquet, deputy of Aisne; M. Renouvier, editor of *La Critique Philosophique;* and M. Réveillaud, editor of a republican paper at Troyes. The latter, during the next year, advanced to so ardent a spiritual experience that he declined the editorship of the proposed new Protestant daily paper, and became an evangelist of the Reformed Church. His itinerant labors in the center and west of France, in connection with M. Dardier, of the Geneva Evangelical Society, during the past winter, were attended with marked success, as reported at the meeting of the Home Mission Society in April. At St. Quentin he found a Church of fourteen hundred members, nearly all converts of several years past from Romanism. A successful Methodist Church, constituted in like manner, was found at Thiers. Crowds of people, among whom the best order prevailed, every where heard his addresses. Catholic churches were in some cases transferred by the municipality to the purposes of Protestant worship. New Protestant schools were opened. Special interest was taken in the work progressing in La Creuse, under M. Hirsch, a converted Jew. "I dwell more particularly," says M. Réveillaud, "upon the sentiment manifest in the rural districts, because the favorable reception accorded in the cities to public addresses on the subject of Protestantism is now well known." A committee was formed at

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Paris, in April last, to devise and establish, if possible, a systematic scheme of public addresses on Protestantism throughout France. The report of M. Lelièvre, editor of the *Evangelists*, to the late Basle Conference, on evangelization in France, is replete with interest.

The different societies have, in their yearly reports, given at the May anniversaries, varied between encouragement and hope. They have lately suffered more or less in their resources from the business derangement of the times, especially such as have depended considerably upon foreign aid. A cheerful enthusiasm naturally pervaded the assemblies this year. About one million francs was reported as the aggregate contribution for all work.

Chief among the strictly evangelization societies is the *Société évangelique de France*, a union organization founded in 1833 to labor among the Catholic population. It reports unusual success this year, and, by the efforts of Pasteur Fisch, has happily passed a financial crisis. The *Société Centrale Protestante*, founded in 1845, is a Church extension society of the Reformed Church, and sustains the Batignolles preparatory school. The Church seems to owe its present Orthodox majority to the labors of this society. It supports one hundred and thirty-nine agents, and works now in three hundred and twenty localities, scattered through sixty-seven departments and the colonies. It expends two hundred and twenty-five thousand francs. *La mission intérieure évangelique*, founded at Nismes in 1871, as above mentioned, was formed under the impulse of a high enthusiasm, and designed to unite all Christians, pastors and laymen, men and women, by the formation of *groupes* throughout the country, in practical schemes of evangelization. It issues a monthly *Bulletin*, and is now doing encouraging work. There is also a *Commission d'évangélization des Eglises libres*. Of the foreign societies devoted to the interests of evangelization in France the chief is the *Société évangélique de Genève*, founded in 1831, and the oldest evangelical society on the continent. It had lately twenty-four theological students in its seminary. It employs fifteen pastors and teachers and fifty-six colporteurs. The *Société de Neufchâtel pour l'évangélization de France*, founded in 1871, and having its origin in a mission to the disbanded soldiers, sends a Bible carriage

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over the country under M. Pointet, which has already visited fifty departments. There is a *Société des Missions* at Paris, to sustain foreign missionary work, which is carried on just now with encouragement in Africa. The society was founded in 1822, and had several auxiliaries, scarce any of which now exist. The sum of last year's contributions was 140,000 francs. France has furnished the society thirty-seven missionaries in all. The *Journal des missions évangéliques* has but seven hundred and fourteen paying subscribers. There is, besides, the *Petit Messager*, but the missionary literature is extremely limited.*

For religious work at home there are effective popular publications such as, *L'ami de la jeunesse*, originated by Rev. Mark Wilks, in 1825; *L'ami de la maison*; and *La chambre haute*. In this connection the larger journals may be enumerated, which are the organs of some branch or party of the Church. *Le Témoiguage*, published at Paris, is the Lutheran organ; *Le Christianisme au XIX• Siècle*, (Paris,) M. Doumergue, editor, represents the Orthodox party of the Reformed Church; *La Renaissance*, (Paris,) M. Etienne Coquerel, editor, the Liberal party; *L'Eglise libre*, (Nice,) M. Pilatte, editor, the Free Church; *L'Evangeliste*, (Nismes,)† Wesleyan, M. Lelièvre, editor, naturally favors the Orthodox party, and also the Free-Church principle. The new *Journal du Protestantisme Francais*, (Paris,) MM. Byse and Lichtenberger, editors, represents the Left Center. *Le Signal*, a small weekly established April, 1879, at Paris, in the general interests of Protestantism, M. Réveillaud, editor, is well received. The daily paper, *Le Réformateur*, established at Paris in April, 1879, from which so much was expected, soon proved a lamentable failure, being injudiciously conducted. The *Revue Chrétienne*, (Paris,) M. Pressensé, editor, is an able organ of the Orthodox faith and of Free-Church principles. The *Revue de Théologie*, (Strasburg,) Liberal, long since ceased to appear.

Heretofore some of the most successful gospel workers in France have been foreigners, chiefly from England and Switz-

* For a notice of the various other organizations, home and foreign Bible societies, tract, educational, and charitable societies, see the *Revue Chrétienne* for September, 1878.

† *L'Evangeliste* is to be transferred to Paris.

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erland. During the present decade the cause of evangelization in Paris has been greatly indebted to Rev. R. W. M'All, of Scotland, who opened meetings for the working classes in 1871. His labors have attracted great attention, and have been constantly extending. The report of last year gave 22 stations, 4,694 sittings, an aggregate attendance of about 500,000 at both adults' and children's meetings. The appearance of Protestant propagandism is avoided at these gatherings, but those interested are ultimately directed to the Churches. Mr. M'All has recently opened similar meetings in Lyons and Bordeaux, while new workers have followed his example in Marseilles and other cities. Miss De Broen, "an English lady with a French heart," has distinguished herself by systematic work for the common people at Belleville, in Paris, which, begun among the Communists in 1871, has grown to large proportions. The agencies employed are a medical mission, evangelistic meetings, sewing classes, day-schools, night-schools, Sunday-schools, Bible classes, a Sunday library, and house to house visitation. The priests say: "We cannot go into a house in Belleville without finding a Bible, or portion of Scripture, on every chair." New enterprises have been opened in Paris this year. It is an era of increased activity. An evangelical reading-room in the students' quarter, and Prof. Delaunay's meetings, are to be noted. Mr. Weylland, of the London City Mission, went over to Paris, under encouragement from the Earl of Shaftesbury, to organize a like work for the French capital. Truly, "the harvest is great" in those great cities. The committee to direct this mission consists chiefly of French pastors and laymen, with some English residents.

The caution above referred to as exercised in the case of Mr. M'All's meetings shows what power the law, which might be applied in the interest of Romanism, still has over religious assemblies. M. Gide, of the faculty of law at Bordeaux, has shown in his pamphlet of last year, *La défense légale de la liberté religieuse*, how all the work of Protestant propagandism stands in peril of legal indictment. He says, "About all Protestant mission work is done in France among man-traps, and spring-guns, and toils and meshes, which, according to the good pleasure of the local administration, may be kept in abeyance or set in motion." This position of things arises from the ex-

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istence of Articles 291–294 of the Penal Code, and their constructive application to assemblies for religious purposes. Catholic influence has, under this construction of the law, interfered in several instances, since the establishment of the republic, with the work of Protestant evangelization.

We alluded in the former article to the prolonged and able debates conducted in the Chambers upon this point of the law during the reign of Louis Philippe, and to its application under the second empire. We can say but a word here concerning the distinguished efforts of M. Pressensé, while a member of the National Assembly, to secure an abolition or modification of the *autorisation préalable*; that is, a requirement of official sanction for the opening of new religious assemblies. Such a change in the law is highly essential to any proper development of religious life in France. M. Pressensé proposed his measure early in 1873 to the committee of the Assembly appointed to consider the subject of the "Liberty of Religious Assemblies," and was supported by such able statesmen as MM. Waddington, Bardoux, and D'Haussonville. The committee reported favorably through M. Bardoux in 1874. The speech of M. Pressensé before the committee and that of M. Bardoux before the Assembly ably reviewed the history during the present century of the relations between the State and the Church, and these speeches constitute a very notable passage in the history of French parliamentary debates on the religious question. The liberal law submitted by the committee awaited consideration, but ultimately failed of coming to a decisive vote. Another bill of like character was reported with good prospects early in 1877. Again, in March of the present year, M. Seignobos offered in the Chamber a bill of which the first article runs thus: "Meetings having as their sole object the celebration of religious worship are lawful if held in public, and if a previous declaration has been made to the local municipality."

The Ferry laws have, however, this year absorbed both legislative and popular attention. The leading Protestants seem generally to have favored the proposed limitation of the authority to confer degrees to the State, and the exclusion of the clergy from the Superior Council of public instruction where they had gained so much power under the reactionary law of

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1850, while there has been, perhaps, equal agreement in objecting to the principle of Article 7. It is argued that the Jesuits should be allowed equal privileges with other citizens, and that the safeguards deemed necessary should be established rather through additional general laws in respect to religious societies. M. Pressensé, says, in condemnation of Article 7: "We must absolutely reject this scandalous abandonment of the liberal idea of State authority, which annuls its character as a lay institution, and will eventuate in constituting it a pope for the benefit of an official irreligion."

IV. Concerning THE PROSPECTS OF PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE our limits allow but a word.

The ability of Protestants, notwithstanding their great numerical inferiority,* to hold many high posts in the government councils; the late notable conversion of eminent men from the ranks of Catholicism and infidelity; the number of able pamphlets lately issued for popular circulation, similar to the work of M. Réveillaud, presented in Professor Wells' article in a recent number of this Review, all urging upon the French people the necessity of a hearty adoption of Protestantism as the only hope of the nation; together with the wide-spread spirit of popular inquiry and desire for Protestant teaching, "an eagerness," it has been said, "which recalls the early days of the Reformation"—all these signs naturally inspire high hope for the success of Protestantism in France. M. Turquet, the newly converted deputy of Aisne, asserts that France may become Protestant in forty years. The older leaders by no means share such ardent expectation. It is pleasing to observe the patient confidence of so able a man as M. Réveillaud, who says in his late report: "If the result we wish requires long waiting, if it demands the effort of many generations, let us not be discouraged by that. Something has been achieved if we can

*The note in the First Article (October, 1879, p. 661) gives too large an estimate of the general Protestant population. Prof. Baird, author of the carefully written "History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France," thinks 1,000,000 may be taken as the extreme limit in such an estimate, the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine included, and 750,000 exclusive of these provinces; the truth being rather below than above these numbers. The figures given in the *text* (of the First Article) are more frequently quoted, though doubtless quite too low to express the full strength of Protestantism in France.

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arouse the attention of the people. . . . We must continue to plant like Paul, and water like Apollos, though with God remains the giving of the increase."

The new scheme of Père Hyacinthe, who still makes emphatic his adherence to Rome, though charitably received by the Protestants, seems, at present view, likely to be fruitless. Romanism does not meet the deep-felt want of the people, and is insufficient to save France. But at the present hour, above any strife of parties, as such, within the bosom of Protestantism, or any contention with Catholicism as a form of Church life, arises the demand for a firm and united struggle of spiritual faith with the power of unbelief. "A world without God," says *Le Témoignage*, "rushes up to the assault of all we love and all we worship; a generation is rising which believes in naught else but the gross enjoyments of sensual appetites. You are face to face with a moral epidemic such as our age has not previously seen." M. Pressensé uses similar language. "More than ever," says he, "are we struck with the fearful, almost tragic, gravity of the situation, which involves the very existence of Christianity. . . . And all sympathy should be accorded to those who are making any effort whatever to reanimate the trembling flame of a higher life." The peril of the present Republic is certainly as great from the assaults of infidelity as from the schemes of Romanism. We believe that ultimately a thoroughly spiritual and intelligent Protestantism can alone bring order out of the confusion, solve the riddle so unceasingly presented to the nation, and open the way to that career of moral power so suited to the lofty genius of the French people.

Art. IV.—F. H. JACOBI.

Nothing is quite so real to an animal as the food he eats and the bed he sleeps upon. We are all animals and something more, but there is a popular tendency among us to cherish the grossness of the animal, and to smother and starve the heaven-born part that struggles for recognition through perceptions more ethereal than the animal knows, and longings that the animal cannot feel and that material things can never satisfy.

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Assured that the meat by which man really grows is not that which nourishes the body, we do well to sit at the feet of those masters who offer to guide us out of this thralldom to the physical, and open our eyes upon the less palpable, but no less real, world in the midst of which we so unconsciously walk; for

> "The spirit world is not locked up;
> Thy feelings are closed, thy heart is dead."
> —GOETHE'S FAUST.

Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi stands foremost among those who were quite as sure of their spiritual vision as of their physical sight, and many has he helped to a better assurance of spiritual things.

He was a son of a Düsseldorf merchant, and in his early training was prepared, as far as possible, to assist and succeed his father. In 1759, at the age of sixteen, he was sent to Frankfort-on-the-Main to further pursue his mercantile education. All outward forces thus far drew him toward material pursuits; but an irrepressible force within prevailed over the constraint imposed by the elder Jacobi, and kept the young merchant busier with his meditations than he was with his accounts. This struggle between material interest and inclination continued for several years, even after his father had committed to his charge a valuable business and left a large estate for him to administer.

He had already, during a three-years' residence in Geneva, acquired a remarkable familiarity with the French language and literature, which added a prominent qualification for a literary life. The conscientiousness, also, which marked his whole life had appeared very early, and had cost him some ridicule from his fellow-students, because he could not tolerate the most common tricks and immoralities of business and of society. His developing mind seized upon the profoundest truths with a resolution that would leave nothing unmastered, so that, as the tradition runs, when he made the vain attempt to comprehend *infinity*, he fell fainting to the floor.

The inevitable abandonment of mercantile for literary pursuits was favored by the political appointments which he received from the government, first as councilor of finance of the cities of Berg and Juliers, and afterward as privy councilor

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at Munich. In the latter office he exposed the abuses of the Bavarian system of customs, and advocated greater liberty of commerce, thus bringing upon himself such bitter hostility that it soon drove him into retirement at Pempelfort, his country-seat near Düsseldorf. Here he devoted himself at last to philosophy, hospitality and epistolary communion with the most learned men of his age. With the help of his beautiful and intellectual wife, Jacobi made his home a literary center, second only to Weimar and the university towns. Among the guests at Pempelfort Goethe occasionally appeared, where he formed a strong and intimate attachment to his host, of whom he writes: "Jacobi's original and constitutional direction toward the inscrutable was in the highest degree welcome and genial. . . . At night, after we had already parted and withdrawn to our sleeping apartments, I would seek him again. The moonshine trembled on the broad Rhine; and we, standing at the window, reveled in the fullness of reciprocal giving and receiving." Again he writes, "And so we parted at last, with the blessed feeling of eternal union."

Jacobi has left us his impressions of Goethe at the same period: "From the crown of his head to the sole of his foot he was all genius, power, and strength, a spirit of fire with the wings of an eagle, . . . to whom it is allowed in scarcely any event to act otherwise than involuntarily."

A similarity is noticeable between the minds of these two remarkable men in respect to their extraordinary power of intuition; and Goethe himself confesses to some surprise that their "striving should take opposite directions."

Jacobi returned to Munich in 1804, upon the invitation of the newly founded academy of sciences in that city, of which, three years later, he was made president. This office he adorned for a few years, and then retired for a quiet, but literary evening of life at his country-seat. He died in 1819, having completed threescore and sixteen years.

The writings of Jacobi were very opportune, since, like most great souls, he was so in communion with the spirit of his age, that his own contributions to the world's thought were what the world then needed. He found men contending about the sources of knowledge and the elements of certainty. The problem thus prepared had great interest for him, and no less

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difficulty. It involved the foundation of all religious faith, and thus the weal of the race. Impelled at once by profound piety and ardent philanthropy, Jacobi addressed himself to this great philosophical question of the day. Giving the problem his deliberate study, he evolved a psychological theory no less profound than bold, which conflicted with leading doctrines of both Kant and Hume. Eminently practical was his every thought; it contemplated the nature of man, and aimed to satisfy the wants of his heart. No consideration stood before this, and every product of his formal thinking in solitude had to be sacrificed in the world's arena if found to conflict with the interests of humanity. Thus he established an equivocal name, as an atheist, a theist, and a mystic. It may be only partially the fault of his interpreters that before the general public he still bears the same unjust reputation. In general, however, it must be confessed that Jacobi has fared remarkably well at the hands of his critics. His spirit disarms hostility, and his name is almost invariably linked with terms of the greatest respect.

Jacobi's works are not voluminous or very systematic. "Never was it my aim," he declares, "to set up a system for the schools. My writings proceeded out of my inmost life. . . . I wrote them, so to speak, not myself, of my own free will, but urged on by a higher power which I could not resist." It may not be remarkable, since he wrote under such a conscious impulse from without, that his works lack the unity of plan which belongs to continuous effort. Yet this does not interfere with his conscious identity, or the permanence of his convictions. It was the same man who, as he confessed, was "a heathen in his understanding and a Christian in his feelings."

Jacobi's earliest works were "Edward Allwill's Correspondence," and "Woldemar," which contain many of his philosophical views incorporated in such romance as suited the taste and intelligence of the period. He has been severely criticised for allowing himself to sugar-coat his philosophy with sensational fiction of questionable moral tone. "Woldemar" especially has been criticised and applauded with equal zeal. A literary critic in the "Edinburgh Review" (1847) finds it even more astonishing that such a work should have come from the pen of "a serene and virtuous philosopher," than that it should have

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been so eagerly read, which latter he would otherwise consider the most astonishing thing in the world. The reviewer referred to, though he seems to base his criticism upon sound principles, may have overlooked the important fact that Jacobi aimed to establish in that work an argument against mere conventionalities, in favor of higher moral obligations and rights of the individual. Mrs. Sarah Austen, whom Macaulay calls "an interpreter between the mind of Germany and the mind of Britain," praises the literary character of Jacobi's fiction as "distinguished for vigorous painting; admirable delineation of nature and the human heart; warmth and depth of feeling; and a lively, bold, yet correct turn of expression." Professor Chalybaeus, with equal ardor, declares that "Jacobi's style, as remote from scholastic stiffness as from the superficial character of polite literature, will ever hold good as a model."

Works more exclusively philosophical and argumentative are the "Letters to Moses Mendelssohn," "David Hume on Faith; or, Idealism and Realism," and "Divine Things and their Revelation."

The first of these regards the doctrines of Spinoza, and the views of Lessing concerning them, Jacobi maintaining that, in a conversation with him, Lessing had confessed an inclination to accept the doctrines of Spinoza. Mendelssohn and some others claimed that in these letters Jacobi had attributed to Lessing a stronger devotion to Spinoza than was consistent with his published views, which so distinctly adopt the dualism of Descartes and Leibnitz that their author cannot be thought seriously to have entertained the pantheistic monism which Leibnitz chiefly controverted. But more important than this dispute about Lessing's views are the views advocated by the author of the work himself. These are, in brief, that all philosophical demonstration must end in Spinozism, which is fatalism and atheism, and that, to escape these evils, we must abandon demonstration and accept faith.

The work on "Idealism and Realism" convicted Kant of a radical defect in his "Critique of Pure Reason;" for, since Spinozism was essentially atheistic, Jacobi was eager to correct the errors of this popular Kantian philosophy, which system was perfectly compatible with his religious belief. He found, in Kant, that it is at once both indispensable and impossible

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that things in themselves should affect our sentient organisms. This contradiction is fatal to all that is built upon it. In his theoretical philosophy Kant admitted, however reluctantly, that unaided sensation yields no knowledge of the transcendental, but merely a multiplicity of impressions. In spite of this concession, he assumed, and ever maintained, the dualism of subject and object, while neither is the product of any visibly connected cause. Jacobi has, then, the distinguished merit of establishing against Kant the following point: The "Critique of Pure Reason" denies that any causal nexus can be found between thinking and any noumenal object or subject, while the "Critique of Practical Reason," ignoring the principle already laid down, boldly assumes the transcendental as revealed by the phenomenal. Kant attempted to find some impossible demonstration for that which is undeniable and needs none, and thus threw a character of uncertainty upon the most positive knowledge that we have.

The work entitled, "Divine Things and their Revelation," was Jacobi's last, and probably contains the best exposition of his distinguishing doctrines, especially his "faith-philosophy." For this philosophy its author never claimed a place beside other systems, but, perhaps even too hastily and modestly, granted the argument to philosophers whose conclusions were revolting to him, but whose methods seemed to him valid. He thus occupied an anomalous position, which must be explained in one of these two ways; namely, either Jacobi was in error in supposing that the head positively demanded pantheism and the heart Christianity, or we are constituted with a cruel and irreconcilable antinomy, waging perpetual war in the center of our being, and setting one member against another in a manner for which no development theory can account, and of which no beneficent Creator could be guilty. This is the most important error of which Jacobi can be convicted, as he himself clearly saw. He was fully aware that his doctrines must break into two opposed systems, one of which must be false, by the most positive principles of logical opposition.

An antinomy may well lie under the suspicion of being nothing more than a convenient name under which to cover the shortsightedness of men. Can God's laws conflict? or can it really be that both the affirmative and negative of any given

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proposition can be supported with equally strong proofs. By any given man, perhaps they may. In a boys' debating club they often are; but even the boys usually think that, if they knew all, the scale would promptly turn to one side or the other. With what reason, then, do men talk of antinomies as soon as the *pros* and *cons* seem to balance? It is clear that the data upon which rests one of the conflicting judgments must be either inaccurate or inadequate, unless there is a fallacy in the logic.

A supposed conflict of laws is sometimes attributed to the error of applying reason to matters beyond its sphere, as though there were spheres where reason could mislead, or where it were better, forsooth, to be unreasonable. Both Locke, in his "Essay Concerning the Human Understanding," and Kant, in his "Critique of Pure Reason," have given expression to views of which this would be a bald, but perhaps not altogether unfair, statement. Not the excess, but the deficiency, of reason leads to error; and laws which really conflict must be human. The Creator of the macrocosm created also the microcosm, and "I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs." Rob the world of the faith that all things fit into the harmonious plan of the Author of all, and the philosophy of history, and the grand system of correlated sciences, which thrill us with enthusiastic delight as they unfold before us, would, like bright dreams or punctured bubbles, vanish from the earth. All forms of matter, and all the faculties of the mind, must be supposed to be governed by harmonious laws, and enter, as coordinate elements, into the plan of the universe; else we impeach either the power, wisdom, or goodness of God.

Jacobi's philosophical creed developed at a time when the prevailing philosophy was Kant's, with all the admiration that belonged to its freshest triumphs. No other theme was so prominent as that to which, a century earlier, Locke had drawn very general attention—the question of the powers and limitations of the human understanding. After making experience the basis of all our knowledge, Locke was so unfortunate in his explanation of the origin of our ideas that Cousin easily convicted him of laying an excellent foundation for that sensationalism for which Hobbes and Condillac acknowledged their indebtedness to him, however distasteful such thanks might be.

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It may not seem unnatural that Hobbes should derive from Locke's representative theory of perception his subtile corporeal spirit to replace the second member of Descartes' dualism, but it is far more startling to find Bishop Berkeley, with "every virtue under heaven," establishing upon the same basis a thorough-going idealism, and successfully maintaining his ground against the whole sensational school. To exhaust the strange possibilities of the case, Hume, again, accepting both Locke and Berkeley, advanced one fatal but inevitable step further, and, consigning mind to the same fate that matter had suffered at the hands of Berkeley, established a skeptical nihilism, which no subsequent philosopher has been able to refute without revising the whole foundation of the system upon which it rested. This task called for the genius of a Kant. He was able to reconstruct the principles of knowledge upon the ruins to which Locke's system had been reduced by the twofold *reductio ad absurdum* of Berkeley and Hume. In doing so, however, though he gained the foremost place among the metaphysicians of his age, he committed an error hardly inferior to Locke's, and quite as difficult to throw off. Locke perceived only images of things, that, so far as he could show, might have no corresponding external objects behind them. Kant, on the other hand, perceived only phenomena, and knew nothing of the things in themselves, which are manifest only in the phenomena. For both alike objects were implied as the originals of the images of the one, and as the principals behind the phenomena of the other. Both alike have furnished a basis upon which logical minds have built up systems that have violated the plainest dicta of common sense. Every body but a few philosophers thinks he knows that he walks in an actual physical world, and among other men like himself, while, according to Locke and Kant, pure reason teaches nothing of the sort; but rather that the world which we see is within us, and that we may be dreaming as truly in our waking as in our sleeping hours. Goethe appreciates this situation very well when he makes Faust say that this philosophy leaves him "as great a fool as he was before;" and then, in despair of knowing any thing, turn to the sensual enjoyments of the world.

From the particular error of Locke philosophy has largely, but not altogether, recovered; and from Kant's it is slowly re-

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covering. To this end Jacobi has contributed the earliest and best assistance, by showing that sensation testifies not more positively of the so-called secondary qualities of bodies than of their objective actuality, as will be more fully shown in the proper connection.

But Fichte contributed toward the correction of Kant's error in a way similar to that in which Berkeley had exposed the weakness of Locke. Fichte inquired whether it was true that an actual objective world caused the subjective phenomena, as Kant evidently assumed. In his investigation of this problem he found in his consciousness the sensations, and from these inferred the objective, not in the relation of cause, but as the effect or product of the active mind. He accordingly gave a confident negative to his own query, and adopted the full consequence of the error in the central doctrine of his philosophy —that "all cognition is a self-activity which perceives only its own self-activity."

When Schelling replied to Fichte's reasoning, that we might with equal propriety reverse his process, and suppose the subjective to result from the objective, then the claims of both to priority were recognized as equal; and both Fichte, in his latter days, and Schelling, admitted that an absolute existence underlies all phenomena.

A very important further modification of the philosophy of knowledge was achieved by Hegel, and still attracts great attention. He united the subjective and the objective into such a union that the latter was implied in the former. The phenomena which we perceive were regarded as having the same character objectively as subjectively. "The ground of their being," said Hegel, "is not an unknown essence immediately behind the phenomena, but the absolute idea." Thus constituted, absolute idealism makes a radical contrast with the subjective idealism of Fichte.

This system of Hegel, first offered for publication in Jena during the bombardment of that city by Napoleon, is a little later in its origin than the faith-philosophy of Jacobi; nevertheless, Jacobi is, in a certain sense, the representative of an elementary form of the latest philosophic thought. What the philosophy of the future is to be, no man can confidently tell; but it may not be too bold to predict that what Jacobi felt, but

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dared not say he knew, will yet find many to recognize its philosophical validity.

The chief claim of Jacobi to recognition among philosophers rests upon his doctrine that we have a direct intuitive knowledge of the suprasensible—that we see it with the "reason" as truly as we see physical objects with the eye. This doctrine has usually been regarded as enthusiastic, and its author sometimes set down among the Mystics of Germany. The degree of reproach implied in the terms *enthusiastic* and *mystic* varies with the persons who use them. When enthusiasm is charged as equivalent to fanaticism, and mysticism as implying obscurity and error, they simply beg the question at issue. A legitimate enthusiasm is what Jacobi claimed; and if we translate the Greek elements of the word (ἐν θεός) as "God within," the meaning is rescued from all implication of error. Fanaticism is as far from the best sense of enthusiasm as rage from anger—to borrow a simile from Voltaire.

The quest of philosophy has ever been, before all else, for the efficient cause of nature. This cause does not appear in the nebular hypothesis, or in the atomic theory; for science cannot account for the first movements of either. Locke did not find it, for he had no secure hold upon any thing objective. Kant did not find it in the pure reason, for pure reason could know nothing of any thing in itself. Jacobi found a first cause, he was sure, but only in his heart—there was not quite room enough for it in his head. He claimed that this, together with some other knowledge, is impressed upon the soul without the intervention, in any way, of physical organs. The philosophy of Locke does not willingly admit any impressions upon the *tabula rasa* of the mind apart from the products of sensation and their combinations. Jacobi's claims must, accordingly, be positively refused, or some of the principles abandoned which have been maintained, or tacitly admitted, by a multitude of philosophers. The *tabula-rasa* simile has been convicted of fault in the implication that the mind is a cold and dead slate, that simply holds, without addition or change, whatever is committed to it. If this were so, there would be for us no external world—all primary qualities of matter would be forever shut out of the mind, for no sensation ever resembled any one of them. Secondary qualities are purely subjective. They not

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only do not resemble in the least their immediate physical causes, but even these do not reside in the bodies to which we refer the qualities as by instinct, while the inferred concause, which *is* in the body, is beyond the reach of our investigation. It must be, then, that we are indebted to certain original energies of the mind for all that we know of the external world, even after sensation has revealed all that in the nature of the case is possible.

Kant insists upon the testimony of sensation as essential to the validity of mental products. Jacobi insists that he sees a light, which to the physical eye is invisible. Is he mistaken? or is Kant's requirement unessential?

A sensation is a feeling awakened in the mind through the medium of an organ of sense. This sensation becomes a perception when referred to the external object which occasioned it; thus do we acquire all our knowledge of the outward world. What, then, are the essential elements in the formation of any perception? Before all, something must be impressed upon the consciousness. Sensations depend solely upon the nerves to convey them to the conscious subject. Any interruption of their career toward the brain puts an end to them, or rather, there being no sensation in the consciousness, none exists anywhere. If, therefore, sensation is essential to perception, then nerves are likewise essential. But nerves are only the menial organ which serves mysteriously to convey impressions to the mind, without, in ordinary perceptions, revealing themselves to the consciousness. Some perceptions, moreover, such as the perception of relations, are generally recognized as being independent of all sensation. So, too, causation, time, and identity, must be perceived, if at all, without the help of any mechanism, since in their nature they are impalpable. No particular character in the object, therefore, can be pronounced essential to mental perception; immaterial principles are perceived as clearly as granite hills.

It thus appears that the practical objective conditions which now limit perception may be purely casual. Only two elements remain which can be shown to be essential in the perception of all things objective. These are feeling and reflection; feeling, because it is the condition of both sensation and consciousness, and whatever is not felt in either of these ways

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cannot in any manner make itself known; and reflection, because feeling is not thought, and no knowledge can result from feeling simply as feeling, any more than we can become cognizant of a present physical object without looking upon it to discover its qualities. Reflection interprets feeling into terms of thought. This is done spontaneously, to be sure, and seems to attend rather than follow the feeling—what obviously follows being inference rather than intuition.

Both these essential conditions being met, the source or cause of the feeling does not affect the validity of the consequent perception. The feeling itself is sufficient evidence of the *actuality* of its cause; its *nature* is a distinct problem. "Whoever says he knows," observes Jacobi, "we properly ask him whence he knows. He must then depend at last upon one of these two things, either upon sensation or upon soul-feeling." All knowledge resting on the latter Jacobi denominated "faith," and he doubtless enjoyed the same assurance of his "faith" as of his material possessions. Yet it was Jacobi who cast upon this assurance the reproach of being unphilosophical. That reproach commends the modesty of the philosopher more than his logical powers. It must be set down as his weakness that he dared not maintain as legitimate the firmest convictions of his soul, simply because the method by which he reached them was not philosophically orthodox in his day.

The best use of philosophy is, doubtless, to regulate human conduct; and that which is unphilosophical should accordingly be abandoned. Why not, then, abandon every thing which is given us by the intuition of reason and from no better source? Why not give up the notion of an external world? Simply because the universal conviction of the race makes it impossible. Men do not wait for the formal decisions of philosophers upon questions which find uniform answers in their own clearest intuitions. No contradiction of this decision would command their respect. Again, why not abandon the notion of a First Cause presiding over the universe, and governing it according to the intelligent determinations of an unrestrained volition? The answer is to the same effect as the former, Because all races and tribes under the sun hold some faith in a god to whom they are responsible and expect to give account. The argu-

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ment from common consent must not be despised. Philosophy cannot ignore it without itself being rejected. It rests upon intuitions which are universal and necessary, and which no authority is competent to gainsay.

Jacobi allows a logical validity to the pantheism of Spinoza, but it affords no satisfaction to the desires of his soul. His spirit rejects pantheism, while his reason accepts the demonstration on which it rests. His spirit, on the other hand, clings to the "faith," which his understanding cannot approve. Fully conscious of this paradox, Jacobi declared, "There is light in my heart, but when I attempt to bring it into my understanding, it goes out." What loyalty to the conclusions of a syllogism built upon false premises and doing violence to the strongest and purest intuitions of the soul! A weaker "faith" would have surrendered to so strong a conviction of the demands of the understanding. A stronger logical faculty would have scorned the ambiguous position which Jacobi under protest occupied. It may not be evident which was the weaker, his "faith" or his reason, but his preference between the horns of his dilemma was unmistakable and strong. The sphere of the simple understanding he plainly calls inferior, since it sadly disappoints the highest aspirations of which we are capable. These are satisfied in the intuitions of the divine, in which Jacobi realizes the highest of all possible objective revelations. To rescue these intuitions from the fatal monism of Spinoza Jacobi deliberately sacrificed his philosophy, such as it was, in favor of his faith. From that moment he formed a marked contrast with Spinoza. The latter knew no personal God; Jacobi ever felt his presence and heard his voice. Spinoza knew no causes except as immanent in matter and necessary; Jacobi recognized a Final Cause, and was conscious of his own freedom, and of his own accountability. Spinoza consequently enjoys a passionless repose, fearing nothing and hoping nothing, and witnessing the dissolution of his body with a stolid resignation, regarding his decay as another proof of his brotherhood with the clod. Jacobi, however, quick with the pulsations of an endless life, stretching eagerly forward to catch glimpses of the dawning of the bright to-morrow of his soul's desire, is by no means satisfied with the realizations of this life, but is more than satisfied with its hopes.

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With Fichte and his ideal projection of subjective images Jacobi felt considerable sympathy. Fichte's soul was quick to recognize the spiritual forces of the universe, but he did not perceive their objective character. At this point Jacobi resists again an apparently valid conclusion in the clear light of his own intuitions. He was sure he saw, in the moral order of the world, a Father's hand; Fichte saw only a reflection of his own volitional activity. Such intolerable consequences of the reasoning of his metaphysical contemporaries, Jacobi escaped by resorting to the oracles of a higher authority. "There dwells within us," he said, "a spirit sent immediately from God, constituting the most essential part of our human nature. As this spirit is present to man in his highest, deepest, and most personal consciousness, so the Giver of this spirit, God himself, is present to man through his heart just as nature is present to him through his senses. No sensible object can so seize upon the mind and irresistibly prove itself real, as those absolute objects, the true, the good, the beautiful, and the sublime, which can be seen with the eye of the spirit. We venture the bold speech that we believe in God because we see him, although he cannot be seen with the eye of this body." This spiritual vision is quite as clear as the physical; it is attended with no less feeling immediately produced in the soul, than comes to the soul through the office of the outward eye. It is not the eye that sees, but the soul by means of the eye. Such seeing is mediate, while Jacobi, if he sees God at all, must see him immediately, with no Moses and no organ of sense to stand between. Actual perception is not denied to sensation when it is referred to its cause. Who shall dispute that this intuition of an invisible Deity possesses at least as high claims to the character of a real perception as the sensations, exposed as they are to the defects of the physical body? May not the intuition even have some advantage, in the certainty of the objective existence over mediate knowledge, at least to the subject of it?

Sir William Hamilton maintains that in intuition cognition is given unconditionally as a fact, while, in all representative perception the cognition is problematical. Should it be objected that Hamilton assumed, in the intuition of which he speaks, that the mind is conscious of only its own modification without relation to any object beyond the sphere of conscious-

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ness, it ought to be sufficient to show that Jacobi's claims find ample room for realization under the careful definitions of this most astute philosopher. We do not understand Jacobi to claim that his intuitions reach to a cause, which, as perceived, is outside of himself, but rather that this knowledge is simple, and contains in it, as Hamilton himself says, "nothing beyond the mere consciousness, by that which knows, of that which is known." This consciousness of necessity cannot reach out and take hold of the external; but if the external be spiritual in its nature, as it cannot impress itself upon any physical sense, so no physical barrier can obstruct its approach to the center of thought and feeling. Accordingly, Jacobi can say that "God himself is present to man in the heart," and that the human spirit contains "a shadow of the divine knowledge and will."

In this light we can understand our philosopher's meaning when he maintains that man reveals God, while nature conceals him:

> But is it unreasonable to confess that we believe in God, not by reason of the nature which conceals him, but by reason of the supernatural in man, which alone reveals and proves him to exist? *Nature conceals God;* for through her whole domain nature reveals only fate, only an indissoluble chain of mere efficient causes without beginning and without end, excluding with equal necessity both providence and chance. . . . *Man reveals God;* for man, by his intelligence, rises above nature, and in virtue of this intelligence is conscious of himself as a power not only independent of but opposed to nature, and capable of resisting, conquering, and controlling her. As man has a living faith in this power, superior to nature, which dwells in him; so has he a belief in God, a feeling, an experience of his existence.

This doctrine is perfectly consistent, as Jacobi claims, with the criticism of Kant, though it cannot be harmonized with the doctrines of Spinoza. Indeed, Kant's demonstration that the pure reason finds no certainty in practical things, not only admitted but even called for Jacobi's doctrine of a direct intuitive cognition of things-in-themselves. This intuition tramples upon the mechanism theory of the universe, and, rising above the defects of demonstration, gazes boldly upon the revealed face of the one great Cause that reason had long ago declared to be immanent in all forms of being and becoming.

This noblest function of the soul Jacobi did not uniformly

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denominate "faith," especially in his later writings. This term was too liable to be understood to imply a blind, irrational belief on the mere authority of others. To avoid so great a misconception of his doctrine Jacobi used the term "reason," (*Vernunft*,) meaning, not the logical faculty, but the power to perceive directly in contrast with the understanding which is confined to the range of the demonstrable. The term "faith," therefore, when used by Jacobi, implied the surest possible kind of knowledge, but a knowledge which in its very nature cannot be communicated to another by a syllogistic method. This is why the light in the heart was quenched when brought into the understanding. That light conveyed the divine image, which in the order of nature must be felt in order to be known. We cannot always describe what we have seen with our natural vision; much less can we expect to impart to another the first-fruits of our spiritual seeing. The Apostle Paul said it was not lawful to utter the things which were revealed to him when "caught up into paradise." Similarly, doubtless, is it unlawful—*impossible* on account of the disabilities of our nature—for a man to formulate and communicate to another all of the religious experiences of his heart, even after they have so entered into his being that torture and death cannot induce him to deny them. This is the philosophy of the believer's testimony, daily declared in the sanctuary and daily disputed in the mart, "I *know* that my Redeemer liveth."

Owing to a lack of this experience the unbelieving naturally question the legitimateness of this faith, or at least ask the believer to prove a necessary connection between the mental phenomena on which he rests his faith and any objective cause. Suppose we make a similar demand of themselves. Can they show any necessary connection between the best established facts in science and any objective cause? All knowledge hangs upon a chain, some links of which are hidden, so that, without the exercise of a large practical faith, no science would be possible. When we trace the phenomena involved in a single perception of an outward object through the eye, we are charmed with the delicate offices of different parts of that organ; but when the light, in obedience to optical laws, has painted a beautiful inverted image of the object on the fine tissue of the

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retina, the physical phenomena of vision can be traced no further; they cease or disappear as motion, or physical change, and re-appear at once as intellectual perception—something which bears no discoverable resemblance to any of the physical phenomena of seeing. The chain of causes in all perceptions goes out of sight, some links are hidden.

According to Lotze,* "We shall never be able to prove that it lies in the nature of any motion . . . of itself to cease as motion and be reproduced as illuminating brilliancy, as sound, or as sweetness of taste." The motion here referred to is the sensible or physical part of the phenomena of sensation. The causal nexus between a wave, whether in the eye or in the air, and the mental conception of light, no man has ever discovered, but the scientist and the philosopher alike, together with universal humanity, accept with a practical assurance that cannot be shaken the testimony of their consciousness to the objective reality of the things perceived through any organ of sense. In unscientific terms, then, we may say that we know the things within reach of our senses because we *feel* them.

Feeling is the function of all the afferent nerves, and in some mysterious way we hear, taste, see, etc., by feeling. All the mechanism of our organs of sense is necessary to bring the physical within the grasp of the spiritual. By the aid of this mechanism we feel, as science insists, not the object, but some quality of the object appropriate to the sense in exercise. The universal consciousness, however, will have it that we feel *a body* thus and thus conditioned or qualified. Science says we feel the broad waves of light, or, practically, the redness of a physical body. Consciousness maintains that we see *a red body*. It is hazardous to quarrel with universal consciousness. Moreover, it would be unreasonable to reject, concerning the character of the phenomena, the testimony of the only authority by which its actuality had been, or could be, established. We *dare* not, therefore, banish the physical universe from our philosophy; we *cannot* banish it from our consciousness. God himself, in fashioning us so that we are thus compelled to recognize in our daily lives an objective universe, has involved his own veracity in the validity of these intuitions of our consciousness.

**Mikrokosmus*, vol. i, p. 161; Leipzig. 1856.

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If we admit, as we seem forced to, that mind and matter can communicate, while their natures are so very unlike, much less should it be thought incredible that mind should be able to convey thought to another mind of the same nature. No mechanism can simplify or explain the perception of the physical; it simply makes it mysteriously possible. The same intuitional power that magically reveals to us a physical universe and enforces its acceptance may similarly discover the Cause of the universe and enforce a belief in that Cause. This it does, and no human race is known that has not some notion of God.

Clearer and more full than this universal faith are the direct revelations to the spiritually minded, who, like Socrates and Jacobi, seem to have found a shorter way to the knowledge of God than through the regularly accredited prophets. This personal inspiration seems to resemble, in the strength of the conviction which it carries, that instinct which Kant has denominated "the voice of God." Brute instinct is concerned with nothing but what is essential to the well-being of the species. All this it fails not to supply. Birds know how to build nests, but they do not know how they know, or what principles require them to build as they do. Men know no more about the instincts that supplement reason in their own species. God supplies whatever is out of reach that is essential to any of his creatures. In endowing man with a soul God fixed upon him another necessity quite as urgent as the preservation of his body, namely, the preservation of his soul. The Creator is, then, under an equal, or still greater, obligation to supply whatever is demanded by the interests of our spiritual nature. It is not unreasonable, therefore, that we should listen for the voice of God in a new revelation. Jacobi and millions more say they hear it. They find revealed in it the Almighty and an endless life. They *touch*, as it were, the suprasensible, and *know* it by a sort of spiritual empiricism. They are profoundly convinced. The demonstrations of the spirit are irresistible, but if denied, they can no more be forced upon a skeptic than the axioms of geometry.

We cannot too highly applaud the opinion of Victor Cousin, that "the error of Jacobi's school was not to see that this truth-speaking enthusiasm is only a purer and higher application of reason, in such manner that faith has its root in reason." This

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"enthusiasm," in the mouth of Cousin, suggests no reproach, but rather implies a reason which flies while the syllogism creeps. It must be conceded also that this slower method is, by its very nature, debarred from ever demonstrating the infinite, and thus solving the most essential problems of religion and philosophy; for by the syllogism we can advance to no conclusion except through a more general conception. The term which must thus be included under another cannot contain the Deity, or satisfy the conditions of monotheism. The Highest, therefore, cannot possibly be reached through formal reasoning, and some other resource must be depended upon for this necessity of the soul. Nothing but Jacobi's intuitive cognition can yield the personal apocalypse of God.

When the clear testimony of consciousness is universally recognized as valid, then not only will Jacobi command an unqualified respect among philosophers; but objective science, as well as religion, will find a rational foundation, and, according to the claim of Drobisch, we shall realize in the philosophy of religion "the key-stone of the philosophical arch."

NOTE.—Further expression and some modification of Jacobi's views will be found in the writings of J. G. Hamann and Jacob Fries, as well as those of Herder, Schleiermacher and Hamilton. Compare also Wesley and Mansel, who have much in common with these doctrines.

ART. V.—ALZOG'S CHURCH HISTORY.

Manual of Universal Church History. By Rev. Dr. JOHN ALZOG, Professor of Theology at the University of Freiburg. Translated, with additions, from the ninth and last German edition, by F. J. PABISCH, Doctor of Canon and Civil Law, etc., Mount St. Mary's Seminary, Cincinnati, O., and Rev. THOS. S. BYRNE, Professor at Mount St. Mary's Seminary. In three volumes. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1874, 1876, 1878.

1. IN his inimitable "Constitutional History of England," Canon Stubbs remarks: "The roots of the present lie deep in the past, and nothing in the past is dead to the man who would learn how the present comes to be what it is."

When we understand how any thing *has become* what *it is* we understand its *history*. Indeed, its history is the process of *becoming* what *it is*, and the record of this process constitutes its recorded history.

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This was the thought which insensibly actuated the Magdeburg Centuriators when they determined to justify the Reformation of the sixteenth century by giving a complete sketch of the history of the Christian Church. By showing how Rome had become what it then was, Christian Europe would best understand how wide had been the departure from the simplicity and purity of the primitive Church as established by Christ and his immediate apostles, and would best feel the necessity of returning to this normal condition of faith and life. While the Catholic view of the Church is that she is the same "yesterday, to-day, and forever"—only extending the sphere of her operations, but never losing or changing her spirit—the early Reformers, and the Protestants of to-day, affirm that between the apostolic times and our own there have been introduced into the Romish Church an almost innumerable multitude of innovations which entirely set aside her claim to spiritual and doctrinal unity—*semper eadem.* The Centuriators believed that what was given as a perfect germ by Christ and the college of apostles would be developed, unfolded, and expanded under the providence of God during the succeeding ages, and thus the Church become what she is destined to be—the guiding and saving force in human history. To point out, by a continuous narrative founded on original authorities, how Rome had perverted this purpose, and, instead of being an ever-increasing light and a leavening power for good, she had brought the Church into an ever-deepening shadow, into a gloomier superstition, and into a more shameful life, was the immediate object of this association of Protestant scholars. The key to this whole movement is found in their estimate of Rome; namely, that she is antichrist, and that, as antichrist, she has misled and deceived the elect of God. Nearly every thing which they wrote was influenced by this opinion; hence, very considerable extravagance is found in portions of their history. Nevertheless, few can examine the writings of these almost pioneers in the work of Church history without admiring the keenness of their insight; the thoroughness of their analysis of evidence; the readiness with which they set aside a multitude of pretenses of the Romish Church which had grown hoary with the centuries; the prompt rejection of the foundation of the whole superstructure—the primacy of Peter; the sharp analysis of the

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historic evidence of the visitation of Peter to Rome at all; and the clearness with which they show how absurd and arrogant is the claim to build a fabric so massive and overshadowing on a foundation so narrow and so sandy. The view which these men entertained was evidently that of a dualism: that good and evil, light and darkness, truth and error, had been struggling for the mastery during the entire enactment of the Christian history. Their conception of the uses of writing a good Church history, and of placing it in the hands of the members of the Christian communion, is noteworthy. It was this: By this means the idea of the Christian Church will be placed before the mind as in a picture; the persistent agreement of all ages in certain articles of religious confession will appear; the origin and progress of errors and wickedness, especially the beginnings and growth of antichrist, will become evident; the correct and invariable standard by which heresies are to be judged will be discovered; the origin and nature of the government of the Church will be seen; how much of what was original has been retained, how much this original has been departed from, can thus be judged; the marks of a true Church and of a false Church, and especially how the latter has, by its fearful might and error, overslaughed the former, will be furnished. Thus will also be clearly seen how God, from time to time, has raised up heroes, by whose devoted efforts the pure doctrines of the Saviour and of his apostles have been repreached, and the purity of worship has been again restored. With these Centuriators dogma was the one grand, all-important thought. Their attention was directed, with an all-absorbing earnestness, to the determination of the truth or falsity of doctrine. In their belief this was the occasion of that manifest dualism in Church history which must become more and more marked until antichrist shall be destroyed by the brightness of the coming of the Son of Man.

How successfully these scholars accomplished the task which they had proposed is best seen from the fact that their history was the veriest fire-brand in the Romish fortress, and called forth in reply the most remarkable historical work which the Romish Church has ever yet produced. It required thirty years of almost incessant toil for Cæsar Baronius to traverse the ground over which these Magdeburg scholars had passed, in order to

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write an answer to this terrible historical charge against the unfaithfulness and apostasy of the Church of which he was so eminent a cardinal. He, too, recognizes and defends as sharp a dualism in Christian history as the Centuriators themselves; but with him the heretics and Protestants are antichrist. While scarcely recognizing, either in the preface or in the body of his work, his able opponents, Baronius boldly maintains the primacy of Peter, and defends the genuineness of some documents which have long since been proved spurious by Catholic historians themselves.*

These two pioneer works in the department of Church history were diligently worked out, and were very similar in the spirit which actuated their preparation and publication. Both alike recognize a system of dualism in the earthly history of the kingdom of Christ; both deal in strong charges and countercharges; both affirm and deny with about equal confidence; both proceed upon the thought that the kernel and essence of Church history must concern dogma; and both about equally overlook the fact that a true spirituality and purity of thought and life must be the abiding criterion of the genuineness of any Church.

Ofttimes has the inquiry been started whether there cannot be found some middle ground upon which these two confessions may meet, and where the sharp and violent contradictions which now are noticeable between these two opposing Church histories may find their reconciliation and harmony. Must there necessarily be in the history of the Christian Church this manifest dualism which each of these systems equally and most strenuously insists upon? Can there be any possibility of evolving from these two an essential unity, where no sacrifice of truth will be necessary, and where the Church may truly appear as the bride of Christ, decked with the jewels of beauty and purity? The answer to this most important question, however painful it may be to those who are forever picturing some outward and constrained unity, must be this: So long as the Papal Church shall tenaciously hold to its dogma of tradition, so long must these sections of the Church remain disunited. If the

* See Baur, "Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung," 2ter absch. s.s. 39–84. To this work we have been indebted for many statements in this section of the paper.

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Christian Church must be a stranger to development and progress; if every thing is declared to be fixed, immobile, as it was in the beginning; if the parable of the Lord—"first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear" (Mark iv, 28)—is regarded as but a vexing mockery; then must Protestantism continue its protest, and Catholicism can take no other view of Church history than the one so thoroughly developed by Baronius, and which has been followed, with few departures from his essential principles, for the last two hundred and fifty years. Modern Catholics have been more or less affected by the spirit of progress, which fills the very air in these later times, and their historians have put on an appearance of liberality. The unification of Italy, and the secularization of the education of her peoples, have placed within the reach of scholars sources of information which were closed for centuries. The commission recently issued by Leo XIII. to Cardinal Hergenröther, to submit a new plan for arranging the Vatican archives in order to make them more accessible to scholars, promises to be of incalculable value to the future historians of the Church. But all this has come from without, and has not been a spontaneous movement even of the present liberal pontiff. The demand of the awakened and newly energized Italian scholars is that these, and all historic materials, shall come to the light to tell whatever story they may, irrespective of the fame or good name of pope or prince. But we are reluctantly forced to believe that this seeming liberality of the more recent historians of the Catholic Church pertains for the most part to merest secondary and non-essential forms and fashions, while essentially the same spirit now breathes through their writings which is found in these annals of Baronius.

2. If, then, we are to find truest and essential progress in the treatment of Church history, we must seek it outside of the Catholic communion; indeed, we should expect it in a communion which accepted progress and development as the great underlying law of the life of the Christian Church. It would, therefore, also appear that the problems proposed by the Protestant ecclesiastical historian are deeper and truly fundamental. By as much more delicate and subtle as are the problems connected with a living, developing organism, by so much more vital and far-reaching are the problems of history as they are

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discussed by the Protestant theologian. With the very thought of progress and development come stimulus and inspiration. To believe that we can hasten or retard the coming of this kingdom of God, that we can be instrumental in ushering in the day when the whole earth shall be covered with more than a pristine glory, must quicken the energies of every thoughtful servant of God. This view of the progress and perfection of the Church furnishes one potent reason of the recurring attempts of Protestant writers to develop Church history as a consistent and harmonious whole, and also affords a reason for the general superiority of their works.

Prior to Mosheim, historians, both Catholic and Protestant, wrote in a polemical spirit; their works are in the interest of a party; consequently they possess little scientific value. Mosheim was a pioneer in another field. To remove the accumulated *débris*; to shift entirely the ground; to study Church history as secular history is studied; to develop its effects from true and efficient causes; to eliminate, therefore, the large supernatural element that had been so easily accepted; to discriminate between legend and strict historic truth—these were some of the objects which he proposed to accomplish. He begins with a *definition* of Church history, and then develops his work in strict accord with this definition. His definition was new and exceptionally comprehensive. "It is a clear narration of what has happened, both externally and internally, to the society of Christians, in such manner that from the connection of the causes and effects may be clearly seen the divine foreknowledge in the foundation and preservation of the Church, and we ourselves may become wiser and more devoted." He compares this society to a State, whose condition has been constantly shifting through internal and external influences. These external and internal circumstances he makes the basis of his prime divisions of Church history: the external has to relate what this Christian society has experienced of favorable or adverse fortune; the internal has respect to Christianity as a system of religion, and must treat of the revolutions which have taken place in thought, doctrine, and life.*

The objection to this view is that it makes the Church little, if any thing, more than a human society; it robs it of that dis-

* Baur, "Epochen," p. 120.

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tinctive character which is made so prominent in the Christian Scriptures, namely, that she is the Bride of Christ, his precious spouse in whom he specially delights, and for whose care his unchanging love is pledged.

A still more earnest and thoroughly philosophical treatment was suggested by Schroeck, and ably wrought out by Planck, Henke, and others. It is usually known as the pragmatic method of history. Mosheim, as we have seen, was a pragmatist; but in his desire to eliminate the legendary and the pseudo-miraculous he had for the most part confined his pragmatism to the study of antecedents and consequents. His successors pushed their inquiries still further. The result was a pragmatism more profound and philosophical, which has yielded the richest results to earnest, conscientious toilers. Yet this method is threatened with danger from two opposite sources. There is a philosophy which recognizes only the subjective, which finds in mind the all of the universe. It greatly underrates the importance of phenomenal life, and the powerful influence of physical circumstances. The pragmatism resulting from this philosophy may be very imperfect and misleading. The relation of cause and effect is not overlooked, but cause and effect will be regarded as *merely* spiritual and subjective. This school may be easily tempted to measure these causes by standards which they have set up, and be justly chargeable with evolving history from their own consciousness. The danger from the opposite quarter is equally threatening. Causes and effects may be regarded as pertaining to the phenomenal alone. With this class of pragmatists, the spiritual becomes a synonym for the unreal, the fanciful. To admit these hidden, subtle forces into the problem of human history seems to them unscientific and misleading. With them physical nature is the most potent factor to be examined. If we are to admit other forces, they are men and circumstances. Spiritual energies, opinions, policies, theories, doctrines, creeds, these have no power *per se* to determine the varied and marvelous results witnessed on the theater of this world's enactment. The spirit of Church history is thus largely eliminated. The idea of a "kingdom of heaven" among men is completely secularized. The inspiring visions of the seers of the old, and of the apostles of the new dispensation, become strange delusions. The light and the joy

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which come from the thought of the abiding presence of God in history are extinguished.

These opposite dangers of a pragmatic method must be avoided, and their seeming contradictions be harmonized, by finding, back of this outward play of phenomena, a spirit which gives to these phenomena their worth and significance. It is this combination of the subjective with the objective, of the natural with the supernatural, of the freedom of the creature with the personality and governorship of God, of the work of men as the representatives of the spirit of an age with that unity of purpose and that universality of plan which must ever be embraced in any worthy and satisfying theory of human history—it is these which constitute the crowning excellence of the history of Neander, and lift it far above all the productions of his predecessors and most of those of his contemporaries.

It may be seriously doubted whether the writing of Church history has not gone through all its possible phases, and whether future historians must not, to a greater or less degree, merely put in varying relations the principles which have already been suggested and practiced by these different schools. The bitter complaint of Buckle, that history is the least scientific of all subjects of human investigation, must continue so long as we believe that there is a power of human will, and a power of miracle-working, which can modify physical circumstances, and from time to time can let down upon the arena of human struggling some new and regenerating power, which shall hold in check the evil, and stimulate the good and the true to achieve an abiding victory.

3. We may now be better prepared to determine the place which is occupied by the work whose title stands at the head of this article, and to estimate its real value. This manual is in three large octavo volumes, of about one thousand pages each, containing appropriate prefaces, synoptical, chronological, and conciliary tables, and good maps which show the diffusion of the Church under Roman rule and during the Middle Ages; also maps of the world, of Western and Southern Europe and Western Asia, and of North America. The text is a translation from the German of Rev. Dr. John Alzog, Professor of Theology in the University of Freiburg, executed by F. J.

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Pabisch, Doctor of Theology, of Canon and of Civil Law, President of the Provincial Seminary of Mount St. Mary's of the West, Cincinnati, Ohio; and Rev. Thomas S. Byrne, Professor in Mount St. Mary's Seminary. The original German manual has passed to its ninth edition, and a French translation has reached its fourth edition. In the preface the translators inform us that it is used as a text-book in almost all Catholic seminaries, in twenty universities, and in many institutions of learning in Europe and America, where the German or French is understood. This all argues a great popularity, and shows that the book has supplied a felt need. It is now for the first time given in English dress. The justification of the translation, according to the preface to the first volume, is the notorious inadequacy of all existing manuals of Church history in the English language, and the confessed inferiority of all handbooks in use in France and Belgium, and their total inefficiency either to prepare the student for serious studies, or create and foster a taste for the higher branches of learning. The great superiority of German manuals, "written with the special purpose of facilitating historical instruction," is heartily acknowledged, and of these numerous works it is claimed that this of Alzog is without a rival. The vast literary attainments of the author, his extended experience of about forty years as an instructor and professor of Church history in various universities, and the fact that he was called to Rome in 1867 to assist in the preparatory work of the Vatican Council, are given as sufficient grounds of confidence in the thoroughness of the work, and of its accord with the Church in whose communion he is, and of which he is so bright an ornament. The preface goes on to give opinions, and to quote from leading Catholic reviews to show how high a place this work occupies in the esteem of Catholic scholars. Besides a full acquaintance with ordinary sources, he has made himself absolute master of the profound science of Germany. "One feels that the works of the immortal Möhler, of Döllinger, Ruttenstock, and Katerkamp, are perfectly familiar to him." So says the *Nouveau Monde*, of Montreal, Canada. The *Bibliographie Catholique* says: "There are in this work extensive learning, immense and conscientious research, a well-sustained treatment and methodical plan, a just appreciation of facts, and a comprehensive

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and correct survey." Other quotations from other notices are given, and the translators add:

It may be stated here that Dr. Alzog has made almost as extensive use of Protestant and infidel as of Catholic writers. The names of Gieseler, Engelhardt, Neander, Carl Hase, and many others, will at once come up to the memory of those acquainted with his work. His first object was to gain reliable information, and it mattered little whence it came, if it was to his purpose. It is this broad, impartial, and catholic spirit of investigation which gives to his history its peculiar worth, and which should recommend it to men of every creed and shade of opinion.

The translators represent both the German and the English language, and thus they believe they can at the same time secure fidelity to the original as well as a certain elegance of diction. While they depart more or less from the literal and verbal expression, the translators claim to be scrupulously faithful. They have added considerably to the volume, especially on the pontificate of Pius IX., the Vatican Council, the notice of the history and progress of the Jesuit missions in North America, and also to the list of authorities, which were not given by Alzog himself. Moreover, the original work, as well as this translation and enlargement, have the unqualified indorsement of the Archbishops of Cincinnati and of Baltimore, two of the foremost scholars of the Catholic communion in this country; hence we may safely infer that this manual is expressive of the belief and opinion of the most advanced thinkers of the Catholic Church in America on the leading and most vital questions of Church history. Again, the author himself says what each candid thinker must readily indorse:

A thorough and complete acquaintance with the religious condition, *internal* and *external*, of the Church the passing and past years included in this interval is all the more necessary to the theologian, in that as a pastor of souls he is in daily contact with the practical affairs of life, and should at once help to revive and exert an influence upon religious principles and moral conduct; and this he cannot do if he possess not the information requisite to give meaning and purpose to his endeavors.—Vol. iii, p. 627.

4. Let us examine this work with reference to these claims to exceptional thoroughness, truthfulness, and liberality. It is evident that Alzog is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of

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the most approved methods of writing Church history which Protestant historians have devised or accepted. Indeed, his work, as compared with almost all contemporary Catholic handbooks, is wrought out with exceptional earnestness and care. In the examination of the original sources and authorities, and in their careful and exhaustive study, Alzog seems almost a peer of Niedner, Hase, and Baur. To say that he has so thoroughly immersed himself in the life and thought of the early Christian centuries as Neander would not be at all truthful; for no other man has ever, perhaps, so fully drunk in the spirit of the martyr and heroic age of Christianity, and so sensitively felt its very life-throbs. He who could become insensible to the stirring current events of his own age by living among the struggles, the persecutions, the martyrdoms, the joys and the triumphs, of the Christian Church on earth, was best prepared to reflect this life in his immortal history. That Alzog has so thoroughly studied and so accurately classified and verified the sources of Church history as Gieseler, will not be claimed by his most enthusiastic admirers. This is not to condemn the history on these grounds, since the scope of these two authors is very different, and one Gieseler in a century is all that the world can reasonably expect. That Alzog and his translators will satisfy the expectations of the Protestant world would be to demand impossibilities. Each of the two divisions of the Western Church must work out its Church history in strict accordance with its peculiar philosophy of religion and life. In each the theory of the Church, of its nature and polity, of christology, of anthropology, and even of eschatology, must be so peculiar, that Church histories written in accord with these diverse opinions must necessarily be often diverse in spirit and sometimes contradictory in statement. As we have before intimated, it seems that these two great systems must move on side by side, like great currents in the ocean, without once commingling. We are prepared, therefore, for the expression of Catholic opinions when we are studying a Catholic historian. But we should judge the works of both communions alike by their spirit of candor, earnestness, thorough scholarship, and pure love of the truth. By applying certain great crucial tests are we to find the confirmation or the contradiction of the claims of the translators to the candor

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and honest writing of their author. Men may be wide apart in statement, and in the results reached by their reasoning on a series of facts. In such case there is reason for great charity, provided a manifest candor, a loving adherence to truth wherever it may lead, and a sincere sorrow for error, appear in the discussions. We must entirely agree with the author, that the demand of the ancients that a historian should have neither country nor religion, and the similar claim of a class of modern critics that he should be free from prejudice, are neither reasonable nor possible. Historic impartiality is entirely different in its aims and claims. It only requires that "the historian shall not knowingly and intentionally change facts which appear to tell against his religious convictions, but shall investigate them, narrate them as he finds them, and pass judgment upon them with prudence and moderation; and, secondly, that he shall frankly acknowledge and openly confess the possible shortcoming of his Church—for silence here would be more damaging than beneficial to her cause."—Vol. i, p. 14.

From the preliminary definitions usual to the German handbooks, the author proceeds to give a fair survey of the ancient world and its relation to Christianity. Evidently he is not captivated with the claims of the historic evolutionists, that barbarism was the primitive condition of the race, and that the race has been developed to its present high mental and moral position by force of natural or material surroundings; but rather is Alzog inclined to take the vigorous statement of the first chapter of Romans as furnishing a key to much of the world's mental and moral obliquity, and also to attach very considerable importance to the wide-spread traditions of a golden age. The author is, however, very clear in his recognition of the grand propædeutic character of the pre-Christian civilizations. The exact philosophical language of the Greeks; the unifying legal element of the Romans; the tenaciously monotheistic thought of the Hebrews; the subtle speculation of the Indian mind; the quite carefully elaborated doctrine of the Egyptians "relative to the state of man after death and his condition in a future world," though mingled with a thoroughly degrading animal worship; and even pagan art, which "had so fostered a love of the beautiful among men of education and refinement that Christianity had at hand ample means for conveying to

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men's minds the fullest idea of its interior harmony and beauty"—all these are briefly but quite clearly dwelt upon as preparing the whole world for that "fullness of time." These topics have engaged the powers of some of the most brilliant writers of modern times. The results of the most recent investigations in the department of comparative religion are not so thoroughly digested as could be desired. The wonderfully rich contributions to this department of religious philosophy which have been made, especially by Christian missionaries, could hardly be expected to be incorporated into a preliminary chapter of a hand-book of Church history; yet it is plain that the historian of the Church, as well as the Christian apologist, must take into careful consideration the later discoveries of these patient scholars.

In the discussion of historic questions we must be careful not to demand a species of evidence which is not at all pertinent to this department of inquiry. Absolute demonstration in this domain being generally impossible, and moral evidence alone being admissible, the duties of the Church historian are made thereby more grave and sacred. There is scarcely an historic fact which may not admit of diverse statements. It is, therefore, only by the most patient and conscientious sifting of testimony, by holding the balance with a judicial hand and noting the direction of preponderating evidence, that reliable results can be reached. It should not be attempted to bring into undue prominence every thing which may make for a preconceived theory, and omit or becloud the importance of all which may contravene it. This is partisanship; it is not historic honesty. The immense difficulty of this task is readily conceded; but the grand superiority of the philosophical historian over the mere advocate or apologist appears all the more conspicuously as he calmly walks these fields where have raged the fiercest contests and have burned the hottest passions. We have been led to these reflections by canvassing Alzog's treatment of almost every question that is in controversy. Take, first, the subject of a celibate priesthood. We cannot but regard his examination as partial, defended by garbled quotations, by special pleading, and by perversion of Scripture teaching. It stands in striking contrast to the judicial treatment of this vexed question by Neander and Mosheim. When the author says that

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"celibacy was quite general" in the Church of the second century, it is manifest that the assertion is not supported by the facts of history; and when he adds that "the prejudice in favor of a continent life among the clergy was so deeply rooted in the popular mind, and so sensitive of its honor, that the faintest suspicion of sinful intercourse with females caused the greatest scandal," we are surprised at the author's attempt in this to confound two totally distinct questions, one of which is readily allowed, the other stoutly denied. The examination of the Scripture teachings on this subject (vol. i, p. 404) is partial, and lacking in thorough scholarship. The passages in 1 Tim. iv. where the teachings of those who forbid to marry are ranked with the "doctrine of devils," is entirely untouched, while by far the most thorough and exhaustive treatise on the subject of priestly celibacy is omitted from the list of authorities. We refer, of course, to the history of the Brothers Johann Anton and Augustin Theiner, which was a veritable fire-brand in the Catholic Church. The book was so far as possible suppressed, and one of the authors was called at length to be keeper of the Vatican archives, and to write down what he had earlier published, while the other passed over to the Protestant Church.

It is no part of this paper to discuss the question of the propriety or the purer morality of a condition of celibacy; but, in respect to the *enforced* celibacy of the clergy of any Church, the thoughtful must continue to feel astonishment and indignation, since the physiologist must ever pronounce against this most harsh and unnatural injunction, and history is burdened with the record of its wretched and scandalous effects. Equally, as in his own time, is the verdict of good Jeremy Taylor just and true: "This law of the Church was an evil law; . . . it was not a law of God; it was against the rights and necessities of nature; . . . it was a law against public honesty, because it did openly and secretly introduce dishonesty. It was not to be endured that, upon the pretense of an unconscionable perfection, so much impiety should be brought into the Church, and so many souls thrust down to hell." (See "Of the Power of the Church in Canons and Censures," Rule xx.

The pontificate of Gregory VII. has furnished a most inspiring theme for the ecclesiastical and secular historian alike. The massive powers of the man; the exceptional purity of his

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life; his vast design for forming a universal theocracy, whose earthly head he should be; his stubborn persistence in pushing his plans to a consummation; his protracted contest with Henry IV., whose humiliation the German people have not forgotten, and never quite forgiven; his failure to realize his magnificent schemes in the West—these, and many other themes, give to the history of this truly great man an exceptional interest. It is to be expected that so ardent a Catholic as Alzog would revel in the history of a pontificate which more clearly than any other, perhaps, reveals the Romish Church in its true spirit and purpose. "While freely admitting that the plans and actions of Gregory were sometimes extravagant," it is plain that the writer is warmly sympathetic with the theory and aims of this far-seeing prelate; and here is found the *experimentum crucis* by which we are to test the sincerity of modern apologists for Rome's attempt to render civil allegiance secondary and subject to papal authority. In the universal hierarchy which Hildebrand would found, the spiritual power was to stand related to the temporal as the sun to the moon. Temporal princes were to be compelled to bow before the supremacy of God's law, and to recognize him as the source of their jurisdiction and power; and, since the Pope was his vicegerent on earth, necessarily the thrones of this world should all lean upon the apostolic see. It is to this pontificate that we are to look for the clear enunciation of a principle which has been prevalent in the Romish Church from that day to this, and whose reiteration from time to time, now more clearly and positively, now more mildly and guardedly, has compelled the enactment by Protestant and other governments of those statutes which have worked untold harm to religion, and have been a serious hinderance to the progress of civil freedom. This is the principle which compelled the recognition of Gallicanism in France, which, in turn, degenerated into a soulless tyranny in State equally dreadful to that from which they had sought to escape. This led the enactors of the tyrannical statutes of "supremacy" and "uniformity" during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth to justify their legislation on the principle of self-defense and the sovereignty of States. This kept the Catholics, during so many reigns, under those terrible political and social disabilities which seem so disgraceful to a State which has rejoiced in a liberal constitutional

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government. This embittered English against Irish, and Irish against English, through so many years of fiercest struggle over "Catholic Emancipation." This is the claim which has led Mr. Gladstone and other thinkers to make the severe arraignments of the Romish Church, and to insist that she must yield her oft-repeated boast of *semper eadem*, or be guilty of wretched duplicity in asserting that faithful subjects of Rome can at the same time preserve supreme loyalty to civil government.

Nor can we account for the severe enactments against Catholics which disgraced the statute books of England so many years upon simple religious grounds. It is true that, while the Reformed Church owed her very life to the right of private judgment, toleration and liberty of conscience were very little recognized. "Conformity with the new faith, as with the old, was enforced by the dungeon, the scaffold, the gibbet, and the torch." "A prince, being God's deputy, ought to punish impieties against God," said Archbishop Cranmer to Edward VI. See Lecky, "Rationalism in Europe," chap. v. But an added reason is manifest in the fact that the Catholics of Elizabeth's day contested her right to the crown and plotted against her throne. Hence treason came to be associated with their religion. The severe measures of her reign were primarily designed to protect the State, but were, doubtless, greatly intensified by religious hatred. State and Church were so intimately blended that it was difficult to make nice discriminations between civil and religious loyalty. See May's "Constitutional History," chap. xi. It is plain that Rome had not, at the time of the re-enactment of the severe laws under Elizabeth, abandoned her claim to temporal supremacy. The "Act of Supremacy" would have been totally unmeaning in the presence and recognition of an undisputed duty of civil allegiance to Elizabeth, on the part of her Catholic subjects. The publication, in 1570, by Pius V., of his bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, and the absolution of her subjects from their allegiance and civil duties, is the plainest answer to those who pretend that the "Act of Supremacy" was aimed only at a hated religion. The continuance of this statute under the Stuart dynasty was in consequence of the doubt honestly entertained by the wisest and most liberal English statesmen as to the possibility of reconciling the claims of Rome with an

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unreserved and undamaged civil loyalty. The period of the Commonwealth illustrates the same truth. Milton, it is true, would exempt even Socinians, Anabaptists, and Arians from suffering through the spirit of intolerance; he made an exception of the Catholics only on the ground that their religion was idolatrous, and idolatry should not be tolerated publicly or privately. But good Jeremy Taylor, under the Restoration, expresses himself very clearly in favor of the toleration of Catholics, unless they openly preach such doctrines as the non-observance of faith with heretics, *or that a Pope can absolve subjects from the oath of allegiance, or that a heretical prince may be slain by his people.* Doubtless many continued their opposition to "Catholic Relief" from mere hatred of Catholic tenets, irrespective of the question of the public safety. But the utterances, from time to time, of the occupants of the Chair of St. Peter kept alive this suspicion, and thwarted the efforts of the friends of civil and religious equality to secure the passage of "Relief Bills," which were reported at almost every parliamentary session for nearly a century. So powerful was this suspicion to influence the course of public men, that, to relieve the Catholics from its burden, the well-known party of the "Protesting Catholic Dissenters" was formed in Ireland. This sect distinctly protested against the Pope's temporal authority, and against his right to excommunicate kings, and absolve subjects from their allegiance. A distinct bill, giving relief to the members of this society, was reported in 1791. So intense was the feeling which this bill awakened, and so thoroughly in earnest were the chief leaders in regard to this question of an undamaged civil allegiance of the Catholic subjects, that even Mr. Pitt addressed letters to several Catholic universities of the continent, in which the civil jurisdiction of the Pope over British subjects was distinctly submitted. Replies from several of these universities were to the effect that Catholics claimed for the Pope no power to absolve British subjects from their allegiance, and no right whatever to interfere with the civil government of that realm. But the more clear-sighted public men of that day were unable to allay their honest apprehensions, however inclined they might be to grant to Catholic subjects the largest freedom consistent with the safety of the realm. They knew that these utterances of the

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universities were *mere opinions;* they had in them no single element of *authority*. They clearly understood that, especially from the time of the Council of Constance, even Ecumenical Councils had been denied a determining authority; and what satisfaction could they feel at this opinion of university faculties, who could have no guiding influence with the head of the Church? Nevertheless, these statements, and especially the "Declaration" of the vicars-apostolic and their coadjutors, in 1826, "who at that time governed the Catholic Church in Great Britain with episcopal authority," greatly influenced British statesmen, and, to a very considerable degree, also, some of the highest dignitaries of the Established Church. This "Declaration" affirmed that British Catholics held no religious principles nor ideas not perfectly consistent with their duties as Christians and British subjects. It was largely by these and similar assurances that the final passage of the "Catholic Emancipation Bill" was secured in 1829—an act of justice which should long before have received the support of liberal-minded statesmen. Certain it is that from this time there is noted a great revival of Catholicism in England. It is claimed that between the years 1840 and 1852 ninety-two members of the University of Oxford, and forty-three of the University of Cambridge, of whom sixty-three from Oxford, and nineteen from Cambridge, were clergymen, passed over to the Catholic Church. "In 1867 the number of distinguished converts to the Catholic Church in England amounted to eight hundred and sixty-seven, of whom two hundred and forty-three had been Anglican ministers."—Vol. iii, p. 850. But what has been the effect of this leniency and of this revival? Clearly, the revival of the arrogance and of the assumption of authority which during the controversy over "Emancipation" had been studiously kept in the background, and by many had been most stoutly disavowed. In Pius IX. reappeared the spirit of Hildebrand, which embodied itself first in the bull of 1850—by which England was divided into ecclesiastical districts as clearly and boldly as in the thirteenth century—and more offensively in the dogma of infallibility of 1870. These acts have led Gladstone to impose upon the Romish Church the dilemma that she must abandon her favorite boast of *semper eadem*, or acknowledge that she was refurbishing the rusty weapons of the Middle Ages, which

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during the progress of the contest for emancipation she stoutly professed to have laid aside. It is plain that Mr. Gladstone's severe arraignments have not been easy to answer; indeed, it may be confidently affirmed that even Cardinal Newman, with all his wealth of learning, has not been able to satisfy the mind of thoughtful Englishmen, simply because he has undertaken an impossible task, impossible from the very nature of the case. And it is the assertion of Alzog, in a grave work which now receives the indorsement of the ablest and most dignified ecclesiastics of the American Catholic Church, that "what was a *political prerogative* during the Middle Ages has remained a *moral right* ever since, and will continue so until the Church ceases to exist; for, morally speaking, *the Pope is an abiding lawgiver to Christendom*"—it is this, which may well put the American people on their guard against the encroachments of this Church, which seems, consistently with her leading dogma, to be only waiting the time when the "political prerogative" shall be again asserted.

It is in giving a final estimate of the period of the "Rise and Height of the Papal Power in the Middle Ages," from the accession of Hildebrand, in 1073, to the death of Boniface VIII., 1303, under a "General View of the Temporal and Spiritual Power of the Pope," that Alzog's warm sympathy for the genius of the mediæval Church becomes most apparent. We are charmed with the eloquence of some paragraphs of this section, and we most gladly indorse many of the claims of the rights of this Church to rule by virtue of its vast superiority in learning and in the spirit of humanity. That the Church was the very best power during these rude ages few will doubt; and that she was entitled to give laws by virtue of a legitimacy founded on this superiority, most candid historians and right-minded publicists will concede. None have been more earnest in the defense of the mediæval Church in these regards than Protestants themselves. Indeed, some of the rationalistic thinkers of our time have pronounced upon the conserving, ameliorating, and humanizing influence of the Church of this period a more splendid eulogy than has Alzog himself.

All are familiar with the discriminating analysis of the elements of ecclesiastical power given by Guizot, and with the hearty and just tribute to the great and abounding services of

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the Church, which he pays. It is not, therefore, in respect to the magnificent benefits which Hildebrand and the successors who realized his policy conferred upon the mediæval world of Western Europe that we dissent from the account of Alzog; in this we can heartily unite. But it is the concealment of the *other* side of this question which constitutes the basis of the denial of the correctness of our author's estimate. It is to the utterance of a half truth, which sometimes becomes more misleading than unmixed error, that the discriminating reader will object. It was in this "respect for liberty," "the second condition of a good government," as stated by Guizot, that Hildebrand failed. It was a "denial of the rights of individual reason, the claim of transmitting points of faith from the highest authority downwards, throughout the whole religious body, without allowing to any one the right of examining them for himself," and "in the right of compulsion assumed by the Romish Church—a right, however, contrary to the very nature and spirit of religious society, to the origin of the Church itself, and to its primitive maxims"—that we arraign the spirit of the pontificate of Gregory VII., and that of his successors down to the death of Boniface VIII. Here is found the kernel of that protest which has been reiterated, not since the sixteenth century alone, but from the hour when the divine Christ said, "If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed," and when his saved apostle brushed aside all veils and human mediators by the glorious declaration, "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time." Nor can we accept the defense of Alzog as expressed in the following words: "But it is to be noted that it was not the theologians who during the Middle Ages recognized and formulated the rights of the papal sovereignty, but jurists and schools of law."—Vol. ii, p. 636. Who inspired the decisions of the jurists? Who regulated the discussions and the principles inculcated in these schools of law? What could interpose to save those who taught tenets which were in opposition to the well-understood opinions of the Church from the tremendous consequences of papal excommunication?

Canon law and civil law were most intimately blended; and while the jurists formulated the law, this law must be in

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general harmony with the prevailing ecclesiasticism. While this expression of Alzog may be *formally* correct, we cannot but believe that he has failed to reach the efficient and inspiring *cause* of these opinions of the jurists. He had really given the reason of all this in the same paragraph, and this addition of the jurists and the schools of law furnishes no new nor more powerful reason for formulating the rights of papal sovereignty. And when Alzog adds that "in matter-of-fact the political supremacy of the Popes has disappeared since the thirteenth century," nothing is contained in the history which leads us to believe that this was in consequence of a voluntary surrender of prerogative by the Popes themselves, but rather by virtue of a force and a principle which were entirely foreign to the theory and policy of Hildebrand and of his successors for two hundred and thirty years. "Grant," as Neander has well expressed it in his estimate of Gregory's theory, "that when not pushed by opposition to this extreme, he recognizes the kingly authority as also ordained of God; only maintaining that it should confine itself within its proper limits, remaining subordinate to the papal power, which is sovereign over all," (and to this opinion Alzog fully subscribes.—Vol. ii, p. 289;) and how, out of this papal assumption, there can come the growth of constitutional freedom, as is intimated by our author, it is difficult for ordinary minds to conceive. And we may be excused for adding that, in the presence of the claim of *semper eadem*, it is just as difficult to understand how in this nineteenth century the Romish Church can teach and foster a spirit of genuine personal and constitutional liberty. When Alzog, therefore, inquires, "Who but the sons of honest artisans and peasants, with miters on their heads and crosiers in their hands, would have had the courage to resist reckless princes and semi-barbarous feudal lords?" we are led also to inquire, Who but such as these had the courage often to array themselves with these same kings and barons in defense of the rights of the people against the insolent and tyrannical demands of a more grasping oppressor, on the papal throne, who would dominate all realms, both spiritual and temporal?

The period of Church history from the death of Boniface VIII. to the beginning of the public career of Luther has ever presented to the honest Catholic historian most serious embarrass-

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ments and well-nigh insuperable difficulties. This is a period when *all* who profess the Christian faith feel amazement and shame at the terrible unfaithfulness of clergy and laity alike. But for the Catholic, loaded down with the dogmas of the primacy of the Pope, and of his infallibility in matters of faith and morals when speaking *ex cathedra* for the universal Church, the reconciliation of the glaring contradictions of this portion of history, on the part of the Popes and councils, to these accepted dogmas, becomes a well-nigh hopeless task. With all his ability and ingenuity, Alzog staggers under the tremendous burden. Catholics ought not to take offense if the most intelligent Protestant students of this period of ecclesiastical history never cease to wonder at the faith (not to call it credulity) which can firmly grasp the papal primacy and the papal infallibility during these two hundred years of strife and wickedness. All are familiar with the arguments by which it is sought to defend these dogmas. But when councils opposed them; when the greatest and best theologians and canon lawyers stoutly argued against them; when the fearfully criminal character of many of the occupants of the chair of St. Peter was, *prima facie*, a standing contradiction of this assumption; when the clergy continued to sink lower and lower in immorality, and the sheep of the flock were devoured by ravenous wolves clothed in the shepherd's garb—and all this, too, without rebuke from the vicar of that Christ who said, "My kingdom is not of this world;" when bloated bestiality, wicked cunning, low deceit, repulsive adultery, and cruel homicide marked the career of so many of these Popes—we marvel at the ingenuity that can attempt to trace, and wonder at the faith that pretends to believe in, the pure stream of the primacy and of infallibility through all the abominable filth of this moral *cloaca*. It is this divorce of religion and morals, and this repeated contradiction of the Saviour's crucial principle—"Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles"—which so stagger the faith of the average inquirer after truth, and compel him to reject claims and doctrines which need to be supported by arguments whose fallaciousness readily appears in other departments of inquiry. Calmness and high courtesy are demanded of the reviewer of a work on so high and noble a theme as Church history. The general justice of this claim is recognized. In many, very many, respects Alzog is justly severe

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on the recreancy and unfaithfulness of the Church in its head and members. In this he has been more fearless and honest than most Catholic historians. He often makes careful discriminations, and faithfully places the culpableness where it justly belongs. Nevertheless there is a too manifest attempt to conceal and apologize; and it is difficult to suppress indignation at the treatment which some of the worst men receive at his hands. Take, for example, his closing notice of the career of Innocent VIII.: "This Pope, however, deserves considerable credit for his energetic efforts to suppress sorcery and witchcraft and the remnants of the heresy of John Huss;" and this statement of the pontificate of the impious Alexander VI.: "It is certainly a little remarkable that Alexander, while making so flagrant a misuse of his pontifical power, never lost sight of the essential duties of the Head of the Church, and never compromised either faith or morals in any of the numerous official documents issued by him." "*Never lost sight of the essential duties of the Head of the Church!*" What is the man of average intellect and average moral sense to think of such expressions as these? There are intuitions of right which no ecclesiastical system, however stupendous and hoary with age, can possibly eradicate. The average heathen mind, in countries not absolutely barbaric, would rise in stubborn protest against a system which needs such statements as these to prop up and defend some of its favorite dogmas.* Not a commandment of the Decalogue that this Pope did not repeatedly infract; not a beatitude of the humble Nazarene that he did not habitually and openly con-

* The severe arraignment of the Catholic Church in Italy and Spain by Sismondi, some sixty years ago, will here be recalled: "The same religious prejudice exists in Italy; an assassin is always sure of protection, under the name of Christian charity, from all belonging to the Church, and by that class of people immediately under the influence of the priests. Thus, in no country of the world have assassinations been more frequent than in Italy and Spain. In the latter country a village *fête* scarcely ever occurs without a person getting killed. . . . But neither the Spaniards nor the Italians ever consult their reason in legislating on morals; they submit blindly to the decisions of casuists, and when they have undergone the expiations imposed on them by their confessors they believe themselves absolved from all crime. These expiations have been rendered so much the more easy, as they are a source of riches to the clergy. A foundation of masses for the soul of the deceased, or alms to the Church, or a sacrifice of money, in short, however disproportionate to the wealth of the culprit, will always suffice to wash away the stain of blood. The Greeks in the heroic age required expiations before a murderer was permitted again to enter into their temple; but their expiations, far from enfeebling the civil

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temn. When the marvelous prayer of the departing Lord—"They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world; sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth"—and the high and holy character which should pertain to the officers of the Church of God, as so powerfully drawn by St. Paul in the pastoral epistles, are placed in contrast with the scandalous lives of these Popes, and with these extenuations and apologies of professedly one of the most scientific and conscientious historians of the Catholic Church, the moral sense experiences a most terrible shock, and the suspicion is awakened that Alzog is writing in fear of the *Index Expurgatorius.*

We have before remarked that, in a Church history written from a Catholic stand-point, no sympathy with, or defense of, movements in opposition to the peculiar tenets and genius of the Romish Church may be looked for. Such expectation would be most unwise. Yet we may demand of any writer of respectability such statement of facts as will give to the reader of average intelligence a just resultant impression of the period under examination. We are reluctantly compelled to believe that, in his treatment of the "Reformers before the Reformation," Alzog has failed to satisfy this reasonable demand. The feeling awakened in the mind of one who should read the history, for the first time, from the pages of this writer, is, that Wiclif, Huss, Jerome of Prague, John of Wesel, John von Goch, Savonarola, and the whole line of heroic men who uttered their stout protest against the fearful corruption and wickedness which were consuming away the Church in both head and members, were only wretched vipers, which it was the duty of all men to crush out with the heel of power, or consume in the fires of the *auto-da-fe.* In a Catholic history we are prepared to find opposition to these men; indeed, we expect their hearty condemnation; but we confess to utter astonishment at the stony heartlessness of Alzog as he treats this period of history. His spirit is that of a gloomy inquisitor, with not a touch of sympathy or a tear of regret at what he believes to be the errors

authority, were designed to strengthen it; they were long and severe; the murderer was compelled to make public penance, and felt himself stained by the blood he had shed. Thus, among a fierce and half-savage people, the authority of religion, in accordance with humanity, checked the effusion of blood, and rendered an instance of assassination more rare in all Greece than in a single village in Spain." —*Literature of the South of Europe*, chap. xxxi.

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of these men; but he is willing to give one more twist to the thumb-screw, and one more turn to the rack, to compel recantation. He utterly forsakes the high domain of the historian, to play the part of the most wretched partisanship. Look at this picture, painted by a powerful, yet truthful, artist:

> We betake ourselves in spirit to the fifteenth century. It is difficult to describe how sad the Church's condition then seemed. The Lord's vineyard was a desert; thorns and thistles covered it, in place of vines. The priesthood was grown worldly and even dissolute. The Popes, overstepping all limits in their assumptions, led lives scandalous and horrible beyond measure. The monkish orders were following them in the way of ruin. Simony, extortion of every kind, and concubinage, were the order of the day. Church assemblies seemed only held for the bacchanalian orgies that went with them. During the Council of Constance there were no less than fifty thousand strangers in the town, and a great swarm of abandoned women among them. At this time the Church saw at her head three pretended vicegerents of Christ instead of one, alternately excommunicating and cursing each the others. The poor people, designedly chained down by basest superstitions, fainted as sheep without a shepherd. Was it a wonder, when a part of them, casting aside all restraints of chastity and morality, followed in the footsteps of their corrupt leaders, and gave themselves up to every vice, if the other and nobler portion, in sore need of the bread and water of life, gave vent to loud and still louder demands for the Church's reformation, in head and in members?—F. W. KRUMMACHER.

All of this, and no word of extenuation from Alzog of the conduct of these branded heretics! We repeat that impartial readers of this portion of our author's work must pronounce him lacking in the highest qualities of the historian, and his work well calculated to foster in members of his own communion a spirit of bigotry and uncharitableness. In these crucial examples he plainly violates the principles which he had already laid down to guide the historian. (See vol. i, p. 14.)

In further confirmation of this opinion we notice the author's treatment of the Inquisition. Doubtless, satisfactory reasons for the establishment of this court can be found in the spirit of the times. In an age when the doctrine of religious toleration had found no defenders, it is easy to understand how heresy, which was judged to be the most heinous crime, would be suppressed by the strong arm of the civil and ecclesiastical power alike. But it is totally unworthy a writer of the nine-

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teenth century to be studying up *apologies* for the institution and horrible cruelties of this fearful court. For example, what are we to think of the following: "It is doubtful if *in our own day* sectaries as dangerous and malignant as the Albigenses and Cathari would be treated more leniently; and if so, why should we marvel at their treatment in the Middle Ages, *so eminently religious* in character?" etc.—Vol. ii, p. 982. Is Rome, through one of her chief councilors, here affirming anew the doctrine of *semper eadem* respecting intolerance, and the physical punishments by which, when power returns, she is ready to subdue dissent and heresy? But, as though Alzog were a little ashamed of his efforts to excuse the Inquisition, he utters a feeble condemnation of its abuse in Spain, and then turns round to apologize for his apology by trying to prove greater cruelties on the part of the Protestants! The usual puerile fallacy of supposing any lesser villainy to be a virtue, or that because arson is not homicide, it is, therefore, not a crime! While we reluctantly believe with the able historian of Rationalism, (Lecky, "History of Rationalism," vol. ii, pp. 40, 46,) that "the Church of Rome has inflicted a greater amount of unmerited suffering than any other religion which has ever existed among mankind;" and also that "nothing can be more grossly disingenuous or untrue than to represent persecution as her peculiar trait;" and we may be compelled to conclude with another able historical writer, that the strange contradictions presented in the history of religious communities can be accounted for only on the supposition that the human mind must be naturally intolerant of opposition, (Smyth, "Lectures on Modern History," lect. xii,) we can feel nothing but antagonism toward a Church historian of our own day who more than intimates that erroneous opinions, so judged, may be exterminated by the infliction of torture. It is in view of these positions of a grave historian, whose work bears the *imprimatur* of the Pope, and the indorsement of the most learned archbishops of this country, that we are unwillingly compelled to ponder the late utterances of a leading English historian in an influential American journal:

Give them (the Catholics) the power, and the Constitution will be gone. A Catholic majority, under spiritual direction, will forbid liberty of worship, and will try to forbid liberty of con-

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science. It will control education; it will put the press under surveillance; it will punish opposition with excommunication, and excommunication will be attended with civil disabilities. That it will try to do all this, as long as it accepts the ultramontane theory which at present passes current, is as certain as mathematics. It tried before in the Dark Ages; it will try again in the age of enlightenment.—J. A. FROUDE, in the "North American," November, 1879.

That these opinions are correct cannot be for a moment doubted by those who accept the maxim of *semper eadem*, and that this is still adhered to, the recent utterances *ex cathedra* from Rome give little room to doubt, notwithstanding the assertions of Romanists that Protestants are not in a position to understand Catholic doctrines.

The limits of this article will not permit an examination of Alzog's treatment of the great protest of the sixteenth century; we must dismiss this most prolific subject with but a single remark. While somewhat more moderate than many historians of his Church in the discussion of some of the dividing questions, he is most decidedly and thoroughly Catholic in his attitude toward the Reformation as a religious movement. He sees in Luther a very gifted and pious monk so long as he kept the peace, but an arch-apostate when he begins to question the purity and authority of the Church. Luther's expressions of pacific intentions, etc., "are the first act in a long drama of hypocritical professions;" in his letter to the Pope of March 2, 1519, "he was playing the contemptible hypocrite," etc.; he "had recourse to his usual dexterity and cunning;" he "had given much offense by his bibulous habits and his unseemly familiarity with females;" "he continued to exert, through his letters and other writings, the baleful influence which his presence had inspired;" in his connection with Henry VIII. "he showed himself the most vile of hypocrites;" "Luther was both a glutton and a drunkard." He closes by quoting approvingly the estimate of the Jesuit Pallavicini. But we tire of these pretensions to history. Why is it that Alzog, and even the abler and more profound Döllinger, lose sight of the fundamental meaning of history—"inquiry," "research"—while they are treating so grave and solemn an event as the Reformation? Why do they consent to betake themselves to vituperation, or to a skillful and ingenious array

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of the weaknesses of great actors, and not to bring their best powers to the discovery of the causes of an event so tremendous in its consequences to Rome herself? Who does not know that to attribute so wonderful a revolution in doctrine and life to any merely hypocritical perversity involves a psychical absurdity which is not tolerable in the veriest historical tyro? Of all the cheap ways of writing history this is the very cheapest. While Döllinger has been much more just than Alzog in the estimate of Luther's character and work, both are alike inclined to give to the Reformation little credit for high and saving results.

It has passed into an adage that no man is wholly good or wholly bad. This truth must be ever-present with the historian and the biographer as they attempt their high and holy work. Every man, too, must be himself, and can be nobody else. To measure one man by his fellow is an almost impossible task. Plutarch may charm by his ingenious parallels, but there is ever lurking in this style of biography a demon of injustice which the fair-minded and honorable will seek to exorcise. We may, indeed, demand of the great leader and reformer deep and settled convictions, the use of honorable means, and a fair promise of success; these conditions being fulfilled, we are to judge their work by carefully and conscientiously determining the grand resultant of their labors, as this resultant has been revealed in the onflowing decades or centuries. To sketch a character from its defects is, therefore, grossly unjust, not to say detestably wicked. The purest and the best of earth would go down under such an onslaught. Herein we discover a serious defect of Alzog. He seems to be almost totally oblivious of the fact that enthusiastic minds and many great reformers have been subject to great fluctuations of feeling, and the victims of almost overwhelming spiritual depression. The agonizing prayer of Israel's great lawgiver, "Blot me, I pray thee, out of the book which thou hast written;" and his fatal haste in twice smiting the rock; the despairing cry of Elijah, "It is enough; now, O Jehovah, take away my life, for I am not better than my fathers;" Paul's pathetic words, "For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen, according to the flesh"—these are familiar examples of the weakness and of the soul-agony

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which even inspired men have at times experienced. And the history of the Church furnishes numerous similar instances of a well-nigh despairing wail extorted from grandly heroic souls in the days of their keen disappointment and reverse. Yet how wickedly unjust to judge the great Hebrew leader from any such momentary spiritual obscuration, or to make this the key to unlock the deep problems of his life of moral sublimity! Not more defensible is the course of Alzog relative to Luther, or that of Döllinger when he discusses the nature and effects of the Reformation. The Reformation involved many hard and before unsolved problems. The struggles were often fierce and passionate. The motives were often flecked with selfishness and obstinacy. The determining element in many a conflict was unchristlike. The agents and chief actors in this great politico-religious drama were very fallible men; they had many and serious defects of character, and were subject to all the infirmities of their race and age. The results have been such as must ever come from the acceptance of a condition of human freedom relative to the profound problems of doctrine, life, and destiny. But when the grand resultant of this great protest against Rome is determined, Protestants feel an honest pride, and give devout thanks to the great Head of the Church that such Coryphaei for right as Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, Zwingle, and their coadjutors, should bring in a better and brighter day for humanity.

The limits of this article having been reached, we shall leave to others to point out more specifically the excellencies and errors of this Church history when it treats of the post-Reformation period. We have only time to say that much of this history is exceptionally excellent, many passages are truly eloquent, and the range of authorities quoted is generally wide and ample. We regret that many parts are weakened by erroneous statement, and sometimes marred by the indulgence of a spirit of bigotry and religious partisanship which is entirely unbecoming the dignity of a theme so noble as that of the history of the Church of Christ. These errors and this partisan zeal are especially manifest in Alzog's account of the Huguenots in France, of the French Revolution, and in what seems to be the translator's account of the Jesuit missionary labors in North America, and of the pontificate of Pius IX.

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We rejoice that so good a Church history has been made accessible to the many students of Catholic schools and colleges of America; for it is an almost infinite gain over all their former manuals. We regret, however, that this history is marred by so many errors, and is at times so unjustly partisan; for the profound pity is, the unlearned will readily accept these most crude and unworthy statements as genuine history, and to the more bigoted of every communion denunciation is more effective than scholarly examination.

ART. VI.—HARPERS' LATIN DICTIONARY.

Harpers' Latin Dictionary. A New Latin Dictionary, founded on the Translation of Freund's Latin-German Lexicon. Edited by E. A. ANDREWS, LL.D. Revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten, by CHARLTON T. LEWIS, Ph.D., and CHARLES SHORT, LL.D., Professor of Latin in Columbia College, New York. New York: Harper & Brothers. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1879.

THE Roman youth who was put to the study of his native language had to depend on the oral instructions of his teachers, both for a knowledge of the grammatical principles which governed its structure, and for the vocabulary of its words, and their meanings and proper use; or, if sufficiently advanced, he might also consult the writings of standard Latin authors, provided he were so fortunate as to possess a copy of their works in manuscript; for "the art preservative of all arts" was not then at hand to lend him its kindly assistance by supplying copies of the best literary productions of his country, or to facilitate his labor by the timely offering of a printed grammar and dictionary of his mother tongue. If the great Roman orator and philosopher whose writings form the accepted models and tests of purest Latinity could have had laid before him so full a vocabulary of the words of his own language, illustrated by so varied, numerous, and pertinent examples, and enriched by the results of such far-reaching and scholarly investigations into its origin, its history, its etymological and grammatical relations to other members of the family of cognate tongues, as are to be found in the publication standing at the head of this article, we may well imagine his astonishment and delight. In the fervor of a quickened pride and faith in the capabilities of that form of

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human speech through which he himself had displayed the almost matchless force of the magic spell of oratory, had constrained applause and approval from an unfriendly populace, or bent the wills of haughty senators to his own, he only the more earnestly would have urged "that the Latin language is not only not deficient, so as to deserve to be generally disparaged, but that it is even more copious than the Greek. For when have either we ourselves, or when has any good orator or noble poet, at least after there was any one for him to imitate, found himself at a loss for any richness or ornament of diction with which to set off his sentiments?" (Cic., *De Finibus*, 1, 3, 10; pp. 99–100 of Yonge's translation, Bohn, London, 1853.) We may fancy, moreover, that his exultation would have somewhat sobered down when a careful examination of the more than two thousand compactly filled pages of the volume before him disclosed no Latin name for the kind and character of book which he was examining. He would have been reminded of the fact that his Latin tongue, with all its vaunted copiousness, possessed no term to express the idea, so familiar to our minds, of a dictionary, because, in fact, strictly speaking, no such composition was then to be found in the range of Latin literature. The thing itself and the name were alike unknown. The word *glossæ*, borrowed from the Greek, and used to designate collections of obsolete or foreign words, with explanations thereof, is, indeed, found in the work of the learned M. Terentius Varro, entitled, *De Lingua Latina;* but nowhere do we find, in Latin authors preceding or contemporaneous with Cicero, a word which designated a compilation of the current words of the language, arranged in alphabetical or some other convenient order, with explanations of their forms, meanings, and applications, and fulfilling with respect to the language the office that an encyclopedia does to art, science, and literature. (See Amer. Cyclop., *s. v.* "Dictionary.") It was not until about thirteen hundred years after the age of Cicero, and at a period when the dominant influence of ecclesiastical literature and modes of thought had relegated his writings and those of his classic compeers to comparative obscurity, that an English grammarian and poet coined the word *dictionarius*, which has been naturalized in several modern languages, and in English has become a standard term to designate systematically arranged,

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general or limited, compilations of the words of the language, or of terms belonging to some special branch of knowledge, with explanations of their meanings and uses. John Garland, (Latinized Joannes de Garlandia,) who flourished in the thirteenth century A. D., was the author of some poems of a religious nature, and of several works on subjects connected with language, among which was a composition entitled *dictionarius sive de dictionibus obscuris*, which was published by Géraud in his *Paris sous Philippe le Bel*, (Paris, 1837,) forming a part of the *Documens Inédits sur l'histoire de France.* The work is of the sort called a classed vocabulary, and is a curious production, containing a medley of notions, often incomplete, but interesting, on a variety of subjects, and is especially deserving of notice here as furnishing the first known example of the use of the word *dictionarius.* Referring to the title adopted by him, the author says, "This little book is called a dictionary from the more necessary *dictions* which every scholar should keep, not merely in a book-case made of wood, but firmly held in the casket of his memory." * The work of Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, before mentioned, has come down to our times in a very incomplete condition. Of the original twenty-four books only six (from the fifth to the tenth inclusive) are extant, and these are "disfigured by numerous blanks, corruptions, and interpolations." The best edition is that of Müller, Leipsic, 1833, 8vo., (reproduced by Egger, Paris, 1837.) Though not a dictionary of the language, it is strictly philological in character, and has been of great value to Latin lexicography by means of the information it supplies respecting the origin and uses of words, (many of which would otherwise have perished or become unintelligible,) and the light thrown by it upon points of grammar and etymology, notwithstanding the many absurd and incorrect views expressed. The study of the Greek language was, at this period, deemed an important part of the curriculum to be pursued by those who aspired to the distinction of being ranked among the well educated, and the spirit of Greek literature and philosophy permeated all forms of intellectual life and activity at Rome. It was, conse-

* Dictionarius dicitur libellus iste a dictionibus magis necessariis, quas tenetur quilibet scolaris, non tantum in scrinio de lignis facto, sed in cordis armariolo firmitur retinere.

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quently, much the fashion then to have recourse exclusively to the Greek for the solution of difficult and doubtful questions regarding the Latin. Varro, however, did not follow this vicious custom, but adopted the sound principle "of connecting Latin words, as far as possible, with the ancient dialects of Italy," and thus pointed out the way to most important results, had it been followed up rightly.

Following the order of time, the next name in the history of Latin lexicography that claims notice is Verrius Flaccus, a grammarian and archæologist, who lived about the beginning of the Christian era. Though belonging to the class of manumitted slaves, he became so eminent for learning and skill in teaching as to secure the favor of the emperor Augustus, who intrusted to him the education of his grandsons, Caius and Lucius Cæsar. Besides many other works of value, he composed an elaborate and voluminous one, entitled, *De Significatu Verborum*, which, from its scope and method, and partially alphabetical arrangement of the articles, may be regarded as an imperfect prototype of the Latin dictionary of to-day. This work, together with Varro's, constituted the weightiest authority then known in regard to the sources and history of the Latin language, and was often quoted by the writers of the first ages of the empire and by subsequent grammarians. With the exception of short fragments, the original work of Flaccus has entirely perished, but it was made the basis of a similar, though less extensive, compilation by Sextius Pompeius Festus, a grammarian or lexicographer, whose date is uncertainly fixed somewhere in the third or fourth century, A. D. Of this work of Festus only one MS. has been preserved to our times, and that in a very unsatisfactory and incomplete condition. The curious and interesting story of the misfortunes which befell the MS. copies of Festus well illustrates the perils to which the written records of ancient learning were exposed before the agency of printing was invoked to rescue such monuments of the labors and genius of past ages from further despoilment, and endow them with a perpetuity of life more enduring even than fire-born brass or sculptured marble can assure. Festus abridged and condensed into much less space the voluminous work of Flaccus. He omitted the obsolete words, (*intermortua et sepulta verba*,) made some other changes, and

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added criticisms of his own and extracts from the other works of Flaccus, the whole embraced in twenty books, with the title, *De significatione Verborum.* This *rifacimento* of the work of Flaccus furnishes, as I have before said, an imperfect prototype of the modern Latin dictionary. The arrangement is alphabetical to the extent of placing together words beginning with the same letter but grouped in a double series. In the first series the grouping is not merely according to the first letter, but also to the second, third, and even fourth; but the groupings are irregular; for example, the letter R series begins not with Ra but Ru; then follow groups in Ro, Rum, Rh, Re, and Ri mixed; then Ra, and, again, Re and Ri mixed. In the second series regard is paid simply to the initial letter, though with a certain ground of connection; thus under P we find groups of words, as, *Palatualis, Portenta, Postularia, Pestifera, Peremptalia, Pullus*—all relating to sacred rites; then *Proprius sobrino, Possessio, Præfecturæ, Parret, Postum, Patrocinia, Posticam lineam*—relating to civil law; and *Pomptina, Papiria, Pupinnia, Pupillia*—names of tribes, and so on with other groups.

This abridgment by Festus was itself abridged in the eighth century by Paul, the son of Warnefried, better known as Paulus Diaconus, according to the commonly received, but not undoubted, tradition. Whoever, whether Paulus or some unknown person, was the author of this last abridgment, the work was very poorly executed, and the *epitome* of Paulus is to be valued, not by virtue of intrinsic and independent merit, but because it has preserved something of the great work of Flaccus and Festus, which would otherwise have perished utterly. The early printed editions, up to the close of the fifteenth century, contained only the work of Paulus. In 1510 there was published at Milan a volume containing Nonius Marcellus, Festus, Paulus, and Varro, wherein the remains of Festus were incorporated with Paulus, and thus gave rise to the confused blending of the two authors, which prevailed until Antonius Angus, in his edition, (Venice, 1559–60,) gave both a correct collation of the Farnese MS., and a separation of the original work of Festus from that of Paulus. Lindemann, in the second volume of his valuable *Corpus Grammaticorum Latinorum*, (Leipsic, 1831–40,) gives a good edition, embracing a

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complete separation of the work of Festus and Paulus, a careful revision of the text, and a large number of notes. The best edition by far is that of K. O. Müller, (Leipsic, 1839, 4to.,) which contains the best results of careful and critical investigations into the history, plan, and text of the several elements which make up the work now given under the name of Festus.

A survey of the field of European literature, if such can be said to have then existed, for a long period after the age of Festus, presents but few examples of efforts made in the direction of lexicography. The overthrow of the Western Roman Empire installed, it is true, a new and a more active race of political masters throughout its domains, but their activities were exhausted in the destructive work of war and rapine—in destroying the monuments of the past, not in perpetuating them. What little of ancient learning there was left found its refuge in the bosom of the Christian Church, which, like Noah's ark, was destined to pass in safety over the turbulent waters that engulfed most of the structures based on classic institutions and knowledge. The Latin language was preserved and held in honor by the clergy and monks. The ritual of the Church and the standards of faith, as contained in the writings of the Fathers of the West, were enshrined in the language of the former masters of the Roman world. But while it escaped destruction in the prevailing deluge, it gives proof of defilement by the surging waves in the sediment of numerous barbarisms in words and grammar which disfigure the degenerate Latinity of the Middle Ages.

The influence of the Church was strongly exerted in favor of the writings of the ecclesiastical fathers as standards both for style and sentiment, and tended constantly to set aside the classic authors. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find in the few lexicographical works originating in this period that greater weight is given to Ambrose and Jerome than to Cicero and Virgil as models to be followed.

Papias, an Italian grammarian who lived in the eleventh century, compiled for the use of his children, from the glossaries of the sixth and seventh centuries, an *Elementarium* or *Lexicon*, which, though very imperfect and full of errors and barbarous Latinisms, is yet very curious, and not without a certain value for the information it gives as to manuscripts. The

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first edition was published at Milan, in 1476, folio, under the title, *Papiae Vocabularium*, etc. A more important work in the history of Latin lexicography is the celebrated *Catholicon*, compiled about A. D. 1286, by Giovanni Balbi, (otherwise known as de Janua or Januensis,) a monk of the order of the Preaching Brothers. The Catholicon is a sort of encyclopedia, and treats of various matters, and contains a copious Latin grammar and dictionary, with abundant quotations from Latin writers. Hallam (*Lit. of Eur.*) claims higher credit for this work than was generally accorded to it, and thinks that the grammar not only shows "familiarity with the terminology of the old grammarians," but indicates "that a certain attention was beginning to be paid to correctness in writing." As is the case in Papias "little distinction was made between the different gradations of Latinity." How fully Balbi shared the ecclesiastical spirit of his age is shown by his language at the conclusion of the work, where he tells us that with much labor and diligent study he had compiled this book to the glory of God and the glorious Virgin Mary, etc. Its great bulk must, at that time, have greatly restricted its circulation, and it is now chiefly notable for having been one of the works first selected for publication by the founders of the typographic art. The first edition, printed at Mayence in 1460, in folio, by Faust and Schaeffer, is extremely rare and commands a very high price. The *Comprehensorium* (whose author is only given as Joannes) published at Valentia, in 1475, folio, and the *Onomasticon* of Nestor Dionysius, published at Milan, in 1483, in folio, are classed among Latin dictionaries belonging to this early period. The Latin dictionaries thus far compiled, as well as some subsequent ones, give explanations in Latin only. About A. D. 1440, Galfridus Grammaticus, an English Dominican monk, compiled the work known as the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, which was printed by Pynson, in 1499, and was the first *printed* vocabulary wherein we find inserted words from a modern vernacular tongue, answering to the Latin ones, the English words in this being followed by their supposed Latin equivalents. Eight editions were published from 1508–28, and recently, under the auspices of the Camden Society, an edition by Albert Way has been brought out in three volumes, 4to., 1835–65. To the same author probably belongs

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the *Medulla Grammaticis*, written in 1483 and printed as the *Ortus Vocabulorum* by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1500. Thirteen editions from 1509–23.

Nicolo Perotti, Archbishop of Siponto, was the author of the *Cornucopiae*, which consists of a very prolix commentary on certain portions of the poet, Martial, followed by an alphabetical index. It is not a dictionary proper, but a treasury of erudite, undigested materials, from which Calepino and other lexicographers have drawn largely. By setting the example of quoting passages from the classics to support the explanations given, it led the way to great advance in exegesis. The date of compilation is not known, but the first edition was published at Venice in 1489, folio.

The invention of printing and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, with the consequent dispersion of learned Greeks throughout Western Europe, were events nearly contemporaneous, and alike exerted a powerful influence in giving new impulse to the literary spirit then awakening from the torpor of the Middle Ages. It was at this period that Ambrogio Calepino, an Italian monk of the order of the Augustines, began the preparation of the Latin dictionary to which he devoted the labor of his life until blindness supervened, and which, despite many defects and manifest inferiority to others that followed, was superior to any preceding one, and met for the time, inadequately it may be, the enlarging demands of the new order of things. It was used by scholars every-where during the sixteenth century, and the numerous editions testify to the earnestness of the popular appreciation, if not to its real merits. Calepino has been charged with using too freely materials gathered by the labors of others, especially Valla and Perotti, but no discredit, but rather praise, should attach to the lexicographer who carefully searches for and skillfully appropriates whatever he finds adapted to his purpose, provided due acknowledgment be made. For in this way only can we hope to approximate step by step to the highest grade of a dictionary. He was, like his predecessors, deeply imbued with the Church sentiment, and earnestly defended the Latinity of the fathers against the criticisms of the Ciceronians.* His *Dic-*

* Plus apud me Ambrosii, Hieronymi, vel Augustini gravitas et doctrina valet et Graecorum quam L. Vallae studiosa reprehensio.

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tionarium, first published at Reggio, (1502,) was enlarged in succeeding editions, by adding to the original explanations corresponding ones in other tongues, until in the Lyons' edition of 1586 it appeared as a polyglot in ten languages, and in that of Basle, 1590–1627, in one of eleven. Facciolati reduced the number to seven, revised, improved, and published it at Padua, in 1718, two volumes, folio. Of this revision there have been many reprints, sometimes with new title-pages. Hallam says of this work, "It is still, if not the best, the most complete polyglot lexicon of the European languages."

The historical sketch of the principal Latin dictionaries produced in the sixteenth century begins with one whose appearance dates an epoch in the history of Latin lexicography, and gave new impulse to the zeal for the study of the ancient classic writings which marks so strikingly the literary activity of this century. The elder Robert Stephens (Estienne or Etienne in French) belonged to the famous family of French printers, editors, and publishers, of whom Disraeli ("Cur. of Lit.,") thus writes: "There was not one of this large family without honorable recognition for labor and knowledge, and in their wives and daughters they found learned assistants. Chalmers says, 'They were at once the ornament and reproach of the age in which they lived. They were all men of great learning, all extensive benefactors to literature, and all persecuted or unfortunate.'" Himself a man of great learning for the time, well versed in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, of practiced skill in the printer's art, possessed of good, sound sense and of untiring industry, and, withal, a Protestant, and therefore free from that undue deference to the Fathers as models of purity and style which detracts so from the value of Balbi and Calepino, Stephens was fitted to prepare (using the words of Collier's Morery) "the most compleat dictionary that ever had been seen till then of the Latin tongue." His *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (first edition, 1531–32; the last from his hands, 1543, three volumes, folio) was the product of great labor and research, and has been to after compilers an invaluable repertory of material. Its distinguishing features are an endeavor to foster purity of style by exhibiting the proper use of words as well in the anomalies of idioms as in the delicate variations of sense as found exemplified in the best writers;

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a copious citation of examples, alphabetically arranged, but lacking exact reference to the authors, and definitions and explanations in French. While far in advance of previous ones, it cannot be called a scientific dictionary, and "would now be deemed far too defective for general use; yet it afforded the means for more purity in style than any could in that age have reached without unwearied exertion."—*Hallam.* The sentiment in favor of the classic standards of Latinity was further strengthened by the special dictionary to Cicero of Mario Nizzoli, (Latinized Nizolius,) whose original title of *Observationes in M. Tullium Ciceronem* (Brescia, 1535) did not indicate its true character, and was changed to *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* in the Aldine edition of 1570, and following ones, until in Facciolati's edition (Padua, 1754) it appeared as *Lexicon Ciceronianum* which title is followed in the London edition of 1820, three volumes, 8vo. Notwithstanding faults severely criticised by Henry Stephens, this work has been regarded as an excellent one, and, in improved issues, maintained its popularity even into this century. John Fries, (Latinized Frisius,) a learned Swiss, with the aid of Stephens' Thesaurus, and the co-operation of Pierre Cholin, compiled a Latin-German dictionary, (published at Turin, 1541,) which was so favorably received that he was led to prepare and publish a new and enlarged one at Zurich, 1556, folio, of which numerous editions followed. The *Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae* of Basil Faber, designed to aid composers in imitating classic authors, was a work of originality and extensive and exact learning which still make it worthy of attention, but was inadequate as a general dictionary. (First edition, Leipsic, 1571; the best, that by Leich, Frankfort, 1749, two volumes, folio.)

Several Latin dictionaries were published in England during this century, but none of any conspicuous merit or originality. That by Sir John Elyot, (1538, fol.,) mainly an adaptation of Calepino's, whom, however, he censures for having "rather appaired that which Perotti had studiously gathered," claims the distinction of being the first Latin-English dictionary published in England. Richard Huloet's *Abecedarium*, etc., (1552, fol.,) a Latin and English dictionary, was enlarged and corrected by John Higgins, (1572, fol.) Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, who had previously edited Elyot's dictionary, published a *The-*

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saurus Linguæ Romanæ et Brittannicæ, (1565, fol.,) of which Elyot's was the foundation, and the materials mostly drawn from Stephens and Frisius. It is a philological curiosity. John Baret, a Cambridge scholar, published under the quaint title of *Alvearie*, (Beehive,) a dictionary in English, Latin, and French, (1575, fol.,) which he enlarged by the addition of Greek, and republished (1580, fol.) as *Alvearie*, or, *Quadruple Dictionarie.. A Dictionnaire Latinè et Anglicè*, by J. S. Veron or Vernon, (1575, 4to.,) was "corrected and enlarged for the utilitie and profit of all young students in the Latin tongue," by R. Waddington, etc., (1584, 4to.) We mention also *Thomasii* (*Thomæ*) *Dictionarium Linguae et Anglicanæ*, etc., (Cambridge, 1589, 8vo.,) and John Withals' *Shorte Dictionnarie for Yonge Beginners*, (1568, small 4to.,) "revised and increased with phrases and additions by L. Evans, with more than 600 rhythmical verses, proverbs, etc., by Abr. Fleming," (1599, 4to.)

The classical scholars of the seventeenth century devoted themselves more to general philology than to the task of compiling dictionaries. The names of Erasmus, the Scaligers, Martinius, and Vossius give importance to their opinions on grammar and etymology, though, judged in the light of the present day, many of their conclusions bear witness to the low state of philological science then. Their labors stimulated further inquiries, and paved the way to the progress since made in these respects. The *Lexicon Manuale Græco-Latinum* of Screvel (better known by his Latinized name of Schrevelius) is the only general dictionary compiled in this period which we need mention. First published in 1654, (one vol., 8vo.,) it went through numerous editions and adaptations, and was extensively used, notwithstanding its arbitrary selection of words, insufficient explanations, and absurd etymologies. Of special dictionaries, we mention the etymological ones by Holyoake, Martinius, Vossius, and Danet; that to Plautus by Pareus; the *Hierolexicon* of Magri, a dictionary of ecclesiastical Latin; and the *Thesaurus Epithetorum et Synonymorum*, afterward published as the *Gradus ad Parnassum*. But the most important and valuable work of this class originating in this century we shall notice more at length; namely, the "Glossary of Mediæval and Low Latinity," by du Cange. Charles du Fresne, Sieur du Cange, a French historian, antiquarian, and philologist, born in 1610,

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was educated for the law, but his tastes led him to abandon that profession and devote himself to historic researches. In these pursuits, impressed with a sense of the importance of a knowledge of the rustic Latin and Greek used in the Middle Ages for a proper understanding of the mediæval history and of the modern languages of Europe, he conceived the idea of preserving these intermediary dialects, by collecting, in the form of a dictionary, the words of these degenerate forms of the classic tongues. He prosecuted this purpose with the industry and mental grasp befitting the conception, and, with unabating zeal, sought from printed books and curious, unused manuscripts the materials for the great works which constitute an imperishable monument to his fame, and entitle his memory to grateful recognition by all who are called to traverse the history of the times and of the languages illustrated by his labors. His dictionary of mediæval and low Latin, published (Paris, 1678, three vols., fol.) under the modest but appropriate title of *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, was enlarged by the Benedictine monks to six volumes, (1733–36,) and to these Carpenter added four supplementary ones, making the entire work, as enlarged and improved, consist of ten folio volumes. An abridgment made by Adelung was published (Halle, 1772–83, six vols., 8vo.) under the title of *Glossarium Manuale*, etc. A new edition (seven vols., fol.—the last containing a glossary of old French)—edited by Henschel, was issued in 1844 from the press of the Messrs. Didot, and embraces the results of the labors of the continuators of du Cange, with emendations and additions by the editor and others so important as to make it almost an encyclopædia of the Middle Ages.

The eighteenth century was more prolific in lexicography, but the general Latin dictionaries claiming notice here are only four. The first is by an English schoolmaster, whose name is doubtless familiar to many of my readers, since, in one or another of many editions and adaptations, his dictionary was still in general use far into the present century. The fact of so long-continued popularity implies, at least, the merit of meeting a popular want, whatever critics may say of its deficiencies. Robert Ainsworth gave twenty years to the preparation of a Latin dictionary to answer the requirements of schools and colleges, and yet suffice for the needs of maturer students of the

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Latin authors. It was first published (1736, 4to.) under the title of *Thesaurus linguæ latinæ Compendiarius;* or, *A Compendious Dictionary of the Latin Language*, and many subsequent additions followed. Ainsworth was the first English lexicographer who supported his meanings by *exact* reference to authorities. While his work does not measure up to the standard of later ones, it was so superior to its predecessors for general uses that it superseded them, and was for a long time almost exclusively used where the English was the spoken tongue.

The *Novus linguæ et eruditionis Romanæ Thesaurus* of Gesner (1749, four vols., fol.) is based on that of Stephens, on which it shows but little advance. The attention paid to revision and improvement of definitions is but slight, and in etymology is limited to rejecting a few absurd ones.

The wayfarer, threading the paths of man's history in any of the lines of its varying activities, ever and anon reaches a structure which marks an epoch in the steps of progress. We have passed several such, and now come to another creation of toil-spent years, that tells anew the story that progress is not the result of spasmodic and erratic forces, but the fruit of labor intelligently and constantly directed to the attainment of an object—the reward of many headaches and many heartaches, of many nights of mental anguish, whose sole light was the glow of a faith that dies not, but cheers man onward until the end is reached. Jacopo Facciolati, a learned Italian and head of the famous seminary at Padua, where he had the direction of the instruction in Greek and Latin, in order to provide his pupils with better facilities for the study of the classic authors, prepared with great care the improved editions of Schrevelius, Nizolius, and Calepino, which are still regarded as among the best. In the prosecution of this object he was assisted by his pupil, Egidio Forcellini, who, perceiving, as Robert Stephens had perceived before him, that the great work of Calepino was by no means a complete thesaurus of the Latin language, suggested to Facciolati a new and a greater project than a mere revision of that work; namely, the compilation of a truly universal lexicon, of all ages, of that language, making the writers themselves the basis, and explaining each word and expression by exact citations from them, as had been done for the Italian

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language in the *Vocabulario della Crusca.* Prepared for his new work by previous study of Calepino, and directed at first by his old master, the young Forcellini, in the latter part of the year 1718, set about the stupendous task of reading, pen in hand, all the Latin authors and their best interpreters, and all the collections of Latin inscriptions and medals. By reason of various hinderances the prosecution of his task was so interrupted that the dictionary was not completed until February, 1753. Almost two years were spent in revising, and the transcribing was not finished until November, 1761. Forty years had passed since he began his labor, a length of time vividly set forth in the touching words of his preface: "A youth, I put my hand to the work. I have become an old man, as you see, while I am finishing it." * He did not live to see its publication, for ten years more passed before this monument of devoted zeal was unveiled to the world. Facciolati contributed little beyond counsel and encouragement. He expressly assigned the authorship to Forcellini.† The honor for its inception and elaboration is due to the unambitious, unselfish man, whose sagacity, learning, and steady perseverance gave to the lovers of the classics this richest fruit of labor in Latin lexicography of all the centuries. The first edition of the *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, issued from the seminary press at Padua, (1771, 4 vols., fol.,) was followed by a second and much superior one from the same press in 1805. An excellent edition was published in England in 1828 in two large volumes, 4to., by J. Bailey, with translation of the Italian words into English, and the addition of a great deal of new and valuable matter. A third Italian edition, by Furlanetto, was reprinted in Germany with improvements, (1828–35.) A new Italian edition is now passing through the press. Its points of superiority over its predecessors are: (1) the amplitude of its collection of materials, in which respect it is unrivaled, and is the richest store-house of material for Latin lexicographers; (2) its careful discrimination of the various meanings of words and clear definitions and explanations of separate terms, phrases, and idioms. Its principal defects are unsound etymologies and illogical arrangement of significations. The Latin-German dictionary of

* Adolescens manum admovi, senex, dum perficerem, factus sum, ut videtis.

† Princeps hujus operis conditor atque adeo unus Forcellinus est.

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E. J. G. Scheller (1783) was taken almost entirely, not excepting even the title, from Forcellini's work. Several useful dictionaries, devoted to special departments of Latin literature, added to the volume and value of materials for use in general Latin lexicography, but we have not space to enter into details concerning them.

The date of publication of the Latin dictionaries next to be noticed brings us into the present century. F. P. Leverett, principal of the school at Boston, Mass., compiled, chiefly from Forcellini, Scheller, and Lünemann, *A Lexicon of the Latin Language*, (1837,) which was for many years a standard work in the United States, until superseded by Andrews' "Freund." J. E. Riddle, who had previously translated Scheller's dictionary for the University of Oxford, essayed to remedy the defects of school editions of Ainsworth by his *Complete Latin English Dictionary*, founded on Lünemann's edition of Scheller's *Abridged Dictionary*, (1836,) and his *English Latin Dictionary*, (1838.)

When Forcellini was preparing his great work, European scholars hardly even knew of the existence of the Sanscrit language, and consequently its abundant stores of linguistic materials were not available to him as helpers in explaining the Latin. The establishment of British power and influence in India on a firm and expanding basis, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, laid the real foundation of the science of glossology, or comparative philology, by affording the opportunity and the facilities for the study of the sacred records of the Hindu people. The Sanscrit language, thus brought to the knowledge of Europe, was found not only to possess a rich literature, extending far back into the past, with a complete apparatus of grammars and dictionaries, but also to present unequivocal evidences of relationship to the languages of ancient Europe; in fact, that it was a sister tongue to the Greek and Latin. Another fact which has added to the impulse thus given to the comparative study of language should not be overlooked, namely, the activity in missionary efforts during the present century. The Christian missionaries, whose field of labor has constantly enlarged, were brought into contact with peoples speaking diverse tongues, and must needs master their speech in order to fulfill their mission. From time to

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time they have published the results of their acquisitions in this field, and so the mass of material for the student of language was largely increased. The facts accumulated were eagerly and attentively studied and analyzed. The critical labors of Adelung, De Sacy, A. W. Schlegel, Bopp, Pott, Grimm, and others brought to light hitherto unsuspected elements of accord in grammar and vocabulary between the different members of the Aryan family of languages, as well as intimations of connecting bonds between the families of tongues themselves. In grammar, exegesis and etymology especially, great progress had been achieved, and the time had come when lexicography, too, should take another forward step, responsive to the advance in philological science. This step was taken for the Latin in William Freund's *Wörterbach der Lateinischen Sprache*, (Dictionary of the Latin Language,) 1834–45, four volumes, 8vo., and his *Gesammt Wörterbach der Lateinischen Sprache*, (Condensed Dictionary of the Latin Language,) 1845, two volumes, 8vo. In the larger work, Freund essays to "give the history of all those words which occur in the written remains of the Romans, from the earliest times to the fall of the West Roman empire," (when the Latin ceased to be a spoken national language,) with such explanations of their age, quality, grammatical forms and relations and etymology, and such discrimination in the meaning and shades of meaning of single words, phrases, and idioms, as will serve faithfully to define them as expressions of the current thought of the Roman people in all the periods of its history. This object was more fully attained than ever before, and the work took rank as having brought Latin lexicography to a "high degree of perfection." Its treatment of words according to their historical development marked a long step in advance, and it made great improvement in exegesis, (the most important part of a dictionary,) in etymology and analysis of words, and in logical methods of arrangement and notation in the articles treating the separate words. Objection has been made ("London Quarterly," Oct. 1855) that too much was attempted, that there is a tendency to verbosity and excessive refinement and hair-splitting; but the merits of Freund's work are so conspicuous that it has been made the basis for all the principal Latin dictionaries published since its appearance in this country and Great

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Britain.* Of these we shall notice, 1. *A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon*, by J. E. Riddle, (1849, 4to.,) founded chiefly on the "Condensed Dictionary" of Freund. It abounds in errors of reference, omits carelessly a group of words between feriæ and feritas, including the verb ferio, and adjective ferinus, both found in writers usually read in schools, and is, in most respects, far inferior to either of the two following ones. The large type, the inclusion of some mediæval Latin words, and an etymological index at the end, may commend it to certain persons and for certain objects. Before his death Mr. Riddle was, in conjunction with the Rev. J. T. White, engaged in the preparation of an enlarged and greatly improved edition, based on Andrews' translation of Freund. This was published in 1862. 2. *A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon*," by E. A. Andrews, LL.D., (New York, 1850, 8vo.,) is based on a translation of the larger work of Freund, with some corrections, and an Appendix containing specimens of early Latin, and one containing lists of French and Italian words derived from the Latin, taken from Freund's smaller work. Occasional deficiencies found in Freund are supplied from Gesner, Facciolati, Scheller, and Georges. By means of judicious condensation, it aims to give, within the compass of a large 8vo. volume, all that is of prime importance in the four volumes of the original. This object was so faithfully held in view, and so successfully achieved, that Andrews' Freund was accepted as the best exponent in English of the original German work, and has been since its publication a standard book of reference both in this country and Great Britain. As the publishers of Harpers' Dictionary say, in their "advertisement," "It has had for competitors, indeed, in the schools and colleges of both countries, only works which are substantially reprints or abridgments of itself." It is sometimes defective in its renderings of the German, and not without faults in style and other defects. 3. William Smith, LL.D., the well-known editor and co-author of other valuable dictionaries, brought out

* The omission of Freund's work, the most important one originating in this century, from the list of German-Latin dictionaries, given in the new (ninth) edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," does not speak well for the carefulness or knowledge of the author of the article. No mention is made, either, of any Latin dictionary published in the United States.

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(London, 1855, one volume, med. 8vo.) *A Latin-English Dictionary*, based on Forcellini and Freund, which has been highly praised. I may add that, in conjunction with T. D. Hall, and after fifteen years of preparation, he published (1870) *A Copious and Critical English-Latin Dictionary*, the best one issued from the English press. Harper & Brothers republished it (1871) in one volume, royal 8vo. Of those published in the United States for the use of schools I mention, 1. *A Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary*, by C. Anthon, LL.D., the first part based on Riddle's Freund, (1849,) whose omission of the group of works mentioned is not even supplied, and the second part, mainly a reprint of Kaltschmidt's "English-Latin Dictionary," (New York, 1852, one volume, sm. 4to.;) and 2. *A Latin-English Lexicon*, by Messrs. Crooks and Schem, based on Ingerslev's "Schulwörterbuch," (Philadelphia, 1858, one vol., 8vo.)

About thirty years have elapsed since the publication of Andrews, in which time much further advance has been made in philological science. Investigations of the structure, the history and connections of languages, especially those of the Aryan family, have continued with unabated zeal and no less fruitful results. The same influences have been operating with the added power and acceleration which widely developed steam communications and the electric telegraph have given to the movements of the world. Andrews' Freund no longer represented for English and American students the latest results of critical research, and there was need for such revision and reconstruction as would measure up to the present attainments in Latin philology. Accordingly, the Messrs. Harper & Brothers, publishers of Andrews, determined to bring out such a work. Availing themselves of the aid of Dr. Freund himself, who has revised, corrected, and added largely to the work of Andrews, and of the careful supervision and critical elaboration of the editors, assisted by other eminent Latin scholars, they give to the public, in the volume now before us, the result of their efforts, *A New Latin Dictionary*, based, indeed, on Andrews' translation of Freund, but so revised, reconstructed, and enlarged as to correspond with the advanced status of philology. This work may be presumed to represent the matured judgment of Dr. Freund himself as regards the principles and methods which should govern in the

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treatment of the several elements of a Latin dictionary intended for general use. In further notice of it we shall limit comparisons to Andrews' work, since that, at least in the United States, has hitherto been regarded as the best Latin dictionary in general use, and shall refer to the two works by the words Harpers and Andrews, or simply by the letters H. and A. We begin with the observations that H. presents a more attractive and legible page than A., devotes nearly one third more space to the dictionary proper, and, besides, contains an "Orthographical Index" of the principal Latin words, variously spelled in MSS. and editions, with an indication of the better orthography, generally following Brambach; a fuller list of ancient authors, with the abbreviations used in referring to them; and a "Catalogue" of editions of ancient authors, books of reference, etc., used in editing the work. From an examination of this last list we see that the editors of H. have enriched their labors from the most recent and highest culture in this branch of literature. We have therein the names of Corssen, Döderlein, Donaldson, Fick, G. F. Grotefend, Lübke, Mann, Mommsen, Neue, Smith, Vanicek, Wordsworth, and many others, including critical editors and Latin grammarians of highest repute. The appendices in A. are, we think, properly omitted, since, however useful and interesting their matter, they do not fall within the proper scope of a lexicon; but the omission in Harpers of even a brief editorial statement of the nature and extent of the work, and of the methods adopted in framing the separate articles, we think a deficiency to be supplied. For example, many who may use the work cannot be presumed to know the exact import of such terms as classical, ante- and post-classical, etc., occurring therein, or be able to supply the lack from Andrews or Freund. Coming to the separate articles, our attention is first called to those on the letters of the alphabet, and an examination of them in each work proves conclusively that H. is no mere copy of A., but that each article has been carefully revised, and most of them enlarged and changed so as to present new and better explanations of the origin and uses of the letters. That on A is in Andrews less than one column in extent, while in Harpers it fills nearly four, and gives a more copious and vastly better account of the various uses and combinations of the letter. In

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that on B, H. corrects the statement of A., that aspello and asporto pass into appello and apporto; supplies the omission, that before f and p, or m and c, b is assimilated; and changes the expression "syllables of derivation" into "terminations used in forming words." That on C is somewhat longer in H., where mention is made of the interchange of ci and ti, not referred to in A.; but H. refers to a form aecatia not found in the vocabulary. The article on D is rewritten and much improved in H., but the statement that d in Latin corresponds in *character* and sound to the English d and Greek Δ is correct only as to the English, if by *character* the form or shape of the letter is meant. On E, H. is longer and gives more accurately the changes and uses of the letter; *e. g.*, in division c (e), nouns from stems ending in c, b, p, t, n, etc., and division e, euphonic insertion of e in nouns and adjectives where stem ends in r, as sacer. Article F, rewritten and much changed, is brought up to present standards in H., where f's connection in sound with an original Indo-European bh, dh, or gh, is set forth. The article G in H. is longer, revised, and the connection of g with the Indo-European original stated. That on H is also revised in Harpers, and the fact of the weakening of the sound of h, and of the frequent dropping of a medial h, is stated. That on I is revised in H., and mention made of the insertion of an i in words from the Greek, as mina from μνᾶ; on J, also revised, and the origin of this letter from dj or di given in Harpers. The article on K is somewhat longer and more specific in H., and that on L in H. is twice as long, and gives a much completer statement of the history, etymological connections and uses of the letter. A. here refers to scholia omitted by him. The article on M is considerably longer in H., with a statement of the substitution of m for p or b before a nasal suffix, and of its general correspondence with m of all the Indo-European tongues. A. bunglingly attempts to tell us that Festus gives a form Melo for Nilus, Greek Νεῖλος, in the words, "A collat. form Melo of Nilus for Νεῖλος." That on N is revised and nearly twice as long in H.; but we are puzzled to understand how the form Cosul illustrates the dropping of n before j. The article on O is reviewed, but not much changed in H. That on P is revised and somewhat changed in H., where the expression in A., "so suited to the organ of the Latins,"

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is changed for the better, but we think that amnis for apnis is better explained as a substitution of m for p before a nasal suffix, (see M.) Harpers refers the origin of Q to the Greek Koppa; makes but slight change in art. R; but on S is fuller, especially in the latter part of div. iv and first of v. Both A. and H. quote (div. iii) the passage from Cic. Or., 45, 153, as "*palmis et crinibus.*" Ernesti's reading, "*passis et crinibus,*" is better. The article on T is carefully revised and somewhat amplified in H., and correction made of the careless statement in A., that in pure Latin words initial t is "joined only with the liquid r," so as to read, "is followed by *no consonant* except r." The article on U is fuller in H.; and that on V adds the corresponding English sound, illustrations from kindred Sanscrit forms, and that v is sometimes elided after a mute. The article on X is revised in H., where we notice error of "vixit for visit," instead of "visit for vixit" in the illustrations of substitution of s or ss for x. The article on Z is rewritten and quite different in H., where it is held that z probably belonged to the original Latin alphabet, and was not borrowed from the Greek, as stated in A. In reading several pages under letter D in the two dictionaries, we find corrections constantly made by H. of errors in A; for example, in *Daphnis*, correction of the statement in A. that the acc. *daphnin* occurs only once; in *Dares*, clear statement of the imposture, apparently unknown to A.; in *Dareus*, "best editt. *in*," corrected to "best editt. *of*;" *datio*, 2 Transf., "right of abalienation," to "right of alienation;" abalienation is not good English; *daulius*, shown to be a false reading; *deambulo*, deambulatum quoted as from Cic. Leg., 1, 3, 14, false reading for ambulatum; (both A. and H. err in referring to chap. 3; it should be chap. 4;) *dearmo*, 2, meaning "*to take away or steal a weapon,*" corrected "*to deprive of power, blunt;*" *deascio*, meaning "*to rub*, or *work over with a trowel,*" corrected, "*to hew* or *cut with an ax, to smoothe.*" So under *Penates*, A. says, "A singular, however, is inconceivable as applied to these deities which always appear in the plural," which may imply that these deities exist only in a sort of compound being. H. states the fact correctly in the words, "but the singular is never used." Again, under *Pretium*, A. gives the meaning "*worth, value, price,*" as the primary one, and that of "*money spent*" for any thing, as secondary. H.

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transposes this order. Besides a sprinkling of uncorrected errors in reference to authors, we noted a more important one retained in H., viz., a statement that the pronoun *is, ea, id,* is sometimes used instead of a reflexive pronoun. The examples quoted do not warrant this statement, for the forms of *is* there employed refer not to the verb of their own clause, but of the preceding one. Sos occurs in Cic. Leg. ii, 9, 22 for eos, and in H. we are referred to IS *in init* for explanation, but find there no reference to such form. Under *bascauda* we found Wall for Welsh, and under Dea, the reference near close of Bona De a to bonus F. should be to A. 6. We refer to such minute details to show that we have not made up our judgment of the book without some examination of it.

A valuable feature in Harpers is the frequent indication of words of synonymous or opposite signification. In etymology it is far in advance of A., as a comparison of the articles, especially those on the numerals, in both abundantly shows. A comparison of the two may perhaps be better made by examining closely several leading articles in each, and for this purpose we select those on *Littera*, 2 *Jus* and *Lex*, as treating important words, and yet not so long as to deter the reader from going through the dry details which necessarily enter into such a comparison. We present an accurate skeleton of each as given in Andrews and in Harpers, (omitting the references,) with observations suggested to us by the comparative exhibit:

ANDREWS.

LITERA, (also written littera,) æ, f. [lino.] *A letter.* I. Lit. . . . literarum ordine, *in alphabetical order*, . . . digerere in literam, *to arrange alphabetically*, . . . nescire literas, *not to be able to read and write*, . . . facere literam and literas, *to write*, . . . In the language of comedy: homo trium literarum, *i. e.*, fur, *a thief*, . . . literam ex se longam facere, *i. e.*, I, *i. e., to hang one's self*, . . . litera salutaris and tristis, *i. e.*, A. (absolvo) and C (condemno) which were put on the voting tablets. . . *vide* the letters A and C. II. Transf. A. *A word, a line*, . . . So, ad literam, *word for word, literally*, . . . B. *A handwriting*, . . . C. Literae, ārum, *Plur., A letter, epistle;* literas resignare, *to unseal* or *open a letter*, . . . literae missae, *are letters sent* by a person; literae allatae, *letters received;* hence liber literarum missarum et allatarum, *a letter-book*, L. M. (*i. e.*, literae missae;) . . . L. A. (*i. e.*, literae allatae,) *etc.* In poets also sometimes in the *sing.* . . . D. *A writing, document, paper*, . . . E. *An account-book,*

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. . . F. *An edict, ordinance,* . . . literas revocavit, *letter of appointment, commission,* . . . G. *Written monuments, literature;* abest historia literis nostris, *is wanting in our literature,* . . . Graecae de philosophia literae, *philosophical literature,* . . . artem literis sine interprete percipere, *merely from books,* . . . H. *History,* inasmuch as it is derived from written documents, . . . (* *An inscr. ov. m.* 11, 706.) I. *Literary Composition,* . . . K. *Learning, the sciences, liberal education, scholarship, letters,* . . . nescire literas, *to be without a liberal education,* . . . Altiores literae, *magic.*

HARPERS.

LITTERA, (less correctly lĭtĕra,) æ, *f.* [lino, q. v.,] *a letter, a written sign* or *mark signifying a sound.* I. Lit. . . . Litterarum ordine, *in alphabetical order* . . . digerere in litteram, *to arrange alphabetically,* . . . scire litteras, *to be able to read and write,* . . . nescire litteras, *not to be able to read and write,* . . . scientia litterarum, *the art of writing,* . . . facere litteram or litteras, *to write.* . . . In the language of comedy: homo trium litterarum, i. e., fur, *a thief,* . . . litteram ex se longam facere, i. e., *to make an* I *by hanging perpendicularly, to hang one's self,* . . . littera salutaris, i. e. A., (absolvo,) and tristis, i. e., C., (condemno,) which were put on the voting tablets.—II. Transf. A. *Sing.* 1. *A word, a line* . . . ad litteram, *word for word, literally.*—2. *A handwriting.*—B. Usually *plur.* 1. Litteræ, ārum, *f.*, *a letter, epistle* . . . literas resignare, *to unseal* or *open a letter* . . . litteræ missæ, *a letter sent* by a person . . . litteræ allatæ, *a letter received:* hence, liber litterarum missarum et allatarum, *a letter-book:* L. M. (i. e., litteræ missæ) . . . L. A., (i. e. litteræ allatæ,) etc. In poets, also, sometimes in *sing.* . . . 2. *A writing, document, paper* . . . esp. *a written acknowledgment,* littera poscetur. . . . 3. *An account-book.* . . . 4. *An edict, ordinance.* . . . litteras revocavit, *letter of appointment, commission.* . . . 5. *Written monuments, records, literature* . . . abest historia litteris nostris, *is wanting in our literature* . . . Græcæ de philosophĭa litteræ, *philosophical literature,* . . . nullam artem litteris sine interprete et sine aliqua exercitatione percepi posse, *merely from books.* . . . 6. *History* inasmuch as it is derived from written monuments. . . . 7. *Literary labor, composition.* . . . 8. *An inscription,* Ov., M., 11, 706. . . . 9. *Learning, the sciences, liberal education, scholarship, letters* . . . nescire litteras, *to be without a liberal education* . . . altiores litteræ, *magic* . . . Comically of the art of love. Litteras didicisti, quando scis, sine alios discere, *Plautus.*

We notice, *first*, that Harpers calls attention to the orthography, *littera*, as better than *litera*, followed in Andrews; secondly, that, in presenting the primary meaning of *littera*, Harpers adds the words, *a written sign* or *mark signifying a sound.* This addition removes all doubt as to the sense in which the word *letter* is here used; namely, that of a letter of the alpha-

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bet, and not an epistle. This careful avoidance of ambiguity is also noticeable in the explanation in Harpers of the comic expression *litteram ex se longam facere*, and of *littera salutaris* and *littera tristis*, as compared with the same in Andrews. Harpers gives a much larger number of citations from, and references to, Latin authors to illustrate the meanings; for example, under I. Lit. there are ten additional ones, and, including Quintilian, Probus, Vitruvius, Gaius, and the Digest, not referred to by Andrews; and, under II. Transf., we find twenty-seven additional references, embracing Juvenal, Cæsar, Tibullus, and Livy, not referred to in Andrews.

We noticed the following errors—in Andrews: II. Transf. C., the quotation, *unis literis totius ætatis res gestas ad Senatum perscribere* is found in Cic. Fam., 2. 7, not 3. 7, as printed, and reference to Cic., Att., 12, 1, as illustrating use of litera with verb, exarare, is a mistake. The word in Cic. is not littera, but litterula, and the citation is properly made in H. under the latter word. K. erat in quotation from Cic., Brut., 76, is typographical error for erant. In Harpers, we have noted errors as follows: I. Lit., Sen. Ep., 68, 18, should be Sen. 68, 9; Vitruv. 1, 1, 14, should be 1, 1, 4; then follows apparently a reference to same author, *id.*, Clem. 2, 1, 2, which should be Sen. Clem. 2, 1, 2. as correctly printed in A. II. Transf. A. 1. Quint. 9, 1, 15, should be 9, 1, 25. B. 1, the reference to Tib. 3, 2, 27, should, I think, be put in 8, as illustrating sense *inscription;* 5, in quotation from Cic., Brut., 64, 228, illustratæ should be illustratum, (agreeing with genus and not scriptionis,) as we find it in A., Ernesti, etc.—9, Cic. de Or. 2, 7, 28, should be 2, 17, 72.

ANDREWS.

2. Jūs, jūris, *n* (*gen. plur.*, jurum for jurium, Cato in Charis. p. 109 P.) [from the same root with jubeo, jussi: prop. jussum] *Right, law, justice:* I. Lit. (quite class.) . . . obtinere, *to maintain* . . . dicere, *to pronounce judgment, give a judicial decision*, as, *e. g.*, the praetor: . . . jus petis, *you ask what is right, reasonable*, . . . jus publicum, *common rights*, . . . jura communia, *equal rights*, . . . gentium, *the law of nations*, . . . civile, *the civil law*, . . . *Abl.*, jure, adverbially, *with justice, justly*, . . . jure optimo, *with perfect justice*, . . . summum, *the extremity* or *utmost rigor of the law.* II. Transf.: A. *A place where justice is administered, a court of justice:* in jus ambula, *come before a magistrate.* . . . B. *Justice, justness of a thing.* . . . C. *Legal right, power, authority*, . . . patrium, *the power of life*

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and death over their children, . . . (homo) sui juris, *his own master, inde-pendent,* . . . jus ad mulieres, *over the women.* . . . *The legal forms* of the old jurists : Jus Flavianum, Pomp. in Pand. 1, 2, 2, 7.

HARPERS.

2. Jūs, jūris, (*gen. plur.* jurum for jurium, Plaut. Ep. 3, 4, 86 ; Cato ap. Charis. p. 72 and 109 P. ; juribus, Dig. 13, 5, 3, § 1 ; Charis. p. 19 ; jure, arch. *dat.*, Liv. 42, 28, 6 : Corp. Ins. Lat. 198, 31,) *n.* [kindred with Sanscr. *yu*, to join : cf. ζεύγνυμι, jungo, q. v. the binding, obliging: cf. lex from ligo,] *right, law, justice.* I. Lit., (class.: in *plur.* very rare, except in *nom.* and *acc.*,) *that which is binding* or *obligatory*, that which is binding by its nature, *right, justice, duty*, . . . obtinere, *to maintain*, . . . de jure alicui respondere, *to lay down the law*, . . . dicere, *to pronounce judgment, give a judicial decision*, as, *e. g.*, the praetor, . . . jus petis, *you ask what is right, reasonable*, . . . jus publicum, *common right*, . . . jura communia, *equal rights*, . . . gentium, *the law of nations*, . . . civile, *the civil law*, . . . jus fasque est, *human and divine right* . . . *Abl.:* jūrĕ, adverb., *with justice, justly*, . . . jure optimo, *with perfect justice*, . . . summum jus, *the extremity* or *utmost rigor of the law.* . . . II. Transf. A. *A place where justice is administered, a court of justice*, . . . in jus ambula, *come before a magistrate.* . . . B. *Justice, justness of a thing.*—C. *Legal right, power, authority, permission.*—Of particular *rights:* jus eundi, *a right of way*, . . . jus civitatis, *the right to obtain the privileges of citizenship* (cf. civitas: v. Krebs, Antibarb. p. 640) . . . patrium, *the power of life and death over their children*, . . . (homo) sui juris, *his own master, independent*, . . . jus ad mulieres, *over the women.*—*The legal forms* of the old jurists: Jus Flavianum, Dig. 1, 2, 2, § 7.

In comparing these articles our attention is first called to the greater fullness of II. in respect of unusual forms. A. gives only one, namely, *gen. plur.* jurum for jurium, with reference to Cato ap. Charis. only ; whereas H. gives three, namely, *gen. plur.* jurum for jurium, juribus and old dative form, jure, each with at least two references, in one of which, however—namely, Plaut. Ep. 3, 4, 86—the reading in the Tauchnitz edition is jurium, the regular form. Secondly, we notice that the definition of the primary meaning in A. is stated merely in the terms ordinarily used to translate jus into English, but in H. an explanation is also made of the sense in which these terms are to be taken as equivalents of jus ; namely, as something binding by its nature ; and this fuller exegetical explanation is followed by citations from Justinian and the Digest, wherein the meaning is brought out and illustrated in carefully expressed and exact judicial language. In the etymology A.

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is entirely unsatisfactory. It is said, indeed, that jus is from the same root as jubeo, but, on consulting the article on that verb, we find no statement of its etymological affinities. Jubeo is probably a compound of jus and habeo; so that the assertion of sameness of origin is most likely partially correct, but does not help to solve the problem. One the other hand, H.'s reference to the Sanscr. yu, the Greek ζεύγνυμι, and Latin jungo, as kindred forms, indicates, we think, the true path to the etymology as well as the primitive signification of jus, and we shall consider this point further in our observations on the article lex. The feature of greater fullness and exactness of statement appears throughout in H., as well as much more copious references to authorities, of which, for example, there are in I. Lit. nineteen additional ones, embracing Justinian's Inst., Gaius, Virgil, Livy, and Juvenal, to whom no reference is here made in A. The phrases "de jure alicui respondere, *to lay down the law*," and "jus fasque est, *human and divine right*," are left unexplained in A. In II. Transf. H. gives twenty additional references to authors, among whom are Horace, Juvenal, Gaius, and Seneca ap. Lact. not cited in A. To the definition given in A., under Sec. C, H. adds the word *permission*, which serves to call attention to the ground of the *legal right, power, authority;* namely, a permission by recognized authority to do a certain thing, as shown by examples quoted. H. adds also a subsection "of particular rights," jus eundi, *a right of way;* jus civitatis, *the right to obtain the privileges of citizenship*, etc. We note that references (I. Lit.) to Plaut. Pers. 1, 3, 26, and Cist., 1, 1, 22, are in A. assigned to Ovid, and in H. those to Cic., Tusc., 3, 12, 26, and Fin., 5, 2, 4, are marked as though belonging to Juvenal, while that to Plaut. As. 1, 1, 20 should be Cis. 1, 1, 22, as correctly given in A.

ANDREWS.

LEX, lēgis, *f.* [2 lego] *A proposition* or *motion for a law*, made to the people by a magistrate, *a bill:* I. Lit. . . . II. Transf.: A. *A bill which has become a law* in consequence of its adoption by the people in the comitia, *a law*, . . . leges duodecim tabularum, *the laws composed by the decemvirs*, the foundation of Roman legislation . . . lege and legibus, *according to law, legally*. . . . 2. In partic.: lege agere, *to proceed according to law;* i. e., *a.* of the lictors, *To execute a sentence* . . . *b. To bring an action according*

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to law. . . . B. In gen., *A law, precept, regulation, rule, mode, manner.* . . . Of things, qua sidera lege mearent, *by what law, what rules.* . . . Hence, sine lege, *without order, confusedly* . . . ex lege loci, *quality, nature.* . . . C. *A contract, stipulation, agreement, covenant,* . . . in mancipii lege, *a contract of sale,* . . . Hence of conditions of peace.

HARPERS.

LEX, lēgis, *f.* [perh. Sanscr. root lag, lig, to fasten: Lat. ligo, to bind, oblige: cf. religio] *a proposition* or *motion for a law* made to the people by a magistrate, *a bill,* (cf. institutum.) I. Lit. . . . II. Transf. A. *A bill which has become a law* in consequence of its adoption by the people in the comitia, *a law* (cf. jus, fas, decretum, edictum, scitum) . . . leges duodecim tabularum, *the laws composed by the decemvirs,* the foundation of Roman legislation, . . . barbarica lege jus persequi, i. e., *by the Roman law, that of the Twelve Tables.* . . . B. Esp. in phrases. 1. Lege and legibus, *according to law, by law, legally.* . . . 2. Legis actio, *a statutory process.* . . . 3. Hence, in partic.: lege agere, *to proceed strictly according to law.* a. Of the lictor, *to execute a sentence:*—b. *To bring a legal* or *statutory action.* . . . 4. Fraudem legi facere, *to evade the law,* . . . legi, . . . alealiae, *the law against dicing.* . . . C. In gen. *a law, precept, regulation, principle, rule, mode, manner.* . . . Of things: quâ sidera lege mearent, *by what law, what rule.* . . . Hence, sine lege, *without order, in confusion, confusedly* . . . in or sub lege loci, *quality, nature.* . . . D. *A contract, agreement, covenant.* . . . in mancipii lege, *a contract of sale.* . . . E. *A condition, stipulation,* (cf. condicio.) 1. In gen. (mostly ante-class.). . . . 2. Hence, of conditions or terms of peace. . . . F. In eccl. Lat. esp., *the law of Moses* . . . also of *a precept of the Mosaic law.*

The length of the article in Harpers is twice that of the one in Andrews, and exhibits with greater minuteness the shades of meaning. Under I. Lit. we find in Harpers a reference (additional) to Juvenal, 2, 72, (where lex occurs in connection with jus,) also to a synonymous word, "institutum," and a transfer of a reference in Andrews to Cic. Lael. 12 (legem sancire) from this division, where it does not belong, to sect. C. (in Andrews, B.) of transferred meanings, where it pertinently illustrates the signification given. In II. Transf., Harpers divides the sect. A. of Andrews into two, A. and B., and by means of this division and the further subdivision of B., (as marked 1, 2, 3, a, b, 4,) presents not only a fuller but better classification of the meanings in connection with the illustrating references, of which we have in these two sections of Harpers nine additional ones, including three to Plautus, and one each to Gaius, Dona-

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tus, and Valerius Maximus, not referred to by Andrews in his sect. A. The indication of the synonyms, (jus, fas, decretum, edictum, scitum,) the explanation of the phrase "barbarica lege," (used in Plautus,) of Legis actio, and of those given under subsection 4, are additional points of superiority in Harpers not to be overlooked. Harpers' sect. C. (B. of Andrews) shows no marked difference in method, but a far more copious apparatus of references to authors, twenty-five additional ones being given, and including Seneca, Quintilian, Juvenal, Gellius, Tacitus, and Pliny the younger, not quoted by Andrews. The sect. C. of Andrews is also divided into two by Harpers, viz., D. and E., whereby the distinction in signification and use of lex is more exactly indicated, i. e., whether the idea is that of a contract or simply a stipulation. We find in these two sects. in Harpers twelve additional references to authors, including Plautus, Terence, Horace, Juvenal, Virgil, and Statius not here referred to in Andrews. The whole of sect. F in Harpers is additional, and gives the uses of the word in ecclesiastical Latin. We note two errors of reference in Harpers to Plautus: that to Ep. 3, 4, 39, should be 3, 4, 35, and that to Stich. 3, 1, 58, should be 4, 1, 58.

Recurring to the etymology of Jus, we may ask, How or what does it unite or join together? A careful reading of other passages from Latin authors quoted in Harpers will, we think, suggest that it expresses the conception of the true social principle of respect for the rights of others, which, as a bond of brotherhood and equity, unites man to man as social beings, and to the divine powers that preside over and protect the families of men. To the quotations given in Harpers we may add a reference to passages in Cic., (Leg. 1, 15,) ".est unum jus, quo devincta hominum societas," etc., and (De Rep. 1, 32,) " quare, quum lex sit civilis societulis vinculum," etc., and Lact. (Div. Inst. vi, 10) "primum justitiae officium est conjungi cum deo, secundum cum homine," "with which compare Christ's teachings in regard to the first and second commandments." Matt. xxii, 36–40. In this view then jus is the embodiment in language of the ideas of equity which underlie and bind together the frame-work of society in its relations to itself, its inferiors, and to deity. When men obey the behests of justice, (justitia,) the incarnation of the conceptions of jus, they help to bind

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men together as equal sharers in the gifts and muniments of the social compact. When they disregard her commands, they break asunder the bonds of union, and make war on human society itself, the offspring of the divine beneficence, and promoter of the happiness of man. Lex also denotes, but in a more restricted sense, a binding together. Its proper sphere and object is not mankind, but the State, by whose authority it is established. It is the concrete, legal formulation of some one or more of the elements of jus, as applicable to the conditions and wants of a particular nation or time. We are led by these thoughts to consider for a moment the import of the word *religio*, etymologically related to lex. Harpers gives the two etymologies of this word, viz., that of Cicero and that of Servius, Lactantius, and Augustine, with the statement that the latter is generally preferred. A high authority, Max Müller, has recently expressed a preference for Cicero's view, (Or. of Rel., pp. 10, 11, N. Y. 1879,) and refers, in support thereof, to the oft-cited passage from an earlier poet found in Gellius, 4, 9, viz., "religentem esse oportet, religiosum nefas." But the participial form, religens, here found, was not a word used in speech, but coined by the poet to favor this etymology, (see G. F. Schoemann's note to Cic., De Nat. Deor., II. 28, 72.) Nor does the example quoted by him from Cic., Font., 9, 20, negative the view that religio, used subjectively, was originally restricted to reverence for the gods. Why should not man's respect for an oath spring from his reverence for the gods? This would but add to the power of an oath by appealing to the higher sentiment, reverence for, as well as to the lower feeling, fear of, the gods. And, further, the sense of holding back or restraining is not the primary one in religio, but naturally follows as a secondary one. It seems to us that Cicero's etymology leads to a very inadequate conception of the force and import of the word religio, as understood by the Romans, as well as by us. It suggests mental processes too metaphysical for the ordinary man, seeking to know his relations to the higher powers. The etymology which connects religio with religare, compounded of ligare, to tie or fasten, and re or red, meaning, anew or again, gives the sense of refastening or tieing together again, and leads to the conception of the root idea of it as something reuniting man to the gods. This conception

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further implies a belief, taught not only in the creeds of Christendom, but found set forth with more or less prominence in all systems of religion, in a fall of man from an original condition of harmony with the divine ruling power of the world. The Romans were an Aryan race, and we might reasonably expect to find in their religious ideas, as well as in their language, links of thought connecting with those of the Hindu people; and we meet in the late Dean Hardwick's "Christ and other Masters," (Lond., 1875,) with a remarkable statement touching this very point. In the section (pp. 229–232) headed "The Hindu hope of Restoration," he says: "This dim and elementary idea," [viz., that a Saviour would come from heaven to deliver man from his deadliest foes, and reinstate him in his lost inheritance,] "pointing to a future *religatio* of the human and divine, and so pervading all systems of religions, was especially manifest in the traditions of Hindus respecting the descent of God to earth in various forms of creaturely existence." We take it, then, that religio primarily means the act of reuniting, of refastening, so to speak, the human to the divine, of man to God. Whether in subjective adoration or prostration of spirit, in the silent language of the heart, man offered praise or prayer, or, objectively, in ceremonial forms, worshiped his god, he did so in the hope that these acts would help to restore him to the divine favor, and renew the bonds of confidence and love.

Without entering upon any discussion of the proper aim, extent, and functions of a general dictionary of a language, we may adopt the sentiment of Grimm, that such a dictionary ought to be a sanctuary of its language, wherein all its treasures are gathered and held open to the use of all—a memorial of the people whose past and present meet therein. The composition of an ideally complete dictionary of any language is an achievement hardly within the compass of human ability. But the preparation of dictionaries for special authors and special objects and branches of knowledge is an easier task, because of their more limited scope; and as such multiply and are brought nearer to standards of completeness, the work of the general lexicographer will be facilitated. The useful work of Anthony Rich, "*The Illustrated Companion to the Latin Dictionary and Greek Lexicon*," suggests a future improvement

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in general dictionaries of the ancient languages by the incorporation therein of like illustrations. Harpers' *New Latin Dictionary* furnishes for English and American students the fullest, and, taken in all respects, the completest exhibit of the words of the Latin tongue in their origin, forms, grammatical and historical development, and uses, as expressions of the thoughts and feelings of the Roman people throughout the ebb and flow of historical and social movements in their natural life. It is a production creditable alike to the scholarship, skill, and patient industry of the editors, and to the enterprise of the publishers, who have in it given to the public the best dictionary of the Latin language for general use among English-speaking people which has yet appeared.

ART. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

BAPTIST REVIEW, April, May, June, 1880. (Cincinnati.)—1. A Study of Elijah; by Rev. G. F. Genung. 2. The Fragment of Muratori, and the Origin of a Collection of Apostolic Catholic Scriptures; by Adolf Harnack. 3. Paul's Doctrine of Sin; by Professor E. P. Gould. 4. Increasing Harmony on Essential Doctrines Among Evangelical Christians; by Rev. J. L. Burrows, D.D. 5. The Design of the Ordinances; by Rev. Thomas S. Barbour. 6. The Rock that Followed Them; by Rev. H. A. Sawtelle, D.D.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, April, 1880. (Andover.)—1. A Study in Biblical Biography; by Rev. George F. Herrick, D.D. 2. The Duration of Future Punishment; by Rev. Ezra P. Gould. 3. Music, A Language; by Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D., LL.D. 4. Pascal, The Thinker; by Prof. Jacob Cooper, LL. D. 5. Do the Scriptures Prohibit the Use of Alcoholic Beverages? by Rev. A. B. Rich, D.D. 6. Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious; by Rev. Charles F. Thwing. 7. Bernard of Clairvaux as a Preacher, from the German of Dr. A. Brömel; by Prof. H. E. Jacobs, D.D. 8. The Sabbath: The Change of Observance from the Seventh to the Lord's Day; by Rev. William De Loss Love.

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY, April, 1880. (Lebanon, Tenn.)—1. The Mosaic Jurisprudence; by Hon. R. C. Ewing. 2. Baptismal Regeneration.—Part 2; by S. G. Burney, D.D. 3. The Ethics of St. Paul; by William Campbell, D.D. 4. Sanctification; by J. W. Poindexter, D.D.

NEW ENGLANDER, January, 1880. (New Haven.)—1. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew; by Prof. George P. Fisher. 2. A Chinese Historical Novel; by Prof. S. Wells Williams, M. D. 3. Spelling Reform; by J. G. Pyle. 4. A Scholar of the Twelfth Century; by Prof. Thomas R. Lounsbury. 5. Thoughts on Congregationalism—Its Past and Its Future; by President Noah Porter. 6. Some Contributions which the West may be expected to make to the Congregationalism of the Future; by Rev. Henry A. Stimson.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, January, 1880. (Boston.)—1. Sketch of the Life of Amos Lawrence; by Rev. Solon W. Bush. 2. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety; printed by permission of Samuel F. M'Clery, Esq., City Clerk. 3. Nicholas Upsall; by

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Augustine Jones, Esq. 4. Longmeadow Families; communicated by Willard S. Allen, A.M. 5. Wittingham Genealogy; by Mrs. Caroline H. Dall. 6. Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Lyme, Conn.; communicated by the late Rev. Frederick W. Chapman, A.M. 7. King's Arms Tavern, Boston; with Suggestions for Indexing Public Records; by John T. Hassam, A.M. 8. Tappan Genealogy; by Herbert Tappan, Esq. 9. Letter of Rev. Thomas Prince, of Boston, 1738; communicated by John J. Loud, A.M. 10. William Johnson and his Descendants; by G. W. Johnson. 11. Genealogical Letter of John Quincy Adams; communicated by Rev. Horace E. Hayden. 12. Genealogy of Thomas Williams, of New Hartford, N. Y.; by George H. Williams, Esq. 13. Letters of Charles Lidget and Francis Foxcroft, 1692; communicated by John S. H. Fogg, M.D. 14. Marriages by the Rev. Benjamin Colman, 1715; communicated by Henry F. Waters, A.B. 15. Records of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury; communicated by William B. Trask, Esq. 16. Mission of Penhallow and Atkinson to the Penobscot Indians; communicated by the late Capt. William F. Goodwin, U. S. A. 17. Marriages in Boston by Several Clergymen, 1701–1743. 18. Account Books of the First Church in Charleston; communicated by James F. Hunnewell, Esq.

April.—1. Sketch of the Life of Rev. John A. Vinton, A. M.; by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D.D. 2. Bristol Church Records, 1687–1710; communicated by Geo. T. Paine. 3. Annual Address before the N. E. Historic Genealogical Society; by the President, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Ph.D. 4. Who is a Gentleman? by John D. Champlin, Jun., A. M. 5. How to Write Town Histories; by Hon Charles Hudson, A. M. 6. Records of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury; communicated by William B. Trask, Esq. 7. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. 8. Genealogy of the Family of Mulford; communicated by William R. Mulford, Esq. 9. Portraits of New Hampshire Governors and Others; by Hon. Benjamin F. Prescott. 10. Seals in the Collection of Mellen Chamberlin; by the Committee on Heraldry N. E. H. G. S. 11. Letter from the Earl of Bellomont; communicated by William B. Trask, Esq. 12. Early Records of New Hampshire Families; communicated by Rev. Alonzo H. Quint, D.D. 13. Longmeadow Families; communicated by Willard S. Allen, A. M. 14. Marriages in Boston by Several Clergymen, 1702–1719; communicated by William S. Appleton, A. M. 15. A Sketch of the Howlands; by L. M. Howland. 16. Letter of Walter Barnesley, of London, 1667, to William Pitkin, of Hartford; communicated by Edwin Hubbard, Esq. 17. Descendants of Benedict Arnold. 18. Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Dartmouth; communicated by J. B. Congdon, Esq.

Oriental and Biblical Journal. Issued Quarterly. Volume I., No. I. (Chicago.)

Princeton Review, May, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Human and the Brute Mind; by Professor Francis Bowen. 2. Reform of Women's Education; by Sir Alex. Grant, Bt., D.C.L. 3. The Newest Atheism; by Noah Porter. 4. Organization of Labor; by Simon Newcomb, LL.D. 5. The Resurrection of Christ; by Rev. Phillip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. 6. Political Economy a Science—Of What; by Professor Lyman H. Atwater, D.D., LL.D. 7. Haeckel on the "Evolution of Man;" Principal J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, April, 1880. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. One of the Grand Old Fathers. 2. Development of Monotheism Among the Greeks. 3. Lovick Pierce. 4. Beyond the Grave. 5. The Light of Asia. 6. Conformity to Law in the Divine Economy. 7. Van Oosterzee's Practical Theology. 8. The Three Creeds. 9. Terminism.

English Reviews.

British Quarterly Review, April, 1880. (London.)—1. Planets, Moons, and Meteorites. 2. Winckelmann. 3. The Profession of an "Architect." 4. The English System of Penal Servitude. 5. The Revolutionary Movement in Russia. 6. Circumstantial Evidence. 7. The Political Situation.

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1880. (London.)—1. Nature of the Divine Inspiration of Scripture; by Rev. Professor M'Gregor, D.D. 2. Strictures on the Article "Bible," in the Recent Edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica;" by Rev. Professor Watts, D.D. 3. The Latest Phase of the Pentateuch Question; by Rev. Alfred Cave, B. A. 4. Methodism in Ireland; Life of Gideon Ouseley; by Rev. W. Irwin. 5. Jabez; by Professor John Campbell. 6. The Conservation of Energy; by Borden P. Bowne. 7. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew; by Professor George P. Fisher, D.D. 8. Rationalism in the Church *versus* Rationalism Without; by Rev. Samuel M. Smith.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1880. (New York.)—1. Ritualistic Literature. 2. Bigelow's Life of Benjamin Franklin. 3. Mohammedanism in China. 4. The Schools of Charles the Great. 5. Modern Horse-racing. 6. Catholic Rule in Ireland, 1641–48. 7. The late Professor Clifford's Essays. 8. Burton's Reign of Queen Anne. 9. The New Parliament.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1880. (London.)—1. The Authorship of Nature. 2. The Approaching Perihelia of the Larger Planets. 3. Religious Liberty in Europe. 4. Kafirland: The Native Policy of the Cape Colony. 5. Two Indian Missionaries. 6. Mind and Brain. 7. Is Life Worth Living? 8. M. Berger on the Bible in the Sixteenth Century.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1880. (New York.)—1. David Hume. 2. The English Flower Garden. 3. The Marquess Wellesley. 4. The Book of Common Prayer. 5. Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat. 6. The Chinese in Central Asia. 7. The Taxation of India. 8. The Slavonic Menace to Europe. 9. The Conservative Defeat.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Marquess Wellesley. 2. Artistic Copyright. 3. Masson's Life of Milton. 4. Greek Humanists: Nature and Law. 5. The Letters of Charles Dickens. 6. Animal Intelligence. 7. The Issues of the Election.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. Brieger. Volume IV. Number 1. *Essays:* 1. REUTER, Augustinian Studies, (First Article.) 2. UHLHORN, Preparatory Studies for a History of Christian Charity in the Middle Ages. 3. SCHULTZ, Luther's View of the Method and the Limits of the Doctrinal Statements concerning God. *Critical Reviews:* BUDDENSIEG, English Works on the History of the Reformation, published from 1876 to 1878. *Analecta:* 1. SCHULTZE, The Christian Inscription in Pompeii. 2. MULLER, Fragments of Homilies of Photius. 3. LENZ, The Correspondence of Landgrave Philipp with Luther and Melanchthon.

The history of Christian charity, says Dr. Uhlhorn in this second article, has yet been but rarely treated of, and least by Protestants and in Germany. A well-known French work by Chastel, which has also been translated into German, (*Etudes historiques sur l'influence de la charité durant les premiers siècles chrétiens*, Paris, 1853,) embraces only the first centuries. From a Catholic point of view Dr. Ratzinger has written a work on the history of the Church charities in regard to the poor, (*Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege*, Freiburg, 1868.) He ignores the evangelical Church altogether, is unacquainted

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with what the Protestant Churches have done for the poor, and does not even try to explain the causes which brought about the great changes in the character of the Church charities of the Middle Ages as compared with those of the early age of the Christian Church. These causes, Dr. Uhlhorn insists, must be looked for in the change of ethical views. The practical charities of an age will always be conditioned by the ethical point of view from which riches and poverty are judged, by the value attached to labor and to the earthly vocation of man, and by the conception of a Christian's duty in regard to charity. The history of the changes of these ethical views has been hitherto too much ignored. Dr. Uhlhorn's essay is intended to trace the peculiar manifestations of Christian charity in the Church of the Middle Ages to the ethical views prevailing in those times. He mentions two characteristic points of the Church charities of the Middle Ages: first, the absence of any regulated care of the poor; the absolute control of all acts of charity by the Church authorities. There was no lack of acts of charity; perhaps they were more frequent than at other times; numerous religious orders and societies devoted themselves to the care of the sick and the poor, and frequently showed a spirit of self-sacrifice which calls forth our admiration, but every thing was isolated, disconnected, and without regulation. We meet with no provision to adopt preventive measures to ward off threatening poverty, and with no systematic efforts to remove existing poverty. The donors do not give directly to, and do not directly exert themselves in behalf of, the poor, but the poor receive every thing as a gift from the Church authorities. It was not so in the Church preceding that of the Middle Ages. Then there was a regulated system of caring for the poor, conducted by deacons under the supervision of the bishop. When the emperors became Christians State and Church co-operated in the dispensation of charities. The State government left the care of the poor in the hands of the Church, but supported the Church, and in exchange obtained some kind of control. In the legislation of Charlemagne for the poor we still find an example of regulations for the support of the poor of a mixed ecclesiastical and secular character. After Charlemagne legislation of this class begins to disappear, and in the eleventh century no trace of it is found. About one century before the

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Reformation a reaction against the monopolization of the care for the poor in the hands of the Church manifests itself in the towns. The town authorities begin to have an influence upon the badly administered hospitals, and the charities dispensed by the guilds emancipate themselves from the guidance of the priests. The principles of the Reformation were hardly anywhere else so successful as in establishing certain principles for the regulation of Christian charities, for which the active cooperation of the Christian congregation and of the municipal authorities was generally secured. The author then enters into an elaborate discussion of the views of the mediæval Church regarding private property, poverty, almsgiving, beggary, and shows how injurious an influence these views had to exert, and actually did exert, upon the social condition of the mediæval States. A book which was published at the time of the Reformation states that in Germany of every fifteen persons only one worked, and the fourteen others were idlers and beggars.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology. Edited by Hilgenfeld.) Third Number, 1880. 1. E. VON HARTMANN, The Philosophical Presuppositions in the Dogmatic System of Lipsius. 2. GRIMM, On Koheleth iii, 11. 3. HILGENFELD, The Gnostic Valentinus and his Writings. 4. SPIEGEL, Dr. Bertheaus' Essay on Albert Rizâfus Hardenberg. 5. KNEUCKER, The Baruch Question. 6. TOLLIN, Servetus' Anthropology and Soteriology. 7. EGLI, Critical Remarks on Genesis xxiii. 8. NESTLE, Remarks on Ezra vi, 51.

The theological school named after Valentinus is said to have been the most influential of all the Gnostic parties, and to have contained a large number of talented and eminent teachers. (See M'Clintock and Strong, Cyclopædia, art. Gnosticism.) In the above article Professor Hilgenfeld collates the scanty information on Valentinus which is found in ancient writers, publishes the very meager fragments which are extant of his writings, and, in conclusion, attempts to construct a brief summary of his doctrinal system. In the following lines we give a brief abstract of Professor Hilgenfeld's article. Epiphanius found no account of the home of Valentinus in the writers on the ancient heresies. He only mentions the report that Valentinus was born on the sea-coast of Egypt, and received a Hellenistic education in Alexandria. As we know that the Gnostic Basilides taught at Alexandria under the Emperor Hadrian, it is well possible that Valentinus may have received

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impressions from him. Valentinus subsequently taught himself at Alexandria very successfully without falling into the reputation of being a heretic. According to Epiphanius, Valentinus found many adherents in different parts of Egypt without being regarded as a heretic. It is less probable that, as the same Epiphanius states, Valentinus taught even in Rome for some time without giving offense, and that he did not apostatize from the Orthodox faith until he took up his residence in Cyprus. Valentinus arrived in Rome, according to the testimony of Irenæus, under Bishop Hyginus, (between 136 and 140.) He taught there acceptably during the episcopate of Pius, (between 140 and 155,) and remained until the time of Bishop Anicetus, (about 155 or 156.) It is likely that in Rome he soon fell out with the ruling Church, for in the writings of Justin, about 147, he is mentioned as a heretic. Tertullian commits an obvious blunder when he places the arrival of Valentinus at Rome in the episcopate of Eleutherus, (between 175 and 189,) but he confirms the report that Valentinus was not yet a heretic when he arrived at Rome. It is even by no means impossible that, as the same Tertullian states, Valentinus fell out with the Church because he failed in his aspiration to be elected bishop. Why should he not have aspired, at the death of Hyginus, at the Roman see? Do we not find among the occupants of this see the Patripassian Kallistos, the Arian Felix, and Honorius, the author of Monothelism. The Chronicles of Eusebius, which twice mention Valentinus, also favor the opinion that he was not yet an outspoken heretic when he arrived at Rome during this episcopate of Hyginus. Valentinus resided in Rome for about twenty years, as the active head of a heretical sect. It appears probable that the sojourn of Valentinus on Cyprus, to which island he came by shipwreck, took place before his arrival in Rome, that he fell out with the ruling Church neither in Egypt nor on Cyprus, but in Rome, where he arrived about 140 and died about 160. Thus Valentinus belongs to the inventors of heresies who, according to Clement of Alexandria, began to make their appearance in Rome during the reign of Emperor Hadrian, (117 to 138,) and continued to agitate the Church during the reign of Antoninus Pius, (138 to 161.) The same Church writer states that Valentinus boasted of be-

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ing a disciple of Theodas, an acquaintance of Paul. All the ancient Church writers represent him as a man of great genius. Valentinus founded a school which spread not only in Egypt and Rome, but also in Syria and Gaul, and maintained itself especially in the East for more than a century. The doctrinal system of the master was partly developed, partly transformed by some of his scholars. Irenæus, who treats very fully of Valentinianism, refers chiefly to the schools of Ptolemy and of Marcus, between which he found considerable disagreement. Irenæus, however, is himself more an opponent of, than a reporter on, the Gnostics, who in general appear different in their own writings from what the writers of the early Church represent them to be. The works of Valentinus are lost, but many fragments are preserved in other writings. They were collected by Grabe in the first volume of his *Spicilegium SS. Patrum ut et haereticorum seculi post Christum natum*, I, II, III. (Oxford, 1700.) One of these fragments which is taken from *Adamantii Dial de secta in deum fide*, sec. iv, (Origenis Opp. i, 840, sq.,) does not seem to be a fragment, of Valentinus at all, but rather part of a dialogue in which a Valentinian is introduced. On the other hand, Grabe did not yet know the celebrated work, entitled *Philosophumena sive omnium haeresium refutatio*, which has been handed down to us under the name of Origen, but was probably compiled by Hippolytus, and which was for the first time published from a Parisian manuscript by Miller, (Oxford, 1851,) and again with a Latin translation by Duncker, (Goettingen, 1859.) In this work Hilgenfeld finds two fragments of works of Valentinus, one of which he believes to have been part of a work called Σοφία, which is mentioned by Tertullian, while the other is a part of the Psalms of Valentinus, which are likewise mentioned by Tertullian. Neither of the Σοφία nor of the Psalms of Valentinus had Grabe been able to give any fragment. Hilgenfeld publishes the complete text of all the fragments, both the old and the new, explains them, and then concludes his article by an attempt to construct from these fragments an outline of the system of Valentinus. He believes that the fragments give us a more faithful picture of the remarkable man than the writings of his opponents. The chief points in the Valentinian system were, according to Hilgenfeld, as follows:

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Valentinus proceeded from the "living Aeon," as the true source. He still conceived the Αἰων as a unit, like the Gnostics of Irenæus. The unity of the Aeon is, however, by no means devoid of distinction. The primitive being is the "only good" Father. This Father has a Son, through whose revelation alone he can become present. At least very near to the Father and the Son stands the Logos, but also the pre-existing Anthropos. Thus the fragments point to a plurality of Aeons. The material body was regarded by Valentinus neither as an immediate nor as a perfect creation of the true God, but as a defective imitation of the living Aeon, executed, as it were, by a painter according to a model furnished by the highest Majesty, but stamped with the name of God, and authenticated by the invisible One. The painter is the creator of the material world, the first of a plurality of angels of the same kind. These angels fashion the created man upon the name of the pre-existing Anthropos. The latter (or the Son, or the Logos) invisibly fits man out with the seed of the Supreme (divine) Being. Adam, therefore, immediately startles his creators by lofty words, so that they disfigure or even destroy their work. The disfiguration of the original creation of men is the earthly man. Even the cosmic man is inspired with fear and trembling by statues and pictures, as well as by every thing that is framed by hands in the name of God. Into the hearts of man many unclean spirits or demons walk in and out, as in a hostelry, and work things improper. Nevertheless, the seed of the Supreme Being remains in a part of the human race. The "Only Good" becomes present to the race of earthly men through the Son in order to purify the hearts even up to the intuition of God. The Son, indeed, does not become a real man. But he founds a congregation among men, which is kept together not only by an external word or law of God, but by internal words of the heart, and by an inner law, and which is united with the Son in mutual love. Even after the appearance of the Son upon earth, the divine Logos is incarnated in man, who develops in himself the seed of the Divine Essence, may have the consciousness to be elevated above what is transitory, and to have assumed mortality only to overcome it. All difference of the spiritual and the material world may be traced back to a transcending and controlling unity.

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The first article of this number is from the pen of Edward von Hartmann, who, as the author of the "Philosophy of the Unconscious," and as the founder of a new atheistic and pessimistic philosophy, has become widely known. The readers of the Journal, of course, may be surprised to see his name among the contributors, and Professor Hilgenfeld, therefore, deems it necessary to explain, in a prefatory note, that he does not share the views of E. von Hartmann on Christianity, and that his contribution was not solicited by him. But as periodicals are regarded by him as a kind of debating halls, he thinks the admission of an essay by one of the most eminent philosophers to be justifiable, although his views entirely differ from his own, and from those of his theological friends.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) March, 1880.—1. GODET, The Recent Hypothesis of M. Renan in Regard to the Origin of the Fourth Gospel. 2. ASTIC, Correspondence of Doudan, (Second Article.) 3. BOIS, An Answer to Fouillée's Article on "Reparative Justice." 4. JUNDT, The Friends of God in the Fourteenth Century: A Reply to M. Bouset-Maury. 5. LICHTENBERGER, German Chronicle.

April.—1. SCHMIDT, Primary Instruction in the Rural Districts of Lorraine a Hundred Years Ago. 2. BOEGNER, Bishop Patteson of Melanesia, a Martyr of the Nineteenth Century. 3. MAD. BONZONNE DE GARDONNE, A Revolt of Conscience. 4. E. W., English Chronicle.

May.—1. E. SCHMIDT, Primary Instruction in the Rural Districts of Lorraine a Hundred Years Ago, (Second Article.) 2. A. BOEGNER, A Martyr of the Nineteenth Century: Bishop Patteson of Melanesia, (Second Article.) 3. MAD. BONZONNE DE GARDONNE, A Revolt of Conscience, (Second Article.) 4. SABATIER, The Crisis of Faith. 5. MAD. REY, *née* BONNET, The Young Girl: A Poem.

The monthly Historical Record (*Revue de Mois*) of the *Revue Chrétienne*, in the May number, refers to the introduction of unsectarian schools into France. "The triumph of the lay school in France," it says, "will be undoubtedly a great moral revolution. We must not forget that at the present time we have only denominational schools. It is not the State which gives primary instruction, but the Churches which impart it under the control of the State. The latter wants to take back this right, as it has taken back others. By doing so, it only obeys the logic of the French Revolution. We understand why a political conflict breaks out between the State and the Catholic Church, because the latter asserts her sovereign right

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and reclaims a monopoly. But we cannot understand why a conflict should break out between the lay State and Protestantism, which is precisely the radical negation of these theocratic pretensions. Between the government and Protestantism there can be no conflict of principles, but only negotiations for practical application. We (the Protestants) do not know this fatal distinction between priests and laymen. This word cannot have for us the meaning of antireligious, which it has in the eyes of the municipal Council of Paris, and in those of the ultramontanes. Theoretically, we have nothing against the lay school, or against the schools conducted by a teacher who, though in the pay of the government, may nevertheless be an excellent Christian. From a practical point of view, Protestantism can do nothing but reclaim for the pastor the right of going to the school and giving to those children whom their parents wish to intrust to him religious instruction. In this way, it seems to us, the State would reconcile two things which it should regard as equally essential. First, it would acknowledge that there can be no real moral education without religious instruction; and, secondly, it would uphold the true liberty, which consists in respecting the beliefs and the rights of every one. This, in our opinion, is the just and the liberal solution of the question."

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE PARSEES.

AMONG the religious denominations of the present age the Parsees are, numerically, one of the smallest and most insignificant, but in point of the interest taken in the history of religious beliefs by the civilized world they rank very high. The doctrines of Zoroaster were the State religion of the great Persian Empire, which under Cyrus and some of his successors appeared to have a prospect of becoming the ruler and mistress of the world. After being displaced during five hundred years by the rude Parthians, it was reinstated in the third century, and remained the State religion of the Persians under the dynasties of the Achæmenidae and Sassanidae, until it was crushed by the victories of Mohammedanism. The majority of the worshipers of Ormuzd were gradually compelled to embrace the Islam; most of those who remained faithful to the traditional religion emigrated to India, and only a small handful remained in their native country. But it is not only their glorious history which secures

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the remnants of the Parsees an abiding interest; their religion is generally regarded by those who have studied the ancient Oriental systems as the most remarkable which profane antiquity produced, as the most ethical form of heathenism. (See "Methodist Quarterly Review," art., The Zendavesta, 1879, pp. 115–299.) It is a very remarkable fact that even before the Christian era all distinct traces of the age, the character, and the doings of Zoroaster had been lost, and the first work which really sheds light on the subject was not published until the year 1700. Since then the knowledge of Zoroastrianism and its holy book, the Zendavesta, has been revived by the learned works of Anquetil du Perron in the eighteenth, and of Burnouf, Westergaard, Spiegel, and Haug in the nineteenth centuries. While the past history of the Parsees is fully sufficient to secure them for all time to come the interest of thinking and educated men, the present small remnant adds to this interest by its remarkable intelligence. The "Gazette of Augsburg" has recently (March 31, April 1, 2, 3) published an interesting article on "The Remnants of the Old Parsees in Persia," from the pen of E. Baron von Gödel-Lannoy, a German writer living in Teheran, Persia, from which we take a few extracts. The writer states that he has received many details on the manner and customs of the Parsees from the chief of the Guebers or Parsees in Teheran, Mr. Manuktshee Limdjee.

Ever since Persia has been conquered by the Mohammedans the Parsees have been subjected to a cruel persecution, and these persecutions still continue, with a view to forcing them to embrace the Islam. At the close of the year 1879 the Parsees took a census of their numbers, when it was found that they numbered in Yezd and about twenty surrounding villages, 6,488; in Kirman and the neighborhood, 1,498; in Sheeraz, 30; in Busheer, 12; in Kashaw, 15; in Teheran, 150; total in Persia, 8,188. The Parsees are a beautiful race. They are mostly tall, strong, sinewy men, whose mild, sympathetic features remind one of the antique heads on the sculptures of Persepolis, as well as on the Sassanide coins. The fine oval of the face, the strong, slightly-bent aquiline nose, high eyebrows over the beautifully cut dark eyes, the sad clouded looks of which reflect a thousand years' servitude, the full though not luxurious beard, are external ornaments of this people which are expressly mentioned by travelers and writers. The Guebers still represent the old Persian people, since they absolutely disfavor marriage with people of other religions, and have kept themselves pure and unmixed, while the other Persians have suffered a very considerable infusion of Arabic, Turkish, Mongolian, Afghan, and other elements.

Intellectually, the present Guebers of Persia are inferior to the Mohammedan Persians, which may be explained by the fact that for centuries they have had no opportunity for obtaining an education. But they exceed the Mohammedans morally. Like their forefathers, they detest lying, and are undoubtedly the most honest people of Persia, while the modern Persians appear to have no understanding of honor, truth, or honesty. They have two classes of priests, Dasturs (priests of a higher

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rank) and Mobeds, (priests of a lower rank.) There are only two dasturs in Persia, one in Yezd and one in Kirman. Their dignity has gradually become hereditary, although, according to the description of Zoroaster, the man who can exhibit the largest number of good works should be elected. A dastur who makes himself unworthy of his position can be deposed. The dasturs are regarded as the most prominent of their race, and, therefore, act also as judges, being frequently called upon to settle as arbiters difficulties among their coreligionists concerning national and hereditary laws. This judicial power is conceded to them by the Persian Government all the more readily as, according to Mohammedan principles, the judicial power emanates from the ecclesiastical. Even in the theocratic government of old Persia, the Magi, who were regarded as mediators between Ormuzd and his people, had a great power in secular affairs. The doctrine of Zoroaster was, like the Koran, the fundamental law of the State, which was explained to the king by the Dasturan Dastur, (chief of the Magi.) Thus the chief legislative power was really vested in the head of the religion. The Koran probably received the idea of a fusion of the State and religious principles, like many other institutions, from the religion of Zoroaster. Mobeds, or priests of the lower rank, are found in every congregation of Guebers, and their functions are limited to divine worship. Fire-temples are only allowed to exist in their chief seats, and even there not publicly, but they are tacitly tolerated in private dwellings. At present there are twenty-six fire-temples in Yezd and the surrounding villages, and three in Kerman and its vicinity. Their structure and arrangement is very plain. The congregation assembles for prayer in a room which resembles a hall, and which adjoins a circumvallated yard. In a corner of this room stands an altar upon which a mobed kindles a small flame six times within twenty-four hours. This main room is connected with a smaller, dark room, the sanctuary, where the holy fire is preserved under a heap of ashes upon an altar. Only the priests have access to this room. The numerous ceremonies which attended the divine worship in ancient times have gradually been simplified, and the people, who are mostly poor and uneducated, also dispense with the very incommodious washings, of which there were several kinds, according to the degree of the contracted impurity. Only the priests continue to observe somewhat more accurately the old precepts. Education among the Guebers of Persia is at present in a very unsatisfactory condition, because great obstacles are put in their way. In Yezd and Kirman the mobeds generally take charge of the elementary instruction of the children, and also endeavor to acquaint them with the fundamental tenets of their religion. Some years ago the chief of the Guebers in Teheran, Mr. Manuktshee Limdjee, a native of Bombay, was enabled, by the protection of the English embassy, to establish a school, in which about one hundred children of Guebers from all parts of Persia were instructed in religion, national history, and especially in the Persian language. The school has, however, recently been discontinued, and the Guebers of Persia are thus left without any

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institutions in their own country in which their children can receive a higher education. Of ancient books and writings little appears to be left in Yezd and Teheran. Special inquiries made by a European traveler in those regions led to no result, and Mr. Manuktshee, who likewise spent some time in those places, was equally unsuccessful. It appears, therefore, probable that the hope which was expressed by W. Ouseley that important literary treasures might still be found among the Parsees will not be realized. The Parsees are not allowed by the Mohammedans to ride either on horseback or on asses, but they have always to travel on foot. Like other tribes subjected by Mohammedans they have to pay a capital tax, which amounts to about nine thousand francs annually, and is paid for them to the Persian Government by their coreligionists in India. The apostasy of their members to the Islam is encouraged by the law, which transfers the whole property of a Parsee family to that member which embraces the Islam.

In British India the descendants of the Parsees are in a much more fortunate condition than in their native land. They chiefly live in the Presidency of Bombay, where they numbered, according to the last census, more than 132,000 souls. Of these 44,000 lived on the island of Bombay, where they have three fire-temples, erected in the years 1780, 1830, and 1844. The English government has protected them from all oppression, and regulated by special law their marriage affairs, their property, and their hereditary laws. They have gained a very high reputation for honesty and intelligence, and as merchants, bankers, shipowners, builders of railroads, literary men, and, especially, as high-minded philanthropists, have taken an active and a very prominent part in the development of their second home. One of the noblest and most liberal merchants of India, Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, received in 1842 the title Sir, and was in 1858 raised to the baronetcy. He spent more than £300,000 sterling for philanthropic purposes. His memory is perpetuated by a statue in the town-hall of Bombay. In London the Parsee commercial firm of Cama & Co. has been established. Recently a reform movement has sprung up among the Parsees of India, which aims at discarding the principle of a radical dualism. In reply to an English clergyman, J. Wilson, who some forty years ago wrote a work against the principles of the Parsee religion, two Parsee scholars denied that the sect had a doctrine that every thing existing in the world had proceeded from two principles. One of them, Doshabhai, maintained that the words found in the Vendidad on Ormuzd and Ahriman were only a parable of their prophet Zoroaster, describing the good and bad qualities in man. According to the other Parsee writer, Aspendiardjee, Ahriman is not a real being, but only a symbol for vice and evil. The doctrine of Dualism is also opposed in the Vadshar-Kart, a book which is ascribed to Mediomah, the uncle of Zoroaster, but which probably dates from a very recent time. According to this book Ahriman is a powerless creature of Ormuzd, who has created all creatures, useful as well as hurtful, each of which, however, serves for some purpose in the creation.

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ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

FROM the posthumous works of the late Dr. von Hofmann, one of the most distinguished theologians of the Lutheran Church, and Professor of Theology at the University of Erlangen, a new compendium of theological science has been published by Bestmann, (*Encyclopädie der Theologie*, Nördlingen, 1879.) The work does not give, as some might suppose from the title, a treatment of all important theological subjects in alphabetical order, but it gives the author's views on the entire system of theological science, its divisions and subdivisions, and their mutual relations to each other. All German students of theology are bound to hear a course of lectures on this subject, and of late quite a number of text-books on the subject have been published. The best known German work on the subject is that by Hagenbach; some years ago a shorter work was published by J. P. Lange, and recently a posthumous work of Emil Rothe, author of the great work on Christian ethics, has been announced.

Besides the *Encyclopädie*, a work on Biblical Hermeneutics has been compiled from the manuscripts and lectures of the late Dr. Hofmann. (*Biblische Hermeneutik*, Nördlingen, 1880.) It is edited by M. Volck.

The work of the late Bishop Haneberg, of Spires, on the Gospel of John, has been completed by the appearance of the second volume. (*Evangelium nach Johannes übersetet*, etc., Munich, 1880.) The editor of the work is Professor Schegg, who is himself the author of several exegetical works, and of a life of Jesus. The present volume also constitutes the tenth volume of a collective commentary to the Gospels.

The centenary of the birthday of De Wette (January 12, 1880) has called forth a short biography of the celebrated theologian, by Professor Stähelin, of the University of Basle. Most of the works of De Wette still have a wide circulation in revised editions and in translations, and a brief sketch of their author will therefore be a welcome gift to many of his admirers. The author of the sketch, Professor Stähelin, is well known in the theological world as a Church historian.

A special work on the "Account of the Temptation of Christ, Examined in Regard to its Historical Basis," has been published by A. Hünefeld, (*Versuchungsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1880.) The author takes as his guide the opinion of the Church historian Neander, according to whom the biblical account of the temptation contains not only an ideal, but a historical truth, which, however, is reported in a symbolical form.

The theological literature of Russia is steadily growing in importance, and begins to produce works which are favorably noticed by the scholars of Western Europe. A work by Barsow, on "The Patriarch of Constantinople, and his Authority over the Russian Church," (St. Petersburg, 1878,) is pronounced by a reviewer in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of Leipsic to be one of the best works published in Russia on Church history.

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ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Fragments: Religious and Theological. A Collection of Independent Papers Relating to Various Points of Christian Life and Doctrine. By DANIEL CURRY. 12mo., pp. 375. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1880. Price, $1 50.

Platform Papers: Addresses, Discussions, and Essays on Social, Moral, and Religious Subjects. By DANIEL CURRY. 12mo., pp. 389. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1880.

Thousands of our Church who have felt the gratification of being readers in past years of Dr. Curry's productions scattered through our periodicals, and in other forms, will be glad to receive these two volumes, made up by his own hands, of selections from his mass of writings, and reduced to permanent form. In style and thought they are an acknowledged part of our literature, discussing the living topics of our Church and age in a free, bold, thoughtful spirit. Independence, individualism, and vigor, characterize all he writes. He has not, we think, much studied style and manner as an art; but his style of language takes form and character from his style of thought, being its natural self-investment. The genial humor that forms so large a part of his personal demeanor and conversation among his friends never appears in his writings. He abounds not in imagery, poetical or rhetorical; and calls to his aid only so much imagination as shall give shape to his logical conceptions. He enchants you with no fine metaphors, brilliant antitheses, or swelling climaxes. He is always in earnest, and goes on in his career of thought through the regions of pure intelligence. He has thus impressed his own personality upon his writings; and, through them and his various public activities, upon the mind of the Church.

Our limits do not, of course, allow our reviewing him through the varied topics of these two volumes. Nor need we say that in the great body of his utterances we accord very much with his views. But from the very fact that one of his "Fragments" is a trenchant *critique* upon a production of our own, involving extensive difference of opinion in regard to our Arminian theology, our "notice" must be, more than we could wish, controversial.

During a large share of Dr. Curry's career there are many who honestly have held the impression that he was "a Calvinist." This he has repeatedly felt called upon to deny, and has, no

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doubt, with a profound sincerity, denied. The sincerity of that denial is demonstrated by the fact that he here brings together, mostly in the first of the above volumes, some of the decisive statements on which that impression has been based. His own self-exposition of his views, as here given, justifies, we think, the impression that in his theory of responsibility he is but dubiously Arminian, and that he makes concessions which weaken, if they do not knock from under, the props upon which his Arminianism rests. His wavering upon the freedom of the human will gives an apparent doubt and doubleness to all his views.

He affirms that the will is "free;" as all necessitarians do at the present day. He grounds this affirmation on our "consciousness;" and so does Prof. H. B. Smith. He affirms "a self-determining power;" and so does Dr. Shedd. He holds that the rational soul "rises above the passions, and acts by its own energy, and independently of all beyond itself; this is original volition." The younger Edwards, a rigid necessitarian, holds all that. Nay, every cause, however physical, which is a complete and sufficient cause, Edwards holds "acts by its own energy, and independently of all beyond itself." So far, we have not got beyond the most rigid necessitarianism. The question remains: Is this free causal agent limited to a solely possible result, or does he possess power for either one of the two or more alternative results? On this question—the vital question of the freedom of the will, the dividing question between Calvinism and Arminianism—Dr. Curry doubts, vibrates, and straddles. He coolly tells us (p. 19) that "The assumption of a contrary choice, always within possible reach, is only a theory invented to meet a supposed necessity." He discusses the "theory" more fully, (pp. 20, 21,) pervaded with a similar dubitation. Again, (pp. 25, 26,) it is argued that free-will does not solve the problem of sin "unless we assume that the power of free-will is wholly unconditioned and anarchical." Now, we hold that the freedom of the will is not "unconditioned," and we have endeavored in our volume on the Will, on pp. 68–75, and elsewhere, to show the "conditions and limitations of the Will's free action." And, when that analysis is completed, we hold that the solution of the problem of sin and responsibility is as complete as the solution of any other problem of theology. On many theological topics no more clear than this our respected brother is firm and positive; this, the decisive point between us and Calvinism, he selects for hesitating lips and weak knees.

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On page 41 we find the following passage:

> Should an automaton be endowed with consciousness and affection, it would seem to itself to act with entire freedom and from its own impulses; and yet, obviously, all its movements are the result of forces in itself that act independently of its own volitions, and by a law above the dictates of its will. The impulse determines the choice, and not contrariwise. The human consciousness may recognize the free action of the will, but it can know nothing of the impelling causes which lie beyond the range of its observations, and which may effectually control all the volitions of the will. The freedom of the will, as attested by the mind's cognizance of its own processes, may, therefore, be only formal, and, in fact, entirely necessitated.

Here is an illustration drawn from mechanics producing the conclusion that an apparent freedom of will may be only formal, and said will may, after all, be "in fact entirely necessitated." How does Dr. C. know that a conscious automaton would imagine himself to be free? If his consciousness included a Will he might wish to act counter to the controlling physical forces; and so a very cruel collision might result between Will and opposing force, rendering him terribly conscious of his slavery and misery. If Dr. C. means, however, as we suppose he does, psychological volitions in addition to the consciousness to be really substituted in the stead of the physical forces in his automaton, then we reply that we would have no longer a physical "automaton," acting under physical forces, but a volitional agent acting under motives, whose external actions are controlled by his will; and so it ceases to be an illustration by becoming an identity. For what is the use of telling us that a living conscious volitional being, controlling his own actions by his own will, would not know that he was free?* Equally nugatory is it to tell us that we cannot know causes beyond our "observations;" which, of course, we cannot. But causes we do know; the whole science of mechanics or of astronomy is built upon our known knowledge

* This argument of Dr. Curry's we have discussed, under the illustration of a "conscious watch," in our volume on "The Will," p. 365. Dr. Fisk answers Leibnitz' similar illustration drawn from a compass needle (repeatedly used by Dr. C.) in his "Calvinistic Controversy, p. 164.

And how explicitly Dr. Fisk grounds a genuine Arminianism on a genuine alternative power of the Will may appear from passages like the following:—"Both parties agree that man is a free moral agent; both maintain that he is responsible; but we maintain that what the Calvinists call free moral agency is not such in fact as is commonly understood by the term, nor such as is requisite to make man accountable. What is that power, or property, or faculty of the mind, which constitutes man a free moral agent? It is the power of choice, connected with liberty to choose either good or evil. Both the *power* and *liberty* to choose either *good* or *evil* are requisite to constitute the free agency of a probationer."—Page 149.

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of causes; not, indeed, of "impelling causes" beyond our "observations," but of a sufficient amount of causes within our "range" to form a stupendous pile of sciences. Such sciences, based on a known knowledge of causes, are in formation; as physiology, meteorology, paleontology; and why not in psychology or the doctrine of the mind; or even in what we now, for the first time, call THELEMATOLOGY, or the doctrine of the Will?

Dr. Curry's whole argument against our known freedom of Will assumes that *we cannot be conscious of a power for other act than the act we perform.* That is, *we cannot be conscious of unexerted power.* But is it true that we are not conscious of unexerted volitional power? Then no volition could ever take place, for the condition to every volition is a consciousness of power for the volition, previous to the act of volition. There is consciousness, then, previous to every volition of a yet unexerted power. Demonstrably, then, there may be consciousness of unexerted power for an unperformed volition. And if power for one unperformed volition, why not for another, or for either of several volitions? See our "Will," pp. 361–369.

And all these concessions made by him to non-freedom, knock out the props from under Dr. Curry's Arminian platform. For if after all we may be responsible and punishable, yet necessitated, what matters it by what we are necessitated, whether by inward necessitating forces, or by God's external decree? And thence comes a full justification of foreordination, election and reprobation, of Calvinistic justification and infant damnation. These are all nothing more than systems of damnation for necessitated action or being.

There are pages in these volumes in which he is eloquent against Calvinism; but upon what basis? A basis undermined by the assurance that we cannot know but that we are as truly damned for not performing the impossible as the tallest Supralapsarianism asserts. Wesley and Fletcher used to assume that their Arminianism satisfactorily explained the relations between the sovereignty of God and the free-agency of man, so as fully "to justify the ways of God to man." But in Dr. Curry's pages the question is still "an insoluble mystery;" neither side duly clears it; and we are then left to ask, If both are equally in the dark, why is one side better than the other? The charge of Arminianism against Calvinism is that it fails to explain the divine rectitude; and yet Dr. C. tells us that both sides are a failure. Now our own belief coincides with that of our founders, that we have

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the true doctrine as Calvinism has not, and that the divine government is clearly and truly thereby explained, so that a Christian theodicy does exist in which the rational mind may find repose. Arminianism claims to be a valid Theodicy.

Some twenty years ago (according to our fallible memory) we published in our Quarterly, by anticipation, a chapter of our then forthcoming volume on the "Will," pp. 375–389. It was entitled "Distinction between Automatic Excellence and Moral Desert." It was intended to enforce upon the mind the old-fashioned Arminian maxim that a machine, however excellent, could be approved as excellent, but not be morally deserving of reward or punishment. And by gradual approaches we passed to making it clear that a necessitated agent comes under the same category. That necessitarians would carp at our argument we expected; but that an Arminian doctor should open a fire in the rear was a small surprise. Yet our venerated Dr. C. did, in the "Ladies' Repository," make fight on that arena; and, what is more surprising still, after near twenty years of progress, and after the publication of our volume fully expounding our positions, he now republishes this disastrous document in the present volume. Upon our statement of the old fundamental Arminian position that "free self-control" is necessary to responsibility, he pronounces the verdict *not proven;* denies the authority of common sense to decide such a question, etc. In conversation, at the time, we told the writer that we thought his article unequivocally Calvinistic. We then thought it too preposterous for an answer, but upon this its unwise resurrection we must spend a few paragraphs upon it.

In this article Dr. C. first propounds the dictum, in regard to the title of our chapter, that we should not call the necessitated volitional agent *automatic*, but *autonomous*. Strange that in twenty years he should not have discovered the disastrous nature of such a verbal criticism! We have used the word *automatic* throughout our volume as an adjective for either a material or a psychological necessitated agent, and our author is alone in the world in holding such application erroneous. Thus he says, as if quoting us:

An "automaton," we are correctly informed, "is a machine whose movements are caused by forces applied;" that is, from beyond itself. But the most thorough necessitarian does not suppose this of the human will, but only that when excited to action its acts are certainly determined by its own inherent instincts and proclivities.

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Now the first of these two sentences misquotes our definition of an automaton so as to give a false appearance of truth to the implication of the second sentence. Our real definition is as follows: "An automaton is a machine, constructed, sometimes in the human form, whose parts, *by force of interior springs*, are made to operate apparently like a human system, with self-motion;" and in our next sentence we specify that it is moved by "forces applied." Here the "inherent instincts and proclivities" assumed by our critic to be omitted, are fully and prominently expressed by the phrase "interior springs." He then adds: "*Autonomous* or *spontaneous* would then seem to be the proper term by which to designate the moral character in man which lies back of its volitions, and is historically antecedent to them, and, as some believe, their determining cause."

Now to mean any thing to the purpose, this must signify that *autonomous*, and not *automatic*, is the term to apply to the quality or action of an automaton, physical or psychological! But *automatic* is the very adjective form of the word *automaton*. Webster says, "The term *automatic* is now applied to self-acting machinery, or such as has within itself the power of regulating its own movements, although the moving force is derived from without." In this statement all will admit that "the power of regulating its own movements" is mechanical and fixed, not free and alternative, and hence the automatic material agent and action. But the word *autonomous* is never applied to a material mechanism, whether an automaton or any other structure, but is always applied to a free living agent, or body of living agents, for the very purpose of specializing the freedom from all external force. It is a Greek word compounded of *αυτος*, self, and *νομος*, law; and was first used to designate the cities of Greece as free and independent of any foreign force. Webster defines it, "Independent in government; having the right of self-government." When, therefore, our critic tells us that *autonomous* and not *automatic* is the word to designate the quality of an automaton, or an agent as necessitated as an automaton, he precisely reverses the truth.

Our critic next applies his dissecting knife to our proposition that in order to responsibility "common sense demands . . . free self-control." On this he commits a whole series of very flagrant mistakes. 1. He assumes that we propound this as nearly an axiomatic postulate, needing no proof; whereas it is a proposition proposed to be proved; and the whole chapter is an attempt to prove it by presenting its various phases before the tribunal of

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the *common sense*. Our critic pronounces it "not proven;" and if so the chapter is a failure. 2. He faults our using the term "common sense," treating the phrase, through an unwise page or two, as unmetaphysical, as "used to cover up vacuity of thought," etc. We are, doubtless, much rebuked by all this for our incompetence in the use of due metaphysical language. And yet the phrase is the regular technic used by Reid as against Hume; and as a translation of the old *communis sensus* of the Latin it is legitimated by Sir William Hamilton as a valid metaphysical technic. It is used by Edwards, the great standard whom we were antagonizing, and the phrase in our same chapter, "universal common sense of mankind," (p. 381,) is Edwards' own phrase, intended by us as a quotation from him, and a few lines lower is marked with quotation points. At any rate, these last phrases ought to have shown our critic that we used the term as a proper authorized technic, not at all affected by its popular use, which is really based upon the original metaphysical term. The *sensus communis* is that universal sensus, common to all mankind, by which self-evidence is universally recognized. Our use of the word is further verified by the fact that in our volume (pp. 398–400) we bring the same proposition before the "intuitions," and endeavor to show both that the intuitions do affirm it, and that their affirmation is conclusive. And, finally and conclusively, the phrase is used by the very highest authority in the present debate, namely, by Dr. Curry himself, in the very first line of the volume containing this criticism, as a designation of the final court of appeal in metaphysical discussion. The very first line in his book is this: "The common sense of mankind has always and every-where recognized," etc. 3. Our author rejects the maxim that in order to moral responsibility "common sense demands free self-control." Now Calvinism bases its whole moral defense on this non-concession of that maxim. Grant that non-concession and an act or state may be necessitated, eternally pre-decreed, and yet be responsible. God may decree the sin and damn the sinner. Now can our respected brother wonder or complain if thousands of us are compelled to feel that he writes, speaks, and thinks Calvinism? Yet on page 201 he tells us that since "the interior will is alone capable of acting in view of moral obligation, sin can be predicated of only the reason in its volitionary action—that is of the will." And (p. 195) of this "volitionary" reason he tells us that it "rises above the passions and acts by its own energy, and independently of all beyond itself; this is original volition." Now, putting these two state-

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ments together, the predicability of sin requires the volitionary action of the will; and that volitionary action, or original volition, "acts independently of all beyond itself." In other words, sin can be imputed to nothing but a volition independent of every thing but itself. And yet he denies that "in order to moral responsibility there must be free self-control." If his phrase "independently of all beyond itself" is equivalent to "free self-control," then here is the most categorical contradiction. If not, then, clearly, the agent is at once independent of all control both outside and inside of itself! It is independent of every thing else, and yet has no "free self-control." And here is that quavering between Arminianism and its opposite, with which Dr. C. has for years confounded his friends.

He next imputes to us "a damaging want of distinction" because in our chapter we did not adopt his "two things" which he calls TWO WILLS; namely, "an external will" or "a surface will," and also "an internal will." This theory of *two wills* in the human soul he professedly adopts from Coleridge, and we venture to believe that nobody but the great opium-eater and Dr. C. ever held it. Of these *two wills*, the former or external will "consists in an action of the mind," "is commonly called *choosing*," and is "only choice-making;" while the latter is the will-power. On this we have to remark that this junction of said *two wills* is a false co-ordination. It is like saying that as we have the power of sight and the action of sight we have *two sights*, an external or surface sight and an internal or potential sight. This co-ordination of sight is purely verbal, arising from the fact that our language has unfortunately designated the faculty and the act of the faculty by the same vocable. So we might extend the term head to include the stomach, and thereby be enabled to say that we had *two heads*, a *cephalic* head and a *gastric* head. We have in our legs the power to "walk," and we perform a "walk," and so we have *two walks*. But the most extraordinary part of this criticism is that the writer really imagines that by our own word Will we really mean not the will-power, but the will-ing act. Most assuredly in so misconstruing our language he must of all our readers stand alone—"wrapt in the solitude of his own originality." On the very first page of our volume we declare, "The Will is the volitional power." We divide the trinality of the soul into intellect, sentiency, and will; one will and not two; three generic powers and not four. On page 26 we specially note the clumsy ambiguity of the application of the term Will to the *action* of the Will. To expose this ambiguity we frame

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this sentence: "The will will will a will;" and in this sentence the first *will* and the last *will* are our critic's *two wills*. We framed the sentence in order to banish the latter use of the word from the language, and to secure our unequivocality we spell the noun Will throughout our volume with an initial capital. And now we confess that we shrink into utter discouragement and despair at being at last told by an eminent metaphysician in this year, 1880, that by Will we do not mean Will but the "action" of the Will.*

Our learned critic next takes issue with a statement imputed by him to us, and thus printed by him, as ours, in quotation marks: "The common sense of mankind recognizes morality in VOLITION alone." And on this he comments thus: "Volition is not the will itself, but an act of the will; and 'morality'—that is, moral properties—can properly be predicated, according to this theory, not of persons, nor of their characters, but only of their volitions. In *himself* Judas was no worse than his Master, only his volitions were worse; and when both were asleep, because their volitions had ceased, there was no more 'morality' about the one than the other."

Now it is with deep regret we say that the words above adduced by Dr. Curry, and marked as ours, are a false quotation; being falsified by omission of words essential to the real meaning. And, what is worse, the validity of his criticism is attained by the cutting out of words which, if retained, would have neutralized it. His criticism is valid only by scissors. Our words were, (the omitted words being italicized:) "The common sense of mankind recognizes morality *primarily* in volition [not capitalized in the original] alone, and not in mere perception, because it recognizes in volition alone non-necessitation." By his striking out *primarily* we are made to say what we neither say nor believe, namely: that morality is recognized in volition alone, *unqualifiedly;* whereas we imply a qualification by the *primarily* which we soon expand and explain *secondarily* on a following page, which we shall soon quote. The words *and not in perception alone* are carved out, so as to shut off the fact that morality is by us ascribed to

* We are not sure that we rightly understand Dr. C. in attributing to him belief in a will-faculty. His fullest exposition of Will that we find is on pp. 193, 194, arriving at this conclusion: "To the soul thus revealed by its own exercises, in the dialect of philosophy, is given the name of WILL." But we suppose that this means "the soul," as endowed with the *power of volition*, the will-faculty. So that the will is the *ego* in volitionating. This is the only sense in which we use the word Will. See our "Will," p. 22.

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the volitions alone, not in distinction from the "person" or "character," but in distinction from the other faculties. And the detruncation of the last member of the sentence shuts off the fact that the direct object of the sentence is not to show where the morality lies, but to show that it is the non-necessitation of the volition which renders it the subject of morality rather than the other faculties. And so, by use of scissors, we are monstrously made to teach that a man's bad volitions do not demoralize or inculpate his character! The inferences next drawn in his comment which follows from such an assumption are carefully moderate. Such an assumption would teach that Judas was as good as Jesus not only "when asleep," but when awake. The crucifiers on Calvary, in the very act, would be as good as He the Crucified; for neither their bad volitions nor his good ones would render them any worse or him any better. Is it possible for any man to believe that we teach such a monstrosity? Universally when men speak of a guilty act, an immoral volition, they mean that the free-agent himself is guilty and his character immoral.

But after this *primarily* in our chapter there follows (p. 387) a *secondarily*, in which it is subsidiarily shown that morality inheres not in "volitions alone," but to other psychological parts. The volitions may so modify "the intellections, emotions, and desires," as that they become responsible, for good or evil, and so the man "would be volitionally and morally responsible." The responsibility is expressly predicated of the man, since the volitions are truly the man himself in action. We add: "Even his automatic faculties would thence derive a sort of secondary responsible character." And we further add (as if to preclude all excuse for overlooking our words) *in italics:* "It is thus that a man's *sensibilities, intellections, emotions, and beliefs become secondarily and consequentially responsible.*" When thus we see how it is, by cutting out and cutting off our words and sentences in this short chapter, that our critic makes a case against us, our readers may conclude that he handles a very dexterous, if not very scrupulous, pair of scissors.

But Dr. Curry's maintenance of the most explicit basal justification of necessitarian fatalism occurs on p. 223: "Moral worth is itself the ground of merit, regardless of the genesis of that characteristic of the soul." This maxim is, indeed, attributed by him to "many persons generally supposed to possess that characteristic of rationality," common sense. But he states it as a counter-position to ours, and as agreeable to what he calls *his* "very dull sense." The maxim means, if it means any thing to

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the purpose, that "merit," desert, responsibility, punishability, may justly exist in or upon any agent who is bad, regardless of the genesis of that badness, whether he became freely so by his own will, or by creation, birth, forced infusion, necessitated nature, or divine decree.

It means that God may make a man bad, and then damn him for being the bad he has made him. It means that an infant may be born bad, and damned for the badness in which he is born. And Dr. Curry's maxim is the very fundamental maxim on which Edwards bases his entire defense of the rightfulness of necessitated responsibility and punishability. To this maxim as stated by Edwards, pages 402–408 of our "Will" are a reply. We there quote the maxim as stated by Chalmers: "How the disposition got there is not the question, etc. It is enough . . . that the disposition is there." Edwards' form is: "The viciousness of an act of Will lies not in its cause, but in its own intrinsic nature." Hence it makes no difference as to responsibility whether it was necessitated or not. Our counter maxim is, that power to avoid the act is necessary to the merit or demerit of the act. Responsibility cannot be "regardless of genesis."

Again, Dr. Curry denies that there may be irresponsible wrong character or badness. Thus

> If man is born with a moral character, of which one may correctly predicate such epithets as "wrong, sinful, depraved;" and if, as the result of this bad inheritance, he suffers many disadvantages, both temporal and spiritual, as confessedly he does, there does surely seem to be a kind of responsibility for that which we are told "is no *fault* of his own till fully appropriated by the act of his own free will." Could I trust my own apprehensions in these deep things I should suspect that the learned essayist is not entirely self-consistent. How there can be all forms and relations of sin without "just moral condemnality," is indeed beyond my powers of conception. If there are moral qualities and relations they must be judged by the divine law, and if there is found in them no cause of condemnation they must be approved; and so the law must approve of "disconformity to the law."

That is, however, caused, created, born, shaped, or necessitated, the evil quality is responsible and punishable. No power otherwise in the being, no alternative will, is necessary. We will here only say that as Dr. C. has publicly, and no doubt sincerely, rejoiced in and boasted of being the pupil of Dr. Wilbur Fisk, we quote Dr. Fisk's own language on that point:

> We believe that the merits of the atonement are so available for and in behalf of the whole human family, that the guilt of depravity *is not imputed to the subject* of it until, by intelligent volition, he makes the guilt his own by resisting and rejecting the grace of the Gospel.

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And again:

If the Creator should give existence to an intelligent being, and infuse into his created nature the elements of unrighteousness, and give to his faculties an irresistible bias to sin, and all this without providing a remedy, or a way for escape, then, indeed, all our notions of justice would decide that *such a being ought not to be held responsible.* But this is not the case with any of the sinful beings of God's moral government. Not of the fallen angels, for they had original power to stand, but abused it and fell; not of fallen man, for in the first place his is not a created depravity; but, in the case of Adam, it was contracted by voluntary transgression when he had power to stand; and in case of his posterity, it is derived and propagated in the ordinary course of generation; and in the second place, a remedy is provided which meets the exigencies of man's moral condition, at the very commencement of his being. This it does by graciously preventing imputation of guilt until man is capable of an intelligent survey of his moral condition. . . . And when man becomes capable of moral action, this same gracious remedy is suited to remove his native depravity, and to justify him from the guilt of actual transgression. . . . If the character and conduct of a being are not *now* and never *have been* avoidable, then, indeed, he ought not to have guilt imputed to him.

And this last extract may show our good doctor how persistently he misunderstands the doctrine of both Dr. F. and our chapter and book. We do not affirm that the badness is "approved" either by God or the law; we say that it is not held RESPONSIBLE. Our whole chapter by its very title and argument tries to show that the purely "automatic" excludes "desert," that is of penalty or just reward. And this, the very fundamental distinction, Dr. Curry ignores, blurs, and blunders over, sometimes assuming that we do not admit the automatic to be proper subject, as we constantly affirm it is, of love and admiration, and at other times himself maintaining that the "automatic" is justly responsible; which is necessitarian Calvinism. A watch or a living agent, we maintain, may be even *ethically* admired, (for a true watch tells the truth,) approved and petted; but has no moral "desert," is not responsible, cannot be rewarded or punished; and that simple truth, the very A B C of Arminian theology, Dr. Curry professes that he cannot understand.

And now, in conclusion, we cannot but most earnestly counsel the author in future editions to strike this chapter from this book; a chapter which increases neither the value of the volume nor the reputation of its author.

And this, our notice, is written in kindly personal feeling toward our friend of long years, for the purposes, *first*, of making clear to him why many of his best friends have entertained those impressions of which he publicly complains, that he "leaned too much to Calvinism;" and, *second*, to guard our Wesleyan-Arminianism from being held to be truly represented in Dr. Curry's two volumes, in consequence of their being published at our two houses.

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The Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt. By P. Le Page Renouf. [The Hibbert Lectures for 1879.] Small 12mo., pp. 270. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880. $1 50.

The Hibbert Lectures were established for the purpose of enabling the "Broad Church," of the School of Max Müller, Dean Stanley, and Renouf, to give their expositions to the public. The central principle of this school is implied in the above title of the book, which assumes that religion is a natural "growth" of the human mind, rather springing up from the depths of our nature than coming down from God to our receptive will. With these thinkers all religion is natural religion; yet for that reason in its vital elements truly authentic; and, in fact, as implanted by the divinity in our nature, indirectly divinely derived. This is the religion of Intuitionalism, deriving its principles from the intuitions of our race as studied in the intellective and moral phases of human history and in the depths of our individual consciousness. The leaders of this school are men of genius, research, and earnest aspiration after truth. For the Christian student their works are worthy of discriminating study. They adopt Christianity, indeed, only as far forth as that religion comes within the range of their intuitionality. And we so far accord with them as to affirm that whatever dogma can be brought into absolute contradiction with the intuitive and axiomatic truth must be false. Revelation may disclose truths which our intuitive faculties could never discover, but can never authenticate doctrines which our intuitions positively contradict.

The present volume consists of six chapters. The first chapter gives a very interesting popular history of the discovery of the true nature of the Egyptian inscriptions by the genius of Champollion, and the investigations and disclosures made by a faithful school of followers. The second chapter essays to verify the correctness and general reliability of the antiquity of Egyptian civilization as recorded on the monuments and papyri. The third pictures to us the gods of Egypt as many, yet One. The fourth gives the Egyptians' various views of their relations and intercourses with the unseen world, by apparitions, dreams, possession, etc. The last two discuss the great Egyptian *Bible*, "The Book of the Dead," and other sacred records, with the doctrines they reveal. The whole work is written in a lucid and popular style, and, whatever we may think of some of its *dicta* given as conclusions, its facts and premises are full of interest to the Christian biblicist and theologian.

If human religions are a "growth," the example of Egypt sug-

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gests that it is a growth *downward.* It passes through the three stages described by Hardwick in his "Christ and other Masters;" beginning with a clear personal monotheism, it dims away into pantheism, and then breaks up into polytheism. This agrees with Paul's view in the first chapter of Romans, based on the Genesis history. Indeed, the whole history of ancient Egyptian civilization is, so far as it goes, a protest against the doctrine of ascending evolution. The purest monotheism, the most magnificent pyramid, the richest art, are all at the origin. They all start with startling suddenness. We are, indeed, told that *there must have been* ages of development preceding; but when we ask our evolutionist how he knows, his only reply is, Because *evolutionism requires it.* So "ride and tie," the evolution proves the fact, and the fact proves the evolution. How is it that the art which could build the tallest pyramid could show no record of those anterior ages? On the contrary, this Egyptian history, so much more veracious than Moses, gives a line of gods immediately preceding many thousand years in length, fastening on to the rear of Menes, like a long tail. Of course it is very unscientific in us to declare that we have just as much faith in the said tail as we have in Menes himself.

A most remarkable document certainly is that Egyptian Bible called the Book of the Dead. Renouf fluently tells us that it is thousands of years older than the Pentateuch. And it very possibly may be some centuries older than some parts of the Pentateuch. But, as our readers may remember, we have ever favored the hypothesis that the earliest chapters of Genesis were ancient documents brought from Chaldea by Abraham. And this hypothesis has been wonderfully confirmed by George Smith's revelations from the Assyrian tablets. The cosmogony of Genesis in rude outline there found, together with its total absence from all Egyptian records, indicates that it is an Abrahamic, Shemitic, Noahic, Adamic document. We reject, therefore, as proofless and truthless, Renouf's story that the Book of the Dead is the oldest of Bibles, and we hold it younger than the first ten chapters of Genesis.

The theology and mythology of Egypt, as revealed by the record, were wonderful for their ingenuity, vastness, and variety. Their monotheism, though richly and powerfully expressed, has a pantheistic phase, even though holding the divine Personality. And there is also what Max Müller endows with the awkward name of "Henotheism;" namely, either one of several gods is addressed or celebrated as if he were the Supreme, yet no way

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contradicting the supremacy of the others. One God is selected by name as sole God, yet really taking in all the other gods by inclusion. The other gods may be merely common names for the One, or each one may be viewed as a personality projecting from the common ocean of divinity. Monotheism thereby easily passes into polytheism. And this degeneracy is wonderfully aided by pantheism, which views men and animals as mere forms emerging from the one living All. By this route transition is easily made through animal deification to the lowest fetichism, and that transition unhappy Egypt made. Renouf abundantly shows that Egyptian degeneracy into fetichism was slow, but regular and final. Strong proof that fetichism and savageism are not the state of primitive man but of primitive man's far-off degenerate posterity.

And herein we discover how sweeping and truly puritan a reformer was Moses. He knew all the science, history, and mythology of Egypt, yet sternly rejected its luxuriances. With his people, who possessed the true Abrahamic-Adamic document and tradition, he preferred primitive truth. He reduced the false Egyptian chronology, with its Menes, and his long tail of heroes, demi-gods, and gods, to a modest figure. He swept away the whole menagerie of Egyptian mythology clean, and fell back upon the true Jehovah. The first two *dicta* of the decalogue consigned the fetiches to everlasting abhorrence. Nay, he flung into the background the vision of the future state on which "The Book of the Dead" is wildly copious and phantasmagoric, and required Israel to trust that in unity with Jehovah all would be forever well. He then established a ritual in which Egypt's animal gods were slaughtered as sinful victims, sin itself was shadowily expiated, and the Messiah of the future was typified. Thus was the tradition of Eden restored, and the future dispensation of Christ inaugurated.

The Life and Work of St. Paul. By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S. 12mo., pp. 781. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. 1880.

Canon Farrar's Life of Christ has found very large audience in America both with scholars and the people. His Paul has, of course, a lesser subject and probably a lesser body of readers, but to those who feel inspired by his vivid style and rich erudition the book will be invaluable. It deals less than Conybeare and Howson with geographical picture and external circumstantials, and seeks to give a clearer view of the intellectual position and doings of St. Paul, and to reproduce the moral battles which the great

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apostle fought with the errors of his age. To this end, besides a most thorough research in Paul's writings, aided by the rich apparatus of modern criticism, he brings to his aid a deep study of Jewish literature. He then seeks truly and vividly to present to us the true historic, intellectual, and spiritual *life* of St. Paul. He traces the events of his history, and endeavors to analyze and unfold his doctrines. The work, thereby, becomes a fresh commentary upon a large part of the New Testament.

Following the biography is an Appendix containing twenty-nine dissertations upon topics closely belonging to the subject, yet liable to interrupt the narrative if inserted in the body of the work. These are a rich treasury for the lovers of biblical discussion. On most of his topics we can easily agree with his conclusions. But we cannot agree that Paul would call weak eyes "a stake in the flesh." We think the Canon's analysis of Paul's theology, in the ninth of Romans, a failure. The external execution of the work is handsome. It is furnished with full index and beautiful maps.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Theory of Thought. A Treatise on Deductive Logic. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

This work, by Professor Noah K. Davis, of the University of Virginia, is an exhaustive presentation of formal logic. It does not claim to add any thing, but only to expound and illustrate. The objections to which it is open belong mainly to the standpoint rather than to the execution of the work. If the old formal logic is to be taught, we know of no better work than this. At the same time we regard the bulk of formal logic as made up of useless refinements, which are not of the least value to thought.

In laying down the primary laws of thought, Professor Davis falls into the customary looseness of the writers on this subject. They are given as the laws of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle. Of these the second is an implication of the first; and the third is not a distinct law of thought at all. To think demands something to think about; hence the first act of thought is one of position; and hence the first law of thought is A=A, or every thought must have a fixed content. But this act of position excludes all that is incompatible with it, and hence it excludes A= non A, for this would cancel the act. The law of contradiction is but the other side of the law of identity.

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Both are given in the same act, and are not distinct laws. The law of the excluded middle properly applies only to the division of a notion, and implies that the members of the disjunction shall make up on the whole concept. The formula, All being is either A or non A, is something totally unknown except to logicians. Privative or negative notions are not properly notions at all. What is meant by such a formula is better stated thus: Of any given subject, any definite predicate either holds or it does not. But this is no separate law, but only a consequence of the laws of identity and contradiction. The possibility of dividing the thinkable into two contradictory notions, A and non A, is an unimportant consequence, and not a law.

In giving the law of identity, Professor Davis formulates it thus: $A = A$, or $A = a' + a'' + a''' \ldots$ and illustrates it by various mathematical equations. The last form implies more than the law of identity warrants. That law affirms only the equality of an object with itself; that it can be put equal to something else does not lie in the law. Even in mathematics Kant showed that the law of identity is not the only law; and long ago the Megarics showed that the principle of identity alone would bring thought to a stand-still. The law of identity is only the negative condition of thinking; there must be some positive principle if thought is to move at all. This fact is not noticed by Professor Davis. Although he treats of the laws of thought, there could be no thinking if thought had no other laws than those he mentions.

In treating of the extension and intension of notions, the author holds the ordinary doctrine that they vary inversely. But this is far enough from being the case. The doctrine assumes that a notion is merely the sum of its marks, and that marks can be added and subtracted at pleasure. Often, however, a notion is such a function of its marks that to remove one would cancel all. This is the case with natural species. The intension of any natural class is independent entirely of its extension. The marks which make up the notion horse, or man, are independent of the number of individuals. The asserted inverse relation holds only of artificial notions which we make for our convenience. The traditions have influenced the author too much at this point. The author's further claim that the singular is richer in content than the universal is equally short-sighted. The concept triangle is as rich in content as any real triangle. It includes area, three-sidedness, and triangularity. The difference is, that in the universal the

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marks are left general, while, in the particular, definite rules are substituted for them. In this respect the universal is like an algebraic formula. This contains all the quantities; and is applied to a particular case not by increasing the quantities, but by giving them specific values.

Of course, the whole mechanism of figure, mood, and reduction is given at length. *Barbara, celarent*, etc., are reproduced, and the superiority of the first figure is duly extolled. This implies, of course, a rejection of the quantification of the predicate. On this point we differ entirely from the author. We view the machinery of reduction as being as thoughtless as the words which are employed to represent it. We further hold that every logical judgment is, when its implications are expressed, an equation of subject and predicate. We always say more or less than we think; but as logic has only to do with thought, its forms must regard the meaning and not the expression. But while we hold that all judgments are equations, we do not think it worth while to construct an elaborate table of all possible forms. This is only a piece of formalism which teaches nothing and leads to nothing. The same judgment we extend to the doctrine of figure and reduction. The author adds a criticism of innovations on the old logic, and rejects Hamilton's modifications. This is the only part of the work which displays any critical power. For the rest it is a reproduction of the traditions. R.

The Perception of Space and Matter. By Rev. JOHNSTON ESTES WALTER. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1879.

The critical part of Mr. Walter's work is better than the constructive. The criticism of Reid, Hamilton, Bain, and Spencer is good, although here the range is narrow. The Kantian theory of space and perception is unnoticed, except in the most casual manner; and yet it is one of the chief theories in philosophy. Mr. Walter discusses the perception of space by itself, and leaves the perception of matter for separate treatment. He seems to think that an unextended being cannot perceive space, and he also seems to think that to admit the extension of the soul would remove the difficulties under which other theories labor. Both of these views are difficult of acceptance. The first one confounds the content of a thought with the thought itself. If the thought of extension must itself be extended, then the mind would require a certain bulk in which to hold it; but if the thought of the extended is no more extended than the thought of the sour is itself

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sour, it is hard to see what need there is for an extended soul in order to cognize extension. Besides, if the extension of the soul were allowed, the imagination might be helped, but the problem would not be solved. The difficulty is to get a knowledge of extension in unextended thought, and this is not removed in the least by supposing the soul to have a cubical content. The existence of a thing as extended is never a sufficient account of our perception of it as extended. Sooner or later the extended thing must disappear in unextended thought; and the assumption that the soul is extended in no way removes this necessity, unless, indeed, we should descend to the crudity of holding that thoughts are spatially related in the mind like blocks in a box. Again, Mr. Walter seems to fancy that the only antithesis to an extended soul is a punctual soul. But this is to deny space spatially. The third possibility remains open, that the soul is non-spatial, just as thought is non-spatial. Kant held that space is only a form of intuition, and no ontological fact. It is valid, then, only for appearances, and has no meaning when applied to the realities behind them. This possibility was at least worthy of mention. Finally, the spatial-soul view would in no way account for our perception of space as one. This objection applies to all those theories which hold that the original perception of objects as extended is sufficient to explain the unity of our space-intuition. The perception of things as extended no more implies that they are all in a common space, than the perception of extended objects in dreams implies that the space of dreams is one. The chapter on the True Nature and Process of the Perception of Matter is by no means so impregnable to idealism as we could wish. The author has taken the common sense view for granted. If he had allowed that this might be false, he would have felt the insufficiency of his arguments. B.

Chapters from the Physical History of the Earth. By Arthur Nicoles, F. G. S. 12mo., pp. 281. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

As this book is not a symmetrical treatise, but only "chapters," it is not fitted for a class-book. Six of the chapters are devoted to Geology and thirteen to Paleontology. The former are written for the latter, and the latter are intended to commend Darwinism to our belief. This is done in a fluent but superficial manner, entirely ignoring the grave difficulties that lie in the way of that theory. For instance, he quotes conspicuously Sir Charles Lyell's first statement of his conversion to the geologic

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man, in apparent ignorance that not only in the opinion of Dr. Winchell, but by confession of Professor Huxley, the grounds upon which Lyell was converted have been entirely invalidated since that day.

Mr. Nicoles also quotes, as very conclusive proof of man's descent from brute, the statement of Huxley, that the distance between the lowest man and highest ape is only equal to the distance between the highest and lowest ape. However true anatomically, that statement possesses little psychological validity. Let us suppose that the Bushman should be educated from infancy, morally, religiously, intellectually, in the most perfect manner, and with ample inducements to proficiency through three generations. And suppose also that the highest ape should be similarly trained through three generations. There can be little rational doubt that the Bushman will have proved himself an expansible man, and the ape would still stay an unimprovable ape. And that simply because one is an unchangeable man and the other an unchangeable monkey.

So worse than worthless on the whole is the book, that one may query why it was ever published; and still more why it has been republished in America.

The Science of Logic. By Rev. T. J. Scott, M.A., D.D. Lucknow. 1880.

This little work is printed in both English and Hindustani by the American Mission Press in Lucknow. It is a short treatise on formal logic, very clearly and simply written. The same general objections apply to it which we have elsewhere made to Professor Davis' work. B.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell. 8vo., pp. 579. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Near six hundred pages of large octavo, large print, written over in fascinating style by several different hands, are not too much for a man like Horace Bushnell. He was born in 1802, and died in 1876. The only full conversation we ever had with him was in the early manhood of us both, in our college room at Middletown, soon after his "settlement" at Hartford. We were then intently studying Edwards, and were delighted as well as surprised to find that he, a supposed "Calvinist," rejected the necessitarianism of

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the great fatalist. He had studied Coleridge, and received from him an elevation above the low grounds of "the understanding" into the upper region of "the reason," and was thereby enabled to say, On the grounds of logical understanding Edwards cannot be refuted; but in the light of the pure reason he is invalid; and the ground of his mistake is that he tries a transcendent problem by a sense logic. All of which seemed satisfactory to him, but not, either then or now, to our own mind.

At this time there was about him an air of personal independence, which, blended, nevertheless, with a certain pleasantry, was colloquially attractive, but which gave a degree of coldness to his manner of public address. The Puritan and the latitudinarian seemed blended in him. Both his Coleridgeanism and his personal independency raised him into a region where orthodoxy did not hold imperative sway. His publications, written from the inspirations of that upper air, produced no little commotion among his Congregational brethren, who abode in the low flat-lands of "understanding" and orthodoxy. In that controversy, which for a while held the Congregational ban over his head, we Methodists took no stock. We had occupancies enough of our own. We appreciatively measured the nobleness of Mr. Bushnell's intellect; but we lent no study to his speculations.

Mr. Bushnell's cashiering of Calvinism, in spite of his office in a Calvinistic Church, was somewhat hereditary. His grandmother, as he tells us in a very interesting narrative, was released from her Calvinistic bondage by the gospel of early Methodism, and, with a truer independence than her noble grandson, became a professed and consistent Methodist. In her rural hamlet she started Methodist meetings, having, as a part of the exercises, sermons read by a young man of the place. In due time it was given her to tell that young man that it was his duty to be a Methodist preacher. On his telling her that he had never been converted, she told him that then so much the more was to be done; he must first become a Christian, and then a preacher. He obeyed both calls. "And thus began the public story of the great Bishop Hedding, one of the most talented and grandly executive men of the Methodist Episcopal Church—led into his work and office, we may say, by the counsel and prayers of his woman-bishop guide."

It is remarkable that his launch into transcendental semi-heresy was preceded by a "crisis" of religious experience. Not, it would appear, from any study of Wesleyan authors, but from Upham, Madame Guyon, and Fénelon, he was enabled to emerge into "a higher, fuller life." "It came to him, at last, after all his

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thought and study, not as something reasoned out, but as an inspiration—a revelation from the mind of God himself." This was in 1848; and even as late as 1871 he referred to it. "I seemed to pass a boundary. I had never been very legal in my Christian life, but now I passed from those partial seeings, glimpses, and doubts, into a clearer knowledge of God, and into his inspirations, which I have never wholly lost. The change was into faith—a sense of the freeness of God, and the ease of approach to him."

"His own statement, made elsewhere, of the nature of faith, gives a deeper insight into his meaning. 'Christian faith,' as he says, 'is the faith of a transaction.'"

Notwithstanding the Arminian strand in his pedigree, and his creed, and his "higher life," there was no interchange of sympathies between Bushnell and Methodism. His transcendental yearnings were toward the Unitarians, whom he sought to win, by what some thought compromise, to a recognition of "God in Christ," and a full experience of God in the soul. He saw them standing on the low grounds of naturalism, and he sought to induce them to feel that an evangelical spiritualism is the deepest of all realities. It would seem that this overture he was divinely permitted to make to them; but in vain. They are still there. Most of them prefer the auroral ice-beams of Emerson and his fellows, wandering children of the cold twilight, to whose owl-eyed vision night is day and day is night.

The Life and Work of William Augustus Mühlenberg. By ANNE AYRES. 8vo., pp. 524. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

A Dutchman by descent, a Quaker by parental origin, a Churchman by choice, Mühlenberg, from an early Pennsylvanian, became a permanent and final New Yorker. In New York his monument is the St. Luke's Hospital; throughout the English-singing world he is known as the author of the hymn, "I would not live alway."

Dr. Mühlenberg was ritualistic, but not high-church. He was ritualistic from esthetic preference, loving to be devout under antique symbolic forms; low-church because he had no faith in a divinely organized successional episcopate. He was in the high career of ritualistic advancement when the publication of the Oxford Tracts unveiled the real nature of the movement, and brought him to a pause and a protest. He took a trip to England, held converse with Pusey and Newman, but retired to a Wesleyan chapel for his best spiritual food. The gentle sar-

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casms with which, while staying in a high-Church, he could satirize high-churchery, are admirable for their blend of amenity, wit, and wisdom. Having himself decreed that no unchurchly man should offer prayer in his hospital, when a frightened nurse announced to him that an intrusive Methodist preacher was perpetrating a prayer, he replied, "Go and stop him immediately, before his prayer reaches heaven." We can hardly approve his irritability at finding his magnificent hymn his great title to world-wide fame, nor his injudicious attempt at its reconstruction. When Dr. Cummins seceded from "the Church," it was hoped by many that Dr. Mühlenberg would join the exodus, but he condemned it as "a multiplication of sects." Yet that secession is far more likely to check the spirit of towering Churchmanship, both in England and America, than any protest within its fold could have done.

The Life of William Ellery Channing, D.D. The Centenary Memorial Edition. By his nephew, WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING. 8vo., pp. 719. American Unitarian Association, 1880.

Passing from such characters as Bushnell and Mühlenberg, we come to one who is announced as "the morning-star of a better day for man." A centennial celebration proclaims that his birth was an epoch. A broader European fame places him in an upper atmosphere; and we are called, as it were, to use an astronomic apparatus to ascertain, if we can, the elevation and magnitude of this bright luminary. And we can say that whether his altitude and magnitude are overestimated or not, he beams with a very serene luster, and we have for long years gazed with a tranquil pleasure upon his aspect.

His biographer has wisely done in making Channing, as far as possible, his own biographer. His was emphatically the life of a soul, with very little event. Soon after his brilliant graduation at Harvard he commenced preaching, and attracted, by his marked ability, a call from the Federal-street Church, Boston, of which he became life-long pastor. A brief trip to Europe, where affinity caused an interview with Wordsworth and with Coleridge, on both whom he left a marked impression, was the largest event in his career. Yet his mental development, as shown by the copious forthpourings of his pen in the present volume, is replete with interest.

Possessed of rare genius, a gentle yet heroic spirit, the two strong points about him were his optimism and his individualism. His optimistic spirit rejected all that was stern in the prevalent theology, whether in the divine character, in human nature, or in

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the constitution of things. His writings are a beautiful antidote to pessimism. God was to him concrete living goodness; man was a being of marvelous nobleness; and the severity in nature and the sin and misery in the world were the necessary conditions of a probation whereby the heroic is possible and perfection a future result. His individualistic views, if they did not grow out of his optimism, were admirably consistent with it. If man is a transcendently noble being it is a frightful monstrosity for him to be, either mentally or physically, a slave. His noble single nature must ever assert itself, emancipating itself from all servility to the despotism of others or the enthrallment of ignoble influences. He must be free from the influence of tradition, of sect, of party. Each single man, aspiring after the highest possibilities of his own noble nature, must think and speak in perfect independence, furnishing his own contribution to the reason of the whole race. The same individualism rendered him averse to the mysteries of a creed. The trinity he rejected, not so much as a mystery as a contradiction in terms, the very formula which expressed it being a self-contradiction, and therefore a nothing.

In his theology the three greatest words were GOD, IMMORTALITY, and PERFECTION. These were the three great primary assumptions. Under a divine goodness man is destined to an eternal progress, of which a perpetual perfecting is the result. As to future retribution the Scriptures, which he fully accepted as a revelation, were to him not clear and decisive; but it was a happy condition, he thought, for a being to be embraced in the future destinies of the race. In our perfecting progress we are aided by the Spirit of God; and Christ is our transcendent example, teacher, and thereby redeemer from sin and its consequences. Christ's character is the exhibited perfection at which we aim. It is truly and historically a miracle; and all his miracles, as narrated by the evangelists, are truly consonant with his character, and so not only credible, but required.

From his ultra individualism, Channing was "opposed to Methodism." It was too organic, too despotic. In this respect Channing was the contrast of Wesley to his own disparagement. Wesley was a great organizer, Channing a disintegrator. Wesley would marshal men into a great enginery for bringing about stupendous beneficent reforms and advancements. Channing would reduce all the race to individual elements, in hope that its noble individualities might somehow spontaneously harmonize into an ultimate general perfection. His method is not God's

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method. God organizes dispensations. He formed an Old Testament Church of most organic shape. Christ founded a New Testament Church, with institutions and rulers, to be a collective agency in the world. Hence Wesley's name is now a far greater power than Channing's. It is mentioned a hundred times to Channing's once. Channing has, for instance, an influence like that of Byron, as a fascinating spell, but without actuating energy. Channing has had one centennial in honor of his birth; Wesley has had a dozen centennials commemorative of his work. Channing's influence floats like a beautiful thin vapor in the atmosphere; Wesley's is like the steam condensed into a force that moves an enginery that moves the world. Each is great in his own way, but there is little equality in the volume and vastness of the power that has gone out from them.

Liberia: Its Origin, Rise, Progress, and Results. An Address delivered before the American Colonization Society, January 20, 1880, by Hon. JOHN B. LATROBE. 12mo., paper cover, pp. 11. Washington City: Colonization Building, 450 Pennsylvania Avenue. 1880.

The Exodus: Its Effect upon the People of the South. Colored Labor not Indispensable. An Address delivered before the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, January 21, 1880, by Rev. C. K. MARSHALL, D.D., of Vicksburgh, Mississippi. Published by Request. Washington City: Colonization Building, 450 Pennsylvania Avenue. 1880.

The resumption of virtual existence and of operations by the Colonization Society from its paralysis under the blows of Garrison and his followers, followed by the war, calls for a new exposition of its history, purposes, and plans of operations. The history here is ably but concisely given by President Latrobe, and its origin, character, and achievements are shown to be worthy of all respect and approval. The attack by Garrison upon the society was one of his fanaticisms, followed by an equal fanaticism on the part of the spokesmen for the society in allowing it to become a stronghold of not only anti-Garrisonism, but of something very much like pro-slaveryism. It thereby gave Garrison the victory, and sunk from public confidence. From the beginning, Garrison's attacks were valid, not from the true organic purpose of the society itself as a machine for giving the negroes a chance for emigration when they desired, but from the unnecessary oppressive language of the advocates of the society against the negro. Speeches showing the incapacities of the negro, his incapability of rising to respect or position, collided against the largest liberality of our Christianity and hopes for mankind. They were seen to create the very race prejudice on which the argument was built. Even

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when uttered by philanthropists, in the spirit of commiseration, their obvious effect was to intensify the spirit of color-caste, and give to the foot that trampled upon an oppressed race the sanction of piety and benevolence. Garrison and his co-operators had not the mental discrimination to see that while the *sentiments* were deleterious, the real *organic purpose* of the society was benign, and that while he protested against the former, he should have given all aid to the latter. And then he might have made the society not his foe, but his auxiliary. And now, near half a century later, Oliver Johnson, in his late history of that day, shows himself not emancipated from the same mental and moral fallacy. He repeats the folly as if the fibers of his cerebrum had become fixedly shaped to the permanent error.

Nor have the advocates of the society grown more wise. Dr. Marshall's address is vivid with his style of imaginative rhetoric. He draws many radiant pictures, and utters many noble sentiments. He descries a regal glory in the far future of Africa, and so desires the education of our negroes, especially in industrial schools. He would have the society unfold anew its plans to public view, and hopes that in time Congress will give millions to its aid. In forty years he believes the negro element will have no significant existence in America.

So far we should nearly agree with him. But there are several other utterances for which the society should not make itself responsible by the publication of his address. His statement that the educated negro had "learned the multiplication table, but forgotten his prayers," is an injustice, not only to the negroes, but to the large body of self-sacrificing Christian educators, who, in the face of obloquy and sneer from men like Dr. Marshall, have been religiously educating the negroes out of the ignorant superstitions in which slavery had bound them, and bringing them to an intelligent piety. Dr. Marshall tells us "the ballot has been his bane;" but we must tell him it is not the "ballot" but the bulldoze by Caucasian hands in the form of disfranchising fraud and force which has been the "bane" of both negro and Caucasian. Dr. Marshall would not disfranchise the foreign-born, whiskey-drinking Irish papist, but he would disfranchise the home-born Protestant American negro. These and other blemishes in Dr. Marshall's address we would not consider as authorized by the society; but President Latrobe's utterances sound more authoritative. He tells us: "Colonizationists, as a rule, have believed that two distinct races, that cannot or will not amalgamate by

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intermarriage, can live in the same land in but one of two relations—master and slave, or oppressor and oppressed." That maxim would "rule" out the best part of the American people. It coolly avows the policy of *oppression;* that is, of *serfdom* for the negroes, after slavery has ceased. If that is essential "colonizationism," we trample upon it. It is purely a gratuitous hypothesis, adopted not by reason, but by arbitrary will.

We support the organic operations of this society on the following basis. The negro has the same rights, and the same right to exercise his rights, on the American soil, that the Caucasian has. He has the right to stay here forever, and any declarations that he will be expatriated by 1920 are simply fools' prophecy. He has a right to such respect, and civil franchises, and position, as belong to his personal qualifications, irrespective of color. Any disposition or purpose to induce him to emigrate by oppression here is unchristian, unmanly, and devilish. But if in his own free-will he prefers to go to a land where his color and race are predominant by numbers and organic power, let all our philanthropy and wealth combine to enable him to emigrate to the land of his choice, with our blessing upon him.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By EDWARD GIBBON. With Notes by DEAN MILMAN, M. GUIZOT, and Dr. WILLIAM SMITH. In six volumes, 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

We fully indorse the opinion that Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" is the greatest work of history ever written. It traces in a style both of thought and language worthy of so great a subject the slow transit of the world from the ancient to the modern. This vast range of centuries presents events, characters and institutions requiring the hands of a master, and a master Gibbon always is. He is equally a master in discussion, narration, or description. On the great subject of Christianity it is his spirit rather than his facts that is to be impeached. In his own day critics impugned his narrations always to their own cost. The present edition presents us in the notes of Milman and Guizot, and especially in Milman's elaborate preface, an antidote to Gibbon's colorings of the origin and history of Christianity and the Church. But a greater antidote may be found in Milman's own history of the first three centuries. This present edition is one in the train of the magnificent series of standard histories, issued from the Harper press, a series which nothing but limited pecuniary requisites should prevent any scholarly man from having upon a conspicuous library shelf.

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Miscellaneous.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, M.D. From the German, with the sanction of the Author. The translation revised and edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., and WILLIAM STEWART, D.D. Part I. Second Edition. The Gospels of Mark and Luke. 8vo. Vol. I., pp. 348. Vol. II., pp. 371. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1880. Price $3 per volume.

A Model Superintendent. A Sketch of the Life, Character, and Methods of Work of Henry P. Haven, of the International Lesson Committee. By H. CLAY TRUMBULL. 12mo., pp. 188. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Masterpieces of English Literature. Being Typical Selections of British and American Authorship, from Shakespeare to the Present Time, Together with Definitions, Notes, Analyses, and Glossary as an Aid to Systematic Literary Study. For use in High and Normal Schools, Academies, Seminaries, etc. By WILLIAM SWINTON. With Portraits. 8vo., pp. 638. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

A History of Classical Greek Literature. By the Rev. J. P. MAHAFFY, M.A. In Two Vols. 12mo. Vol. I., The Poets, (with an Appendix on Homer, by Prof. Sayce,) pp. 525. Vol. II., The Prose Writers, (with an Index to both volumes,) pp. 458. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. In Two Vols. 12mo. Vol. I., pp. 394. Vol. II., pp. 388. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

POPULAR SERIES. *A Series of Sermons Against the Sins of the Times.* By the Rev. B. F. AUSTIN, M.A. Pp. 115. Toronto: Hunter Rose & Company. 1880.

English Men of Letters. Edited by JOHN MORLEY. *John Bunyan.* By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, pp. 178. *William Cowper.* By GOLDIONI SMITH, pp. 128. *Alexander Pope.* By LESLIE STEPHEN, pp. 209. 12mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Shakespeare's Tragedy of King Richard the Third. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. With Engravings. 16mo., pp. 254. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Character and Work of a Gospel Minister. A Discourse Delivered before the Ordination of Deacons at the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Abingdon, Va., Sunday Morning, October 26, 1879, by the Rev. BISHOP PIERCE. Edited by T. O. SUMMERS, D.D. Paper Cover. 12mo., pp. 23. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1880.

HARPER'S HALF-HOUR SERIES. *Business Life in Ancient Rome.* By CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, Ph.D. 32mo., paper. Pp. 74. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY, 4to., paper. *The Duke's Children.* By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. Pp. 105. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

National Repository: Devoted to General and Religious Literature, Biographies and Travels, Criticisms and Art. May, 1880. Edited by DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D. Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The Expositor. June, 1880. Edited by Rev. SAMUEL COX. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row.

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Methodist Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, 1880.

Art. I.—ADMINISTRATION OF CHURCH LAW.

Ecclesiastical Law and Rules of Evidence, with Special Reference to the Jurisprudence of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Hon. William J. Henry and William L. Harris, D.D., LL.D. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

This treatise is designed to assist in the orderly and legal, and thereby just and fair, administration of the rules and discipline of the Church. A portion of it is specially adapted to our own denomination, but it likewise contains a compendious statement of principles of law and rules of evidence which might well be commended to the observance of other Church tribunals. The importance of the subject is to be estimated from the object to be attained, and this is set forth in the preface as the maintenance of "sound doctrine and good morals." "In its legislation and administration the Church should seek, in all legitimate ways and to the extent of its authority, to prevent whatever would corrupt its doctrines, subvert its order, interrupt its peace, and stain its purity. Nothing scandalous or offensive should be allowed in its members; every Christian and churchly duty should be faithfully fulfilled; and all things should be done with seemliness and order unto edification and the glory of God. All these things are, therefore, proper subjects for the thoughtfulness, care, and authority of the Church."

This is a clear and temperate statement of the great objects to be attained, as nearly as may be, by a faithful administration of discipline. Essential integrity in morals and doctrine is a

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necessary condition of life and efficiency in a Church. We would not lightly esteem the charity which suffereth long and is kind, but every communion of Christians is bound to insist upon rectitude of intention, at least, in its members, and a persistent endeavor to conform the life to the pure standard of the Gospel. No fervors of devotion can atone for a willful and habitual disregard of the moral law. This may seem to be an incongruous joining of ideas, but we sometimes see both the fervor and the immorality, not only in the same Church, but in the same person.

There is at times a tendency to laxity of discipline, when faithfulness would lead to the sacrifice of social and material advantages; and we may be apt to think it better to retain these, even at some cost, as a means of influence and power. But it was found out long ago that "better is a little with righteousness than great revenues without right." The long toleration of wrong not only breeds corruption and contagion within, but repels them that are without.

Neither should a Church continue to harbor those who seek to undermine its cardinal doctrines. We would allow a liberal margin for individuality of opinion, and for the different colorings which are given to the same truth by the wonderful variety of human minds. We would by no means trench upon a becoming independence of thought; but when a man's convictions lead him to discard the recognized and authoritative standards of the Church to which he belongs, its doors should open outward for him. Indeed, it is one of the mysteries, that men finding themselves in such a position should wish to remain. Of course this has no reference to the advocacy of changes in the economy of the organization.

We shall have occasion further on to consider the manner and spirit in which the law should be enforced; but it is pertinent, in this connection, to quote a rule which Chief-Justice Hale laid down for his own administration of justice: "That it be done, 1, uprightly; 2, deliberately; 3, resolutely."

The book before us is very comprehensive in its scope. It gives a summary of principles and rules which have been the subject of many and extended treatises. The attempt to condense within the compass of a volume such various matters, many of them involving minute and technical learning, has,

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we think, been performed as successfully as the nature of the undertaking would admit. The discussions, as a rule, are connected, clear, and very suggestive. While the statements are necessarily brief, they are, at the same time, accurate and precise.

We shall have occasion further on to criticise some of the details, but we have no hesitation in commending the work as a valuable codification of the principles of law and evidence; valuable for the purposes had in view in its preparation.

Part First is a sort of philosophical disquisition on the origin, nature, and binding force of law—divine and human; the relations of ecclesiastical and civil law; and the responsibilities of those who are the subjects of law. Part Second treats of the organization and government of the M. E. Church, with special reference to the judicial administration of its Discipline. Parts Third and Fourth are devoted to a consideration of the rules of evidence. Part Fifth relates to practice, and this is supplemented at the end of the book with a collection of appropriate forms and precedents. Part Sixth is a discussion of the legal evidence of the authenticity of the Scriptures.

The main feature of this work is the portion devoted to the law of evidence. This includes a considerable part of that which comes under the title of "Practice." It is no overstatement when the author says: "Under this head, which is by far the most important part of a Church investigation or trial, we propose to consider those general rules that experience and the wisdom of ages have demonstrated as important guides to the attainment of truth. Every science has its rules of investigation, the ultimate object being the attainment of truth, whether it be the solution of a mathematical truth that is capable of demonstration, or a moral truth which is incapable of demonstration, except to satisfy the conscience of the tribunal before whom the investigation takes place. The rules of evidence are the means employed for the attainment of this object." —P. 108. To give even a synopsis of the treatment of this subject would monopolize the space allowed to this article.

It will strike the reader of the work that the author has extended his discussion beyond those rules and principles which have a direct or practical application before Church tribunals. There is much that relates to the various and intricate questions

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which arise in the civil courts. But, in order intelligently to administer a rule in the simplest case, it is useful to understand its origin, and to trace the sometimes subtle distinctions which attend its application. It is quite the fashion to sneer at the technicalities of lawyers as being artificial, and perhaps absurd; but the thoughtful student of the science of evidence (as of other branches of law) will perceive that it is a system of common sense applied to the affairs of civilized communities. Mr. Phillipps says: "The principles of evidence are founded on our observations of human conduct, of common life, and living manners; they are not just because they are rules of law, but they are rules of law because they are just and reasonable." It is a code which has been built up by gradual accretions, through the reasonings of jurists, the tests of experience, and by the searching and sifting discussions of advocates in the courts, till it comes to us as the crystallized wisdom of ages. In sharp analysis and severe logic no science can excel it, but it is at the same time elastic, fitting itself to the requirements of every topic of investigation. Now, the mastery of these principles is not a matter of instinct. Dogberry says, "To write and read comes by nature," but the knowledge of jurisprudence is an *acquisition*. It requires, to be sure, a substratum of common sense, for without this any amount of legal learning will be unmanageable rubbish. But no man can safely handle the complicated machinery of justice till he has been somewhat indoctrinated in the principles and rules which have been handed down to us by our predecessors.

And yet, under the Discipline of our Church, those who preside at trials and make the rulings of law, from the lowest to the highest courts, (until we reach the General Conference,) are men who have not, unless outside of their present profession, had any legal training, and whose prescribed course of study, preparatory to the ministry, does not embrace even the most elementary work in juridical science. Of course, it is to be expected that the preachers should hold this important place in our judicial system. The preacher in charge is naturally the president, upon the trial of a member before a committee, and rightly so, as he is responsible for the proper administration of Discipline; the presiding elder, of course, occupies the same position at a Quarterly Confer-

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ence, and a bishop in a Judicial Conference. The committee of an Annual Conference trying a member must necessarily be composed of ministers, who, in that case, act in the double capacity of judge and jury.* An appeal can only come to the General Conference upon questions of law, and under the present arrangement it is referred for disposition to a Judiciary Committee, which at the General Conference of 1876 was composed of eleven ministers and one layman.† A committee appointed under the authority of the General Conference of 1872 to report a code, and a committee of the General Conference of 1876, to which the report, or rather reports, of the former committee were referred, both proposed to introduce the lay element into our ecclesiastical courts; but the very complete report of the latter committee, which seemed to be received with considerable favor, was presented at a late date, and failed of consideration for want of time. But whether under our present arrangement, or any other which may be adopted, it is obvious that it is very needful for our ministers to familiarize themselves somewhat with the principles and practice which obtain in the courts of law. We would venture to recommend the work under consideration as a sort of post-graduate text-book for those who have passed through the course prescribed by the bishops. And not only this, but that they should, as time and occasion serve, by other studies and by observation, acquaint themselves with legal modes of reasoning and with the practical application of laws to the daily concerns of life. There is a great temptation to suppose that our own ideas of right and wrong, and what we may be pleased to call a natural sense of justice, will guide us to correct results. Hence we are inclined to throw off the restraints of precedents. We say we will decide according to equity and good conscience. But herein lies the germ and opportunity of arbitrary and irresponsible dealing with the rights of others. Our courts, in the exercise of what is specially distinguished as their equity jurisdiction, are governed by principles as

* The last General Conference shut off all opportunity for professional assistance upon the trial of ministers by enacting that in all such cases no one shall appear as counsel either for the prosecution or defense, except a member of an Annual Conference.

† In the General Conference of 1880 there were thirteen members of the Judiciary Committee, of whom five were laymen.

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fixed and well defined as those pertaining to any other branch of law. Though the powers of a court of equity are more flexible and far-reaching than those of strictly legal tribunals, they are yet as settled and fenced in by precedent and principle. Otherwise these decisions would be simply the expression of arbitrary will under the name of law. They might be mere whim, or caprice, or worse. There is a quaint saying to the effect that if the chancellor's own notion is to be taken as law, then the standard of all measurements is the chancellor's foot. Arbitrary power is always dangerous, even when conscientious; perhaps most dangerous when most conscientious. We want *law* to rule over us, not men. Men must interpret and administer the law, but they should do so as its servants, not as our masters. In the administration of Church discipline there is greater need of observing the rules of legal investigation, from the fact that it is so difficult to constitute a perfectly impartial tribunal. When a case is presented to a court of law for its determination, the court is supposed to regard neither of the parties, but to look only at the cause. Hence justice is represented with bandaged eyes, and holding her balanced scales. In the very large majority of cases this is not only theoretically but practically true. The court knows nothing of the litigants. Problems of law and of fact are subjected to modes of analysis which are employed in all like cases, as if they were questions of science, instead of a heated contest between plaintiff and defendant. But it is difficult to secure these conditions in a Church trial. From the nature of the case, impartiality is apt to be wanting. Previous intimate associations, and prepossessions or dislikes, are quite likely to exist. Sometimes hot partisanship usurps the judgment-seat. The writer remembers an instance where a committee of eminent ministers, sitting in judgment upon the conduct of another, had most of them avowed their antecedent convictions upon the very matters in issue, and one of the triers had publicly, and under oath, stated his belief in some of the charges upon which he was to pass. Such a tribunal was quite liable to make the wildest possible work in the attempt to administer justice. Sympathy or prejudice and passion, with religious feelings and an unenlightened conscience, is a combination unhappily some-

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times met, and it cannot be said to conduce to calm judicial inquiry.

It is said that Lord Tenterden when at the bar was a poor leader; that, in fact, he showed the most marvelous inaptitude for the functions of an advocate, and almost always lost the verdict. His biographer says: "This partly arose from his power of discrimination and soundness of understanding, which, enabling him to see the real merits of the cause on both sides, afterward fitted him so well for being a judge." If the ability to take a view on both sides of a question is perplexing to an advocate, it must be confessed that it is sometimes troublesome to the judge who is to decide. But no man should undertake to determine the rights of another who is too lazy to weigh conflicting arguments, or too biased to do so with at least an effort to be fair. While, as we have said, it is important that offenses should be punished, it is essential that they should be dealt with in a spirit of candor, and without committing violence upon the safeguards which even criminals have a right to invoke. This is necessary not only for the protection of the accused, but that the administration of justice may be respected, and punishment carry with it the moral weight which shall make it wholesome.

Upon the arraignment and trial of members the preacher in charge occupies a delicate position, and ought to act discreetly and with judicial circumspection. It has probably been to a great extent the practice for him to frame the charges, though, as our author suggests, he should avoid this, as he may be called on to decide upon their sufficiency in substance or form. He selects the jury (committee) and presides as a judge upon the trial, admitting or rejecting testimony, and deciding questions of law, and thus, perhaps, controlling the outcome of the investigation. But here we most emphatically protest against a practice which seems to emanate from high authority, and may have thus become extensive, and which seems to be approved by Bishop Baker in the following, which is quoted from him without disapproval in the note at p. 414 of this work. In fact, the text to which this is a note states the same thing in substance: "The question has frequently been asked, May the preacher remain with the select number while they are making up their judgment? In reply, Bishop Hed-

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ding remarks, 'Certainly he ought, for he is pastor of the flock, and he would neglect his duty were he to be absent, and consequently not know on what law or evidence the judgment is rendered.'" What follows from the text of Bishop Baker shows the unsoundness of this position, though it does not seem to be so intended. He says: "The preacher under no circumstances should attempt to balance the evidence, weigh the probabilities, determine the credibility of witnesses, or draw inferences from the facts proved, and thus determine disputed questions of fact, even at the request of the parties." He has no right, then, to be present during the deliberations of the "select number." The reason given by Bishop Hedding is certainly a strange one; as if the preacher is to "know on what law or evidence the judgment is rendered" by listening to the discussions of the committee after the case is given to them! The judge who, after charging the jury in court, should retire with them to their room to coach them into a proper verdict, or to overhear their conference so as to ascertain on what the verdict is founded, would probably soon find his way before a court of impeachment. The triers of the facts are entitled to consult in secret, and the question is, Whether their findings are sustained by the evidence as given on the trial, and the known law of the case. Even if the preacher had the power, like a judge in a civil court, to set aside the findings, (which he has not,) it would be his duty to test them by the record and not by the conversations of the committee room. If it should be said that it is his duty to see that the findings are in due form, the obvious answer is, that when the committee return the findings to him any informality or insufficiency can be remedied before they separate. It not unfrequently happens that a jury come into court with a verdict in improper form, and the correction is made on the spot, and their assent taken to the same.

Let us now turn to one or two branches of the law of evidence on which the text of the book before us seems to be behind the age. The author says, (p. 129,) "The rule, as we have seen, which excludes parties from being witnesses for themselves, applies to the case of husband and wife, neither of them being admissible as a witness in a case, civil or criminal, and where, by law, the other would be incompetent." That this was a

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rule firmly grounded in the common law is indisputable; and it is just as clear that the drift of modern judicial legislation is toward the free examination of parties, and also the admission of the husband or wife of a party to testify, under certain restrictions, grounded in public policy. The copious notes on this chapter show this in part, but the text adheres to the old rule. We think the more liberal rules now prevailing to a great extent are the more enlightened, and that the ecclesiastical courts should adopt the improvements which the municipal laws have inaugurated. The exclusion of parties proceeded upon the theory that the man who had a direct interest in the event of a suit was not to be relied upon to tell the truth even under oath. This principle also shut out persons, not parties, who could be shown to have a pecuniary interest in the result, to the amount of a sixpence. In short, the minutest interest raised a presumption of perjury. And so, when a jury was solemnly impaneled to well and truly try, and a true verdict give, upon some important question of fact, the law studiously stopped the mouths of the very persons who could tell them most about the subject in hand, and oftentimes the only persons who had any positive knowledge of the matter. As early as 1824 Lord Denman thus exhibited the hardship, not to say absurdity, of the rule then in force:

> In other cases the absolute rejection of light because there is a possibility of its leading astray, is difficult to be explained on rational grounds. Take, as example, the case of forgery. Unless the crime has been committed in the presence of witnesses, it can only be *proved* (in the proper sense of the word) by the individual whose name is said to have been forged; yet that person is the only person whom the law of England prohibits from proving the facts. The trial proceeds in the presence of the person whose name is said to have been forged, who alone knows the fact, and has no motive for misrepresenting it. His statement would at once convict the prisoner if guilty, or, if innocent, relieve him from the charge; and he is condemned to sit by, hearing the case imperfectly pieced out by the opinions and surmises of other persons on the speculative question whether or not the handwriting is his. And this speculation, incapable under any circumstances of satisfying a reasonable mind, decides upon the life of a fellow-citizen, in a system which habitually boasts of requiring always the very best evidence which the nature of the case can admit.

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At length it began to be suspected that parties might tell the truth, no matter how strong their interest, and that those who were "disinterested witnesses" in the eye of the law, from bias or prejudice or want of moral principle might, after all, be as apt to lie as an honest man who is testifying in his own cause. A great many witnesses who have no legal interest in the issue of a trial are nevertheless so warped by feeling, or testify under such strenuous temptation to deviate from the truth, that they color and prevaricate and conceal as corruptly as even an unscrupulous party who has every thing at stake. The sensible conclusion has been adopted, that as the credibility of all witnesses must be determined by the jury, it is best to let the opposing parties confront each other and the other witnesses, and undergo such tests as the rules of evidence, the skill of counsel, and the common sense of the jury, may supply, for the discovery of truth and the detection of falsehood. Accordingly, England in 1843 removed the restriction from witnesses, other than parties who had a pecuniary interest in the case, and in 1851 admitted parties to testify in their own behalf, or at the call of their adversaries. This reform was adopted in New York in 1857, and it is believed that it has found its way into the codes of most of our States; and by Act of Congress it has been made the law in all the Federal Courts. There is one general restriction upon the examination of the party to an action or proceeding which is, in substance, that he may not testify in relation to a personal transaction or communication between himself and a deceased person or lunatic, as against the executor or administrator of such deceased, or a person deriving title or interest through or under him, or against the committee of the lunatic, unless such personal representative, etc., shall have offered himself as a witness to the same matter. The ground of this is obvious, but the restriction would not be applicable in any proceeding under our Discipline, except in the case of arbitrations as to "disagreement in business and non-payment of debts."

The policy of allowing defendants in criminal cases to testify in their own behalf was looked upon with greater distrust, and probably has not yet been so generally adopted, though it will doubtless become entirely prevalent. It seems barbarous to compel the accused to sit in silence, while a net-work

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of evidence is woven round him, which may deprive him of liberty and character, or perhaps of life, and which his word alone can break. He might be able satisfactorily to meet and overcome the case against him if he could open his mouth in his own defense; and yet, if he cannot be heard, he must grope around to gather up a patch-work defense while every thing is in jeopardy.

Of course, under our laws, he cannot be *compelled* to testify. In the French courts the judge severely catechises the accused, and endeavors to extract from him some evidence of guilt, but it is against the principles and traditions of the English race to constrain a man to criminate himself.

The experience of the courts demonstrates the wisdom of this change. By calling the parties, the debatable ground is very much narrowed, for they generally agree about many things, and where they differ, the aid of other testimony, and the crucible of cross-examination, will generally bring out the facts with reasonable certainty. Cases are not very rare where the cross-examination of the party alone has been decisive of the case against him. The writer at this moment calls to mind an action brought by a gentleman for an injury which maimed and crippled him for life. The brief and general statement called out by his own counsel made a case for an enormous verdict. Upon being cross-examined, he gave the details, showing his own negligence, with such utter fairness and candor, and such rigorous impartiality, that when he hobbled from the stand he had lost his case, but he had won not only the sympathy of all, but our profoundest respect for the stainless honor of his manhood. It is not in the case of honest witnesses alone, however, that the cross-examination is effectual in eliciting the truth.

In regard to the admission of husband and wife as witnesses for or against each other, there is more ground for hesitation. It has been said "by them of old" that the "foundation of society would be shakened by permitting it." The exclusion of such testimony proceeded upon two grounds, identity of interest, and public policy. What was meant by the first may be seen by recalling how completely the legal status of the wife was merged in that of the husband. To enumerate a few of the particulars: upon marriage the husband became en-

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titled to the use of the wife's lands during their joint lives, and if issue were born alive, he took an estate absolutely for his life; if the wife had an estate in lands for life, he became seized of such estate and entitled to the profits during marriage, "in right of his wife," as the lawyers grimly said, whatever consolation the phrase might afford her; he took her chattels real, the debts due her, and all her personal property as his own. This was the way he endowed her with all his worldly goods. As an offset to this, he was bound to maintain her, and to pay the debts contracted by her before marriage; but if she died before such debts were collected, he retained her property, but went free of the debts. She could not even dispose of her lands by will. In short, the spirit of the law was that the husband and wife were one, and the husband was that one.

The general current of modern legislation is sweeping away the barbarous rules of the common law, by which the husband absorbed the property and the legal existence of the wife, and her interests and rights are now made separate and independent. One ground of the old rule of evidence is therefore removed. The other ground is thus well stated by the author:

> The law, having regard to the happiness of the marriage state, and to prevent invasion of that confidence that husband and wife are required to repose in each other, has wisely provided that communications made by one to the other should be kept inviolate, and that nothing confided by the one should be extracted from the bosom of the other.—P. 125.

This is a solid foundation, and it is to be hoped, an indestructible one. Communications that are made under the sacred confidence of the marital relation should certainly be held sacred. But this by no means exhausts the possibilities of evidence. The husband or wife often possesses information of facts most vital to the controversy, which was acquired independently of any communication from the other, as any other witness would acquire such information. There is no limit to the cases we might cite from every-day experience illustrative of this. For example, suppose the husband to be accused of uttering a slander on an occasion when the wife was present, or that the husband should witness an assault upon his wife, or that, as often happens, the wife, in her husband's absence, has

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transacted business as his agent, and, the other party to the transaction being a witness against the husband, she is the only person who can protect his rights in court. What has the protection of confidential communications to do with the exclusion of such a witness? *Ratione cessante, cessat ipsa lex;* where the reason for a rule ceases, the rule itself fails. It will not be found difficult in practice to draw the proper distinction, and apply it intelligently.

The rule is plainly stated as follows in the present code of the State of New York: "A husband or wife shall not be compelled, or, without consent of the other, if living, allowed, to disclose a confidential communication made by one to the other during the marriage." We think decidedly the same shield should be thrown over such confidences *after* the death of either party, as before, and that such disclosure should not be allowed in any case after such death.

It may be said that it would be subversive of sound policy to compel a wife, living with her husband, to come into court to testify against him in any case, at the instance of his adversary. Practically this is rarely if ever attempted. Litigants in their senses would not, under ordinary circumstances, adventure quite so far into the enemy's camp. Especially in Church trials it would be impossible for this evil to occur, because the witnesses appear only of their own accord.

Lord Denman, whom we have already cited, though in favor of allowing *parties* to testify, was still of opinion that husband and wife should be disqualified as witnesses for or against each other. First, on the ground already discussed, that the confidence between married persons makes their whole conversation an unreserved confession:

> But (he says) our stronger reason is, that the passions must be too much alive, when the husband and wife contend in a court of justice, to give any chance for fair play to the truth. It must be expected as an unavoidable consequence of the connection by which they are bound that their feelings, either of affection or hatred, must be strong enough to bear down the abstract regard for veracity, even in judicial depositions.

This is certainly not a flattering view of human nature, and if it does not somewhat underestimate the average regard for truth, judicial tribunals have very little solid ground upon

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which to stand. The contrary view prevailed in England as early as 1853, when an act was passed making husbands and wives of parties in civil suits competent and compellable to testify, they being privileged, however, from disclosing any communication made to them during the marriage. In 1867 the Legislature of this State (New York) enacted a similar law, and this was followed, in 1876, by an act making husband or wife competent, but not compellable, to testify in all criminal proceedings against the other. The drift of opinion is now in favor of admitting all witnesses who are able to throw light upon the questions to be tried, leaving it to the jury to make all reasonable allowances for their interest or feelings, and determine the credit to be given to their testimony. Although perjury is too common in our courts, it is doubtful whether it is more so in consequence of the removal of the restrictions which shut out all interested witnesses; and it is certain that courts now have much greater facilities for arriving at the truth. All these reforms have encountered opposition, and have been adopted not without misgivings, but experience is demonstrating their wisdom. It is a common notion that the science of law is mainly the following of precedents, but there is nothing that better marks the progress of civilization than the history of jurisprudence; and our greatest jurists have been liberal, though judicious, reformers. More than two centuries ago Sir Matthew Hale condemned "the over-tenacious holding of laws, notwithstanding apparent necessity for, and safety in, the change." Nothing much better than the following passage has been written since:

> He that thinks a State can be exactly steered by the same laws in every kind as it was two or three hundred years ago, may as well imagine that the clothes that fitted him when a child should serve him when he was grown a man. The matter changeth; the custom, the contracts, the commerce, the dispositions, education, and tempers of men and societies change in a long tract of time, and so must these laws in some measure be changed, or they will not be useful for their state or condition; and, besides all this, time is the wisest thing under heaven. These very laws which at first seemed the wisest constitution under heaven have some flaws and defects discovered in them by time.

What an illustration we have of the truth of this, when we remember that this same upright and immortal judge, under

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a statute of the realm, tried and sentenced to death two women as witches, and the following Sunday, in allusion to the matter, wrote a "meditation concerning the mercy of God in preserving us from the malice and power of evil angels." One of his successors, we are told, put an end to witchcraft by directing prosecutions against the parties who pretended to be bewitched, and punishing them as cheats and impostors.

An interesting and important chapter of the book before us is devoted to the consideration of presumptive, or circumstantial, evidence. This has long been a subject fruitful of debate, it may be said of controversy. It is stoutly contended by many that it is dangerous to convict of crime in any case, especially so of capital offenses, upon merely circumstantial evidence. Mr. Phillipps, a writer on evidence, to whom reference has already been made, has published a collection of "famous cases of circumstantial evidence," in many of which persons were convicted who afterward appeared to have been innocent. These cases have served as a sort of arsenal from which to draw weapons of defense against all accusations resting upon presumptive proof, and, doubtless, juries have often been deterred from acting upon their own firm belief by the recital of some well-selected instances of mistaken verdicts. But, granting that the cases are all well-authenticated, they make no real argument against the propriety, nay the necessity, of proceeding, even to extremes, upon this species of evidence. Of many of the cases stated by Mr. Phillipps it may be said that no jury should have found a verdict of guilty upon the facts proved; and under our present benign administration of law, with the aid of counsel to the accused, (a right formerly denied,) with every facility afforded to him for the production of his evidence, and with the right given him to testify in his own behalf, there would be slight danger of his conviction.

But if sometimes the innocent have been condemned upon circumstantial evidence, we must remember that they have also suffered upon direct and positive testimony, given by perjured witnesses. We are not, however, to discard either kind of proof because it may occasionally lead us to erroneous results.

The distinction between direct and circumstantial evidence was stated substantially as follows by Chief Justice Shaw upon the trial of Prof. Webster for the murder of Dr. Parkman:

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Direct or positive evidence is where a witness testifies to the precise fact which is the subject of the issue in trial; thus, in a case of homicide, that the party accused did cause the death of the deceased. But in case of circumstantial evidence, where no witness can testify directly to the fact to be proved, you arrive at it by a series of other facts, which by experience we have found so associated with the fact in question as, in the relation of cause and effect, that they lead to a satisfactory and safe conclusion; as where footprints are discovered after a recent snow, it is certain that some animated being has passed over the snow since its fall, and, from the form and number of the foot-prints, it can be determined with equal certainty whether it was a man, a bird, or a quadruped. Circumstantial evidence, therefore, is founded on experience and observed facts and coincidences establishing a connection between the known and proved facts and the facts sought to be proved.

With the case put by the chief justice we have a good illustration of the two kinds of testimony. If a witness should swear that he saw a man pass across a field it would be direct and positive testimony; if, however, no person saw the man, but we found human foot-prints on the recent snow or the yielding soil, we know from this circumstance, as surely as we could from direct evidence, that a human being has passed that way; and from certain peculiarities of the track, and correspondence with the boot of a particular man, we may be able to identify the individual with considerable certainty. One circumstance after another may be added, all tending to the same result, and each increasing the force of the inference to be drawn, till we arrive at that degree of moral conviction which is resistless. Many a criminal has fancied himself secure in the secrecy of his deed, till some clew has led the way to a train of surrounding facts which have fastened upon him with remorseless certainty.

Careful reflection will show us that in the common affairs of life, whether simple or complicated, we to a very great extent form our conclusions and take our action upon presumptive evidence. The man who is the best discerner of signs, and the best judge of probabilities, will, as a rule, arrive at the most correct results. The facts we gather from absolute and positive evidence are few compared with the ultimate facts which we reach by a course of reasoning, but which we rely upon with confidence. Indeed, it will be found upon the last analysis that much of what we call direct or positive evidence

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is, after all, presumptive. The following extreme illustration of this is given by Chief Justice Appleton, and was also made use of by the attorney general in Webster's case: You see a man discharge a gun at another, you see the flash, you hear the report, you see a man fall dead, and you infer from all these circumstances that there was a ball discharged from the gun which entered his body and caused his death, because such is the usual and natural cause of such an effect. But you did not see the ball leave the gun, pass through the air, and enter the body of the slain, and your testimony to the fact of killing is, therefore, only inferential; in other words, circumstantial. The judge might have gone further, for even in so plain a case of irresistible inference of fact, we could not without further proof adjudge the man-slayer to be guilty of murder, but for two presumptions which the law supplies; first, that every one is presumed to be sane till the contrary appears, and, second, that every man is presumed to intend the natural consequences of his acts.

It would not be useful for the purposes of this article to attempt to draw the distinction between presumptions of law and of fact; nor would it be possible to enumerate or classify the great variety of inferences which we are constantly drawing from the facts which surround us. In our practical deductions we act upon our knowledge of the laws of nature, of animal instincts, and of the physical, intellectual, and moral constitution of man. In regard to human conduct, we judge it generally to proceed from the ordinary motives, affections, and passions which animate the human breast. Thus, in a celebrated case, Solomon rightly decided a question where the positive evidence was in direct conflict, upon the simple presumption that a mother's love would prompt her to give up her offspring rather than see it slain; and we are told that the people "saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment."

As Chief Justice Shaw says, it is necessary, owing to the secrecy of crime, "to use all other modes of evidence besides that of direct testimony, provided such proofs may be relied on as leading to safe and satisfactory conclusions; and, thanks to a beneficent providence, the laws of nature and the relation of things to each other are so linked and combined together that a medium of proof is often thereby furnished leading to infer-

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ences and conclusions as strong as those arising from direct testimony." When we have the direct testimony of a witness to a fact, the witness may be false, and we may not have the means of detecting the falsehood, and this has given rise to the claim that presumptive evidence is most satisfactory, as witnesses may lie, but facts cannot. To this it has been replied that though facts themselves cannot lie, the men who testify to them may, and thus in both cases we run the risk of perjury. But it must be remembered that in the case of presumptive proofs we commonly rely upon a collection and comparison of various facts and circumstances coming from different witnesses, and that they are much less liable, as Judge Shaw says, to be falsely prepared and arranged, and thus falsehood and perjury are more likely to be detected. There have been cases, however, of fabricated circumstantial evidence, where a skillfully laid plot has surrounded an innocent person with the appearances of guilt. This may be elaborately and artfully done; and, especially where the mouth of the party was closed by the law, it has, doubtless, sometimes been done with fatal effect. The Bible affords us a simple illustration of this species of imposition. When Joseph secretly placed a cup in the mouth of Benjamin's sack, and sent after him to accuse him of theft on the strength of his being found in the possession of apparently stolen property, he fabricated a case of circumstantial evidence against him. True, it was not pressed to a conviction, because it had an innocent purpose, being prompted by fraternal love, in which respect it was quite distinguishable from some of the devices of his father in his unregenerate days. For the reason above stated, the instances in which perjury enters into and vitiates presumptive proofs are few compared with those in which direct and positive proof is manufactured.

In cases of doubt in our ordinary affairs, and in the determination of civil cases by our courts, we judge in accordance with probabilities, that is, according to the preponderance of evidence; while in criminal cases, on account of the more serious consequences, we require the evidence to be of such a convincing nature as to exclude every reasonable hypothesis consistent with the innocence of the accused. This has been reduced to a maxim, so common as to be familiar to all, that the accused is entitled to the benefit of every reasonable doubt.

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But this doubt must not be a mere whim or caprice. It has been defined to be "that state of the case which, after the entire comparison and consideration of all the evidence, leaves the minds of jurors in that condition that they cannot say they feel an abiding conviction to a moral certainty of the truth of the charge." In other words, proof beyond reasonable doubt is that which "establishes the truth of a fact to a reasonable and moral certainty, a certainty that convinces and directs the understanding and satisfies the reason and judgment of those who are bound to act conscientiously upon it."

When a case is thus made out we are not to be deterred from acting by fear, simply because the consequences of a barely possible mistake may be irreparable. Where circumstantial evidence has wrought in the mind a degree of conviction equal to that produced by direct testimony, we must act upon it in the same way. There is the possibility of error in either case, but human administration of law is ever imperfect and ever liable to mistake. We are not for that reason to nullify the law.

As the author says, the prosecution of offenders under the discipline of the Church is, in some respects, analogous to criminal proceedings; but we venture the opinion that in a religious organization where, from the nature of the case, its standing and efficiency depend so much upon purity of reputation in its members, and the avoidance of scandal, the weight of probabilities, as in ordinary civil cases, is sufficient to justify a Church in protecting itself by removing the cause of offense. It cannot afford the benefit of every doubt to those who are bringing reproach upon its name.

There is one function of circumstantial evidence of the utmost practical importance. In the great majority of instances the case does not depend upon either direct or presumptive proof alone, but rather upon a mixture of both. Unfortunately, it is of frequent occurrence that there is a strong conflict of direct testimony. We often hear the most violent contradictions between witnesses, called to testify to the same facts or circumstances from personal knowledge. This is not always to be attributed to perjury on one side or the other. It is a wise maxim of law that if a conflict between witnesses can be explained upon the hypothesis of honesty on both sides, we are

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so to explain it; if we cannot, we adopt the theory of perjury as a last resort; but, in either case, we are to find out the truth with as much certainty as possible. How is this to be done? We of course take account of the character of the witnesses, if known or proved, of their means of observation, their clearness or confusion of memory, their manner and appearance in testifying, and various other matters which may affect their credibility. But these tests will not always suffice. Courts and juries are sometimes led astray by perjury, and even upon ecclesiastical trials falsehood is possible, and may be so plausible as to "deceive the very elect." In these cases of conflicting direct evidence, we resort to presumptive evidence to settle the doubt. We inquire which is most rational; which best accords with the known facts; which is most probable upon a consideration of the character and conduct of the parties and of the witnesses; which is confirmed or weakened by any circumstances appearing in the case. Truth must be consistent with itself. If an alleged fact cannot co-exist with an established or admitted fact, it must, of course, be discarded. It may be that an apparently trivial circumstance, when carefully examined, absolutely contradicts a mass of testimony, and bars our way when we were rapidly driving on to a conclusion. There is occasionally confusion and apparent inconsistency in the attending circumstances, when explanation and comparison may reconcile the seeming discrepancies, so that through the tangled skein we may trace the white line of truth till it leads on to a sure and safe result.

It must be admitted, however, that human testimony, in all its varieties, is a very imperfect means of arriving at the truth. Such are our differences in constitution, in perceptive faculties and reasoning powers, in prejudices and prepossessions, that, upon the plainest matters, we seldom perfectly agree. Perhaps none of us suspect how much the images in our minds are distorted by the medium through which they enter. Even as to objects of sense we find great difficulty in getting an exact report. A number of eye-witnesses to the same occurrence frequently get such different and sometimes contradictory impressions of the same occurrence that no two can unite upon the details. Especially is this diversity manifested in the attempt to repeat conversations, or any kind of oral statements.

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A slight change of expression, even the omission or misplacing of a single word, will often entirely pervert the meaning. But when we consider how often the hearer fails to comprehend the true import of words at the time they are spoken, and how treacherous the memory is at all times, the more so when under the bias of interest or prejudice, we see the extreme caution necessary to be exercised in all this kind of evidence.

But this liability to error is by no means peculiar to legal investigations. It enters into the whole world of opinions, dividing mankind into an endless variety of parties. It invades the solemn domain of history, which has its conflicting schools and theories, and its hot partisanships. With all the proverbial uncertainty of law, it is in fact among the most certain of any of the departments of human inquiry. It gives us scientific and logical modes of proceeding, so that even when we grope our way in the midst of confused elements, we have light upon our path. If we adhere to established principles, and follow where experience guides us, we shall best render to our fellow-men such measure of justice as is possible to our limited means of knowledge, and our imperfect judgment.

Art. II.—THE ETHICS OF SINCERITY.

Sincerity is a fundamental virtue. Without it there can be no moral excellence of character and conduct. But is it, as many think, the all-sufficient virtue? They hold any line of belief and action amply vindicated by the fact that it was the honest following of individual judgment and conscience. If a man speak out his own convictions of what is true, and act out his own convictions of what is right, what more can be required? If he did otherwise, would he not be culpable? "I tell things as I see them; I do my duty as I understand it. I may be mistaken, but I am surely sincere. Therefore, I am free from reproach. My own heart approves, and God, who knows my honesty, must approve me. If men condemn, they are either ignorant or unjust."

This plea is plausible. It professes to be based on the ethical axiom that intelligence and volition condition and measure

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responsibility. It appeals to common sense, which has in numberless instances accepted the excuse, "He knew no better." Much Scripture is cited in its support. But thoughtful men shrink from its far-reaching consequences. The idolater claims sincerity as well as the worshiper of Jehovah, the Mormon as well as the Christian, the heretic as well as the orthodox, the infidel as well as the believer. Some persons believe in communism, some in free love, some in persecuting unto death those who reject their creed; there are even found in our day and land a few who believe that they should kill their own children to the glory of God. What error, vice, crime, however monstrous and pernicious, may not be justified if this plea be admitted? Besides, often as we have urged in our own behalf, and acknowledged in behalf of others, sincerity of conviction as a valid ground of acquittal from censure, we have not less frequently condemned persons, sometimes with severe scorn and indignation, on account of their avowed opinions and deeds, without denying that they really held those opinions, and that their deeds conformed to their own code of morals.

Read the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and the tenth of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Difference of opinion, and hence of practice, existed in the Churches about the lawfulness or obligation of eating certain meats and observing certain days; and Paul wrote that every man should follow his own convictions. "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth: for God hath received him." "One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." "For why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience?" These passages seem to teach that sincerity in obeying conscience is the test of uprightness and divine approval; that men who pursue contrary lines of conduct may be equally accepted of God, because they agree in doing what they conceive to be his will. "Wise and noble words of liberty and toleration!" certain persons cry out; "how they rebuke the narrowness and despotism of Churches that insist on one faith, and proscribe all who do not think and do like them!" But lest they confound liberty and license, let them take along

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with those places these from Paul and John: "As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed." "He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him Godspeed: for he that biddeth him Godspeed, is partaker of his evil deeds." The principle involved in these apostolic words is adopted by multitudes who care not for orthodox Christianity; for whatever latitude they may claim or allow on other points, they cannot endure atheism, free love, Mormonism, and a long list of doctrines which, in their judgment, undermine all pure and wholesome morals. What is the principle? The reply is ready, that in the one set of cases men differed on comparatively trivial points, and in the other on the most vital and momentous; but we wish to draw out the moral principle which justifies or excuses those who err in certain respects, if sincere, and does not allow sincerity as a defense in other cases. Shall we not follow our own reason and conscience in grave matters, as in slight? Do not the importance and obligation of taking them as guides rise with the gravity of the issues? The question is worth studying.

1. Sincerity of opinion does not affect the objective rule of right. There is a standard, a law of righteousness, outside our thinking, independent of us, superior to us. A merchant whose yard-stick is short does not give good measure, however ignorant he may be of its defect. My thinking that suicide is justifiable as an escape from incurable disease or rooted sorrow does not make it right. Eminent writers, even in our day, have taught that truth is what one thinks, that right is what one believes or feels he ought to do. But this doctrine is too shocking to need refutation; indeed, all the refutation possible or desirable is a clear statement of the position, and an appeal to the intuitive convictions of every mind. All our judgments, true or false, imply a standard of truth, a reality external to and independent of our opinions and reasonings, with which they should agree; all our moral sentiments imply a law of righteousness apart from and supreme over our conscience. This law, in its essential principles, is one, changeless, eternal, though human creeds and codes are many, varia-

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ble, conflicting. Either there are many gods, or One, or none; all these views have been maintained, but they are not, cannot be, equally true, equally false; one must be true, the others false. Either dueling is right under some circumstances, or it is always wrong; the principle does not alter, however opinions and customs may. That empiricism, skepticism, or agnosticism, which denies or doubts that there is any right or wrong except a notion, or a feeling, or both, puts out the eyes of the soul and dwells in thick darkness.

2. Sincerity does not prevent the mischievous effects of false teaching and wrong practice on others. At this point apply many analogies which, we shall hereafter show, are illogically employed to prove that to be sincere is not to be guiltless. Poison is not less fatal because the person administering it believes it to be innocent and medicinal. The shot will not fail to kill because he who pulled the trigger in sport knew not that the gun was loaded. A man may ignorantly drop a spark on gunpowder or nitro-glycerine, and the disaster be as great as if it were intentional. So, if he teach error honestly, he will mislead; if he inflame passion and incite insurrection, the consequences may be terrible despite his persuasion that he only opposed grievances which should not be borne and advocated rights which should be maintained; if he persecute believing that he does God service, the sufferings that result are not less real and severe. Abhorrence and terror at pernicious doctrines and immoral conduct are not lessened by the plea, though true, that their advocates are sincere.

3. Sincerity does not neutralize the evil effect of wrong views and practice—wrong, we mean, by the absolute or objective standard—on the spirit and habits of those adopting the opinions and course. We are now discussing, not innocence and guilt, but the state of the heart, the dispositions which are cherished and obeyed. It is not morally indifferent what men think and how they act, provided they be conscientious. The savage believes that revenge is noble and obligatory; that not to avenge insult and injury proves weakness, cowardice, and obtuse sensibility; that is a bounden duty to visit severe retribution, swiftly, if possible, but even after the lapse of years if opportunity do not sooner serve, not only on the offenders, but also on their families and kin. He fans the wrath in his

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own breast and in his comrade's, and rejoices to spoil, maim, and slay his foes without shame or self-reproach, but rather with a judgment and feeling of merit before gods and men. The Christian considers both the spirit and act of revenge wicked and vile, and cultivates and exercises forbearance and forgiveness. Let us concede, for the sake of the argument, that they are equally honest in their opinions, that each follows his own light, that they are both guiltless; nevertheless, the savage cultivates the temper and habit of vindictiveness and hate, the Christian of generous, unselfish, all-conquering love; one allies himself to demons, the other to angels and to God. If men understand not the sanctity of marriage, but indulge their lusts without restraint, they wax more and more sensual and bestial, they sow to the flesh, though unwittingly, and of the flesh they reap corruption, while chaste love and a happy home refine and elevate.

Does sincerity, then, count nothing in the formation of character? Indeed, it is of great worth. There can be no worse habit than insincerity. To be honest and conscientious is a large and essential element of moral excellence. In the cases supposed, there is not the ruinous moral effect of violating the sense of duty, of committing willful sin. This distinction is fundamental and momentous; he who does wrong ignorantly does not suffer the same demoralization, the same perversion and wrenching of his moral nature, as the enlightened transgressor. Yet simple following of conscience, without respect to its contents—to what conscience enjoins—is not the whole means of spiritual improvement; it cannot save those who violate the law of justice, purity, and love, ignorantly and in unbelief, as did Saul of Tarsus, from the reaction of the evil course on their own hearts. He was a sincere Pharisee then, as later he was a sincere Christian. We shall presently investigate the question of his innocence or criminality in those days when he breathed out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of Jesus; but however that question may be decided, it is evident that despite all his conscientiousness he was debasing, hardening, brutalizing his own nature, he was cultivating pride, bigotry, hate, and cruelty. What a contrast is presented by his later life, when his heart expanded and warmed with the noble and spiritual religion of Christ, and,

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with a world-embracing charity kindled by the love of Jesus, he rejoiced to preach the unsearchable riches of grace to Jew and Greek, high and low, bond and free! Then he sowed to the Spirit, and of the Spirit reaped the blessed harvest of all that is true and just and pure and lovely and good, in moral character.

We pause here to note the vast practical significance of this truth as a motive to search diligently for that faith which is pure and undefiled, for that ethical code which most hallows and exalts; and, further, as a motive to evangelize all nations. The *missionary* power of this motive we would emphasize, because it is needed to refute the sophistries by which professed believers would excuse themselves from the obligation to propagate their faith, or else to kindle in their cold hearts enthusiasm for this great cause. The argument is still heard that the heathen are sincere in their worship and low system of morals, and therefore not guilty, not exposed to punishment; that there is no call, therefore, to disturb their ease and security by pouring the light of the Gospel on the darkness in which they lie. We say nothing at this point on what Richard Watson styles the "doting and toothless theology" that teaches the *safety* of the pagan world; the reply we now make to the miserable plea of selfish ease and unbelief is that the heathen, however honest in their errors, are degraded and corrupted by the lies they believe and the vices they indulge, and that it is our plain duty to purify and uplift them by the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. Independently of all considerations of sincerity it does matter whether we are heathen, Mohammedan, Jew, or Christian; whether Romanist or Protestant; whether skeptics or believers; whether fatalists or libertarians; whether we hold that virtue consists in following pleasure, or general utility, or the sovereign authority of essential right. When the excuse is made in behalf of round dances, card-playing, horse-racing, and other amusements, that though they be objectionable by the strict code of Christianity, yet they are innocent to the large numbers who see no evil in them, we answer that the demoralizing tendency of these sports is a proved fact, apart from the question whether or not the participants in them understand their injurious effect. If our children attend the theater without scruple of conscience, they are not, indeed,

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fighting conscience, but they do expose themselves to the dangerous influences of the play and the associations.

4. The most difficult point remains to be discussed, Does sincerity justify? It does not make an act right, it does not prevent the mischievous effects of our wrong conduct on others; it does not neutralize its demoralizing tendency on our own heart; but is a man guiltless who does what he believes to be his duty, however defective and even positively erroneous his views? Can he be justly blamed and punished for an evil deed if he verily thought in himself that he ought to do it? Shall he not rather be commended for obeying conscience, though an unenlightened and sadly mistaken conscience?

We often meet loose reasoning, false analogies, on this point, in works of great ability. "If men say it would be unjust in God to punish them for violating his law when they did not believe, or did not certainly know, that it was his law, we point them to the fact that this holds of physical laws—that he who takes poison will be killed, even though he did not know, or did not believe, that it was poison." The fact to which the writer points cannot be disputed. The fatal effect of strychnine does not depend on the knowledge, belief, or intention of him who takes or him who gives it. The hostess may poison her family and guests by dishing out soup which she believes to be wholesome food; the mother may force an unpalatable dose down the throat of her resisting babe, and if the druggist sent her poison instead of the proper drug, the life of the child will not be saved by his own reluctance or the good intention of the mother. Knowledge, motive, and free will, need not enter into the account; the poison works its natural effects—"this holds of physical laws." But shall we affirm whatever belongs to physical laws of moral laws also? Is the housewife guilty as well as the cook who, with murderous intent, poisoned the soup? Is the mother guilty as well as the cruel or careless druggist? Is the babe justly punishable for the crime of self-murder? In the sphere of morals it is material whether the offender knows or believes that he is breaking the law of God. Responsibility involves intelligence and liberty. The physical consequences of an act do not depend on its being voluntary or involuntary, but when the question concerns desert of punishment, no just person can refuse to con-

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sider whether it was done with or without choice and consent. It is equally plain that accountability is conditional on knowledge. Innocence and guilt are determined, not by a uniform standard for all men, not by the perfect law of righteousness, but by the varying degrees of light they enjoy. The obligation to obey conscience is universal, and this means that every man should obey his own conscience, be it rudimentary or developed, dark or enlightened, uncultivated or refined; he ought, in other words, to do what he believes right. There may be hesitation in admitting this broadly-stated position, but we may press the question, Ought he ever to disobey conscience to do what he believes wrong under the circumstances?

It may be said that not conscience, but the word of God, is the rule to be followed. This, however, is irrelevant. We are not discussing the sources of our knowledge of duty. Whether that knowledge be intuitive, or reached by a process of inductive or deductive reasoning, or gathered from the Holy Scriptures, the question arises, Are we not bound to obey our convictions of duty? It is true, that the ultimate authority or foundation of right does not dwell in conscience, nor in any other power of the human soul; just as the authority or basis of all rational principles is not in the reason by which they are known, but in the truths apprehended. The authority of the civil law is not in the judge, not in the supreme court; it would be false to affirm that the constitution or equity is whatever the court thinks; yet its decisions must be accepted at the time as the correct interpretation of the law. So at any instant the moral law to a person is practically what his conscience sees to be binding, and truth to him is practically what his judgment sees to be true.

Abundant testimony in favor of this position is furnished by the Scriptures. We quote only a few verses: "Jesus said unto them, If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth." "For as many as have sinned without law"—sinned against the law written in the heart without possessing the light of revelation—"shall also perish without law," perish because condemned by the light of nature, not because condemned by the law of Moses or of Christ, of which they had never heard. This passage establishes the responsibility of the heathen, and disproves the no-

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tion that they are not obnoxious to punishment. They have light, though not the full, bright light of the Gospel, and are justly punishable for offenses against law in their minds. The extent of their guilt and penalty is known not to us, but to the righteous Judge of all the earth. "But sin is not imputed where there is no law." "Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God. Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth. And he that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith; for whatsoever is not of faith is sin." "Therefore to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin."

Some will grant that whoever conforms to the law of rectitude so far as known to him must be acquitted, though he come short of complete righteousness through defect of information; that pagans should not be judged by the law of Moses, nor the Jews who lived before Christ by the Gospel; and yet they will shrink from admitting that one can be held clear in doing a positive wrong, though he believed it his duty. But how can this inference be escaped, since conscientiousness is always obligatory, and conscientiousness consists in following closely one's own conscience?

We reach the conclusion, therefore, that sincerity does justify; that we cannot be justly held to more than living up to our own light. But what is this sincerity that should be accepted as a ground of acquittal by man and God? It is a quality far deeper and higher than what commonly passes under the name. Sincerity exists in widely different degrees, from a comparatively common virtue to the highest spiritual excellence, to that singleness of eye which fills the whole body with light. A sincere person is one who loves light, not merely for the gratification of curiosity, not merely for the sake of speculative wisdom, but that he may be guided in the path of duty; who seeks the truth with all his heart wherever he may hope to find it; who is not biased by custom, self-interest, willfulness, or the voice of prejudice, pride, and passion, but with purity of intention desires to learn his whole duty, that he may do it at all cost and hazard: who does the will of God in all points so far as he knows it, and presses on after fuller knowledge. This thorough-going, perfect sincerity justifies, and this alone, and it is a rare virtue.

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The insufficiency of the common plea of sincerity may be illustrated by a few hypothetical cases. You spread an evil report about your neighbor, and when charged with slander defend yourself by saying that you believed it true. Granted, but did you know it to be true? Had you taken pains to examine what foundation there was for it? Did you not accept mere rumor as proof, or magnify matter of suspicion into evidence of guilt? Did not the love of gossip, a personal grudge, or some prejudice, move you to catch hastily at this report, and to believe it without sufficient proof? If the accused had been your brother, would you not have flamed with indignation against any who, on such testimony, spoke of him even as probably guilty? Sincerity of belief, in order to justify you, must include the spirit of justice and charity in forming and uttering the belief. The verdict of the jury expressed their sincere opinion of the guilt of the prisoner. They are too honest to find a man guilty of felony and send him to the penitentiary or gallows if they believe him innocent. The heat of their indignation against him was a sign of their belief in his crime. Nevertheless, the trial was not fair; the testimony against him was manifestly prejudiced, confused, inconsistent, and wavering; the jurors seized eagerly on whatever tended to convict, and were impatient of evidence and argument in his favor; they were blinded and swayed by the preconceptions and passions which prevailed through the whole community against the religious or political creed, the family or the social class, of the accused. Can they be credited with thorough sincerity? or excused by their partial sincerity?

"He began to say unto his disciples first of all, Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy." This insidious, wide-spread leaven vitiates the plea of sincerity which we are so ready to offer, and in which we place so much trust. Few will confess, or even suspect, that they are tainted with the odious vice of hypocrisy, or even in serious danger of such contamination. All admire sincerity and despise a hypocrite. But then many have very narrow and superficial views of the beautiful virtue of sincerity and of the loathsome vice of insincerity. Hypocrisy in its grossest, extreme form is not general—the hypocrisy of the false friend who, like Joab, asks after the health of his brother, and takes him by the beard

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to kiss him, but holds a sword concealed in his hands, and smites him therewith in the fifth rib; or, like Judas, betrays his Master with a kiss for silver; of the crafty politician who advocates before the people one set of measures with the purpose of carrying out the opposite policy as soon as he is in power; of the professed Christian who in public makes a great show of zeal for the faith, and of strict sanctity, in order to get money, reputation, office, or power, or overthrow virtue, while in secret he ridicules religion and indulges every lust. Nevertheless, hypocrisy, acting a part, appearing to be other and better than we are, claiming purer and loftier motives and aims than the reality, abounds in general society and in the Church; and these deceivers are also self-deceived. Let no man easily take it for granted that Jesus Christ would not say to him, Thou hypocrite! If we convince our readers not merely of the possibility, but of the real danger, of what we may call unconscious and yet guilty hypocrisy, we shall do them a service.

Lack of sincerity is shown by a comparison of the judgments we pass on ourselves and on other men. If honest, we would try ourselves by a standard not less strict than that by which we try our fellows; and our condemnation and abhorrence of our own sins in them. It is hypocrisy to condemn in another what we allow in ourselves; and what we call honest indignation against wrong is often proved to be selfish and uncharitable, because we are guilty of like or equal wrong with little shame and compunction. Esau had a deadly hatred against Jacob, the supplanter who by subtlety took away his blessing; but he forgot that he had sworn away his birthright to his brother for a consideration. Jacob was sharp and hard at a bargain; but what a hypocrite was Laban, his father-in-law, who deceived him in the promise of Rachel, changed his wages ten times, and pretended to be sorely hurt in his parental affections because he had stolen off secretly, and not suffered him to kiss his sons and daughters, and send them away with mirth and songs, with tabret and harp! That chiding between father-in-law and son-in-law is an impressive illustration of human insincerity, each presenting his own cause with plausible exaggeration, and painting in darkest colors his own grievances; and such quarrels between two self-seeking and crafty

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men, each of whom tries to get the advantage and is thrown into a passion of indignation if he himself be outwitted and overreached, are not rare in any age. "Bring her forth and let her be burned," said stern Judah against Tamar, who had played the harlot; but soon he was forced to acknowledge, "She hath been more righteous than I," and then he did not see any necessity that either should perish by fire. "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing shall surely die. And he shall restore the lamb fourfold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity." Well spoken, royal David, faithful protector of thy flock, and avenger of evil deeds, though done by the rich and great! What tenderness of conscience, what generous zeal against meanness, what generous pity for a poor oppressed subject, this just sentence displays! But alas! the king had taken from brave and loyal Uriah, not a pet lamb, the only one of the house, but a beautiful and beloved wife, his only love, though David had many wives; and to this outrage he had added the murder of the injured man. "Thou hypocrite!" But are we not hypocrites, too? Are we not more lenient to our own offenses than to those of others? "And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

The zeal of propagandism has often a large alloy of unconscious hypocrisy. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves." Love for Jehovah and truth was their professed inspiration; but if this had been their real spirit, instead of being content with gaining converts, they would have led them on to purity of heart and life by example and precept. Are our Churches and Sunday-schools as enthusiastic in promoting virtue and saving souls as in swelling their own number and power? Doubtless there is much pure zeal, but the motive of proselytism in not a few cases is composed two thirds, if not three, of love of party and desire for its domination. Nor

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is this insincerity, this aiming at success of party under pretense of aiming at success of principles, peculiar to religious bodies; we find it in politics, in rival schools of philosophy, and every-where. The history of persecution furnishes a notable instance, or, rather, a large class of instances. Religious bodies when proscribed and down-trodden have seen clearly the beauty, obligation, and utility of toleration, of liberty of thought and conscience; have argued cogently and remonstrated with wounded feelings against the narrowness, cruelty, and folly of attempting to serve the cause of truth and God by fines, fetters, stripes, and death; but no sooner had they waxed powerful in numbers and influence, and been established in authority, than they verily believed themselves in conscience bound, for the sake of truth, social good, and the salvation of souls, to punish all heretics, and propagate their own faith by sword and fagot. Hypocrites, though self-deceived!

A third instance of hypocrisy is the strictness with which men have insisted on minor details of virtue and piety, and their looseness in respect to the great fundamental principles of morality. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone. Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel." Those men clamored against the sin of violating the sanctity of the Sabbath by healing the sick, and against the sin of eating with publicans and sinners, overlooking the sublime words of their own Scriptures, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." They sacrificed the spirit to the letter, moral principle to the minutest points of ritual, and the plain sense of God's word to tradition. There are men now who devour widows' houses, and make long prayers, in private as well as in public; who dare not go to bed without first kneeling before God, whose law of justice and charity they habitually break; men who make a great ado against a glass of wine or a cigar, and yet, with scarce a twinge of conscience, cheat in trade or backbite a neighbor; men who would feel condemned and humiliated if they failed to pay their pew rent and partake of the Lord's Supper monthly, and yet cherish malice the year round; men who would not be caught in a theater for thousands

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of dollars, and yet are full of bitterness and almost cursing against their brethren, and feel only the holier on this account. These cases are possible only through defect of honesty. And yet, such are the windings and twistings of the human heart, the apology often made for minor faults by comparing them with those of greater gravity savors also of hypocrisy. "It is better to whirl and hug in the dance than to spend the evening in talking and hearing slander. A Sunday excursion of pleasure is not so bad as defrauding *employés* of their wages and grinding the poor. We do not attend prayer-meetings, but we do pay our debts and help the needy." But mark the lesson of the great Teacher: "These," less duties, "ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone." In setting forth the transcendent worth of the grand principles of righteousness which underlie all particular precepts, the Master did not command, nor allow, the omission of less weighty matters of the law or of conscience.

A like sign of insincerity is the attention men pay to the outer form of religion, while careless of its spirit. When they do their alms they sound a trumpet before them, when they pray they love to be seen of men, and when they fast they put on a sad face. They cleanse the outside of the cup and platter, but within are full of extortion and excess. It may be thought that all these are cases of arrant hypocrisy; that these persons assume for worldly purposes a show of virtue and piety which they are fully conscious that they do not possess. But this is a mistake. Though their chief motive is the pride of goodness and love of praise, they credit themselves with wonderful charity and devotion, and promise themselves favor and reward from God. When circumstances have stripped off the sheep's clothing from a wolf and the lion's skin from an ass, the wolf and ass have ofttimes been as much astonished at the disclosure of their real nature as the bystanders, and have suffered the loss of self-respect as keenly as the loss of reputation. How little we discern the earthly and selfish motives of our own moral, benevolent, and pious behavior! and yet how quickly detect, or, without knowing, suspect, these motives in our fellows! Consider, too, the large number who look more to reward from God than to worldly reputation, and yet seek his favor not by cultivating the spirit of purity and love, but by a

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merely exterior morality, and by zeal in building churches and like good works. They say, "Lord, Lord," but do not the Father's will, and they vainly trust to be accepted in the judgment. Hypocrisy has blinded their minds to the truth; thorough sincerity would soon show them their error.

A very bad, and yet common, form of hypocrisy consists in a pretended zeal for the right and indignation against iniquity, when the real prompting is selfishness and hate. We seek to arouse the virtuous feeling of our neighbors against injustice and corruption, and we seem to be aflame with such sentiments ourselves, whereas the secret motive is a personal advantage we hope to secure, or a personal grudge we hope to gratify. So general is this insincerity, that when a man is very angry and very much disgusted with certain conduct, the suspicion arises that his own interests have been touched, or else that he is envious, jealous, or resentful at the persons whom he censures so severely in the name of righteousness. How sharp men are in criticism; how dreadful in denunciation of the faults of their personal, political, and denominational opponents; how keen and unsparing in exposing all the shams, sophistries, and hollow excuses by which those faults would be concealed or extenuated! And all this they profess to do through mere love of virtue and fair dealing; and they persuade themselves—strange infatuation—that they deserve honor of the public for the noble spirit they have displayed and the service they have rendered to the cause of pure and lofty morals. "And the ruler of the synagogue answered with indignation, because that Jesus had healed on the Sabbath-day, and said unto the people, There are six days in which men ought to work: in them, therefore, come and be healed, and not on the Sabbath-day. The Lord then answered him and said, Thou hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the Sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath-day? And when he had said these things all his adversaries were ashamed." Their shallow and false reasonings were so exposed, and the real motives of their accusation against the pure and merciful Jesus, that they felt humbled and ashamed of themselves; but

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so little love of truth and holiness had they, and so much of pride and vain glory, that they soon fell back into self-admiration, and into haughty contempt and hot indignation toward others who omitted a punctilio and overstrained interpretation of the law, while their own hearts were empty of the love on which rest all the commandments. "Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned; but what sayest thou?" High respect for Moses and desire to know present duty were the avowed motives of the question, yet in their hearts they sought only a ground of accusation against the holy Teacher. "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her;" and at this reply they were convicted by their own consciences, and silently went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, even unto the last. "Why was not this ointments old for three hundred pence, and given to the poor? This he said, not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein." Many excuse themselves from giving to missions on the plea that the money is needed at home, and yet give meagerly whatever may be the appeal, and spend freely for their own gratification, or invest largely that they may build up a fortune. "Wherefore all this waste?" they ask, as they look at costly churches; and perhaps the funds might have been more usefully expended, but these critics keep their money in their own pockets instead of bestowing it liberally for the relief of the necessitous whom they profess to pity, and to whose benefit they would convert the superfluous cost of cathedrals; and in some cases they may even impoverish honest laborers by their trickery and extravagance.

Responsibility for belief cannot be rationally disputed, though it is limited, and we should be careful to rest it on the right ground. No one can be justly blamed for involuntary, unavoidable ignorance and error. Our knowledge is scant, our judgments are fallible. We are accountable for the talents committed to our keeping, five, two, or one, and for these only; but the faithful use and consequent improvement of these is a duty. We are under obligation to add to our knowledge, correct our mistakes, invite and welcome light; to examine and judge earnestly, cautiously, candidly, patiently. Men say that they cannot change the constitution of their minds; that convic-

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tion belongs to the logical faculty and not to the will; that they must believe according to the evidence; that they have no control of their opinions. But experience teaches that we do possess power over our attention; that we may elect or refuse to investigate a subject; that we may either content ourselves with what we already know and believe, or collect diligently all possible information; that we may weigh the whole evidence, or fix our mind on a part and turn it away altogether from the remainder; that we may be guilty of nearly all the unfairness and one-sidedness in arguing a question in our own mind that are usually suggested by the phrase "special pleadings." Attention has been beautifully described as a natural prayer for the enlightenment of reason; and with this natural prayer we should join, on moral and religious questions, earnest supplications for the wisdom from above, the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Ignorance is no justification where we might and should have known; the plea of following conscience cannot avail if we take not pains to instruct conscience, or fail to inquire, with that simplicity of soul which thrusts self aside, and asks only, What wilt thou have me to do? if we listen rather to pride, passion, self-interest, or self-will. Willful blindness, self-stultification, imposing on ourselves sophistries so gross that we would promptly detect and denounce them if employed by opponents of our own cherished opinions or purposes, believing what we would like to be true rather than what is proven, are facts too frequent and obvious to be denied. The guilt is not in following conscience, but in not following it fully; the sincerity is not complete, not profound, not thorough, but partial and superficial.

We are very incompetent judges in the case of others, how far their darkness and errors are voluntary and, therefore, guilty. To them we should be lenient, while seeking to set them right; but our own hearts we should search with all diligence and honesty, and not accept lightly the plea for our mistakes that they proceeded from lack of light or weakness of judgment. There is one historical case to which we can apply these principles, because we have revelation as our guide —the case of Saul the Pharisee and Paul the Christian. Sincerity, in the popular, less profound sense, must be granted to Saul. He blasphemed Jesus because he believed him an im-

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postor, and persecuted his disciples because he believed that this was doing God service. He always affirmed his conscientiousness in these things. He was not a hypocrite of the type of those who professed zeal for Jehovah and Israel while secretly infidel or indifferent, or of those who affected moral strictness in public while privately wallowing in licentiousness. Such hypocrisy he loathed and scorned. His guilt was not so great as if he had rejected and persecuted the Nazarene, knowing him to be the Messiah. "Who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." The same mitigation of guilt was pleaded by the Crucified in behalf of his murderers, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." But neither in the case of those who with wicked hands crucified and slew our Lord, nor in the case of the young man who consented unto the death of Stephen and wasted the Church, were ignorance and a false belief a justification. Saul confessed himself a great sinner, the chief of sinners. Wherein? For doing what he honestly held to be his duty, misled, not by a bad heart, not by a will which yielded to evil, but by unavoidable ignorance? Not so; but because he cherished pride, self-righteousness, contempt of his fellow-men, and vindictiveness, which were immoral, shut his eyes against the plain teachings of the Scriptures and the credentials of Jesus, and perverted his views of duty. Our Lord condemned the Jews who did not receive him, and the condemnation was based on this ground, not indeed that they were convinced of his Messiahship in their hearts while they denied him with their lips and lives, but that light had come to them, and they preferred darkness; that they could not appreciate the truth of his doctrine and the divine glory of his kingdom, because of that worldly and carnal soul which sought the loaves and fishes, and the honors which come from men; that they were blinded, hardened, and enslaved by the lusts of their depraved nature and the want of any true love to God or man, and, therefore, were out of harmony with the truth, and under the yoke of falsehood and unbelief. Paul came to see that the secret source of his pharisaic zeal and anti-Christian hate was not a genuine hunger and thirst after righteousness, not the supreme love to God which humbles, purifies, and enlight-

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ens, which excites tenderness, gentleness, forbearance and benevolence to all men, not a self-renouncing and truth-seeking spirit, but unspiritual, worldly, unholy tempers and aims that mislead the conscience, that are a film over the inner vision, that are in fact both inhuman and impious. In one place, it is true, many interpreters think that he claims a perfect sincerity in those blaspheming and persecuting times. "And Paul, earnestly beholding the council, said, Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day." Some interpret, "I have discharged my apostolic office." But whether he referred to his whole past life, or only to the part since his conversion, we may safely say that he did not mean to claim for his pharisaism that singleness of eye which the heart-searching God approves, because he condemned himself with great severity for his course, and because inspiration condemned other Jews of the same day and circumstances for their unbelief. His Christian consciousness of sincerity he described in these comprehensive and beautiful words: "For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world." He threw open all the windows of his soul; there was in him no duplicity, but simplicity, singleness; not a manifold nor even a twofold motive and intention, not an appearing to seek one object and a real seeking of somewhat quite different, but all his thoughts lay unfolded for inspection, and his whole aim was to serve God and save souls; his was the sincerity before God which stands the searching test of the pure and brilliant sunbeams; he was not guided by carnal wisdom, the policy that seeks a selfish and worldly success, or scruples not at the means by which to secure a worthy end; he was inspired and directed by the Spirit of truth, holiness, and love in his aims and methods. There was a crystal clearness in his conscientiousness, a crucifixion of self, a fullness of consecration, an abounding charity, a harmony of his whole soul and conduct with the first principles of virtue and piety, which differed radically from his state when his very breath was fiery with threatenings and slaughter, and he was swept along by the madness of pride and revenge. True, "touching the righteousness which is in the law," he was "blameless." But this was an outward and

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ceremonial righteousness of the letter and not of the spirit; not the righteousness which Micah described: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" not the righteousness which Christ described, "The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength; this is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; there is none other commandment greater than this."

To sum up: 1. The standard of truth and duty does not depend on human opinions. The most thorough conscientiousness in Saul of Tarsus, if proved, could not change the facts of the indictment, that he fought against the truth, blasphemed the Son of God and Saviour of mankind, and persecuted the saints in violation of justice and charity. 2. The sufferings he inflicted on the disciples and the moral injury of his example on his own people are not the less real because of the honesty of his convictions. When converted, he must have looked back on his conduct with regret, if not with remorse. 3. His proud self-complacency in an outward and ritual righteousness which lacked the heart of love, his arrogant and scornful bigotry, and his fierce delight in persecuting the Church, reacted on himself in narrowing and perverting his moral nature, in stifling all sweet and lovely sentiments, and making him harsh, tyrannical, and vindictive. Yet his conscientiousness preserved him from the reprobacy and baseness of those who slander and tread down what they know to be sacred and divine. We feel a degree of admiration for the earnestness with which he maintained his own principles, but it is mingled with detestation of his haughty and blood-thirsty intolerance. 4. His innocence or guilt must be determined, not by our light and advantages, but by those amid which he lived. A perfectly sincere Israelite might hold up his head in judgment as well as a perfectly sincere Christian. Complete sincerity seeks with all the soul and strength to know what is true in creed and right in act, for the love of truth and holiness, and does not obscure, nor color, nor refract the light in the interest of covetousness,

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ambition, or pleasure, or for the gratification of pride of opinion, blood, or character, or to exalt one party and depress another. We do not attribute to this simplicity, this singleness of intention, omniscience or infallibility, for the soundest eye can see only in the light, and the vision will be dim when the light is feeble. But we do affirm that it is an obligatory virtue and the necessary condition of using aright the light given; that to the single eye God reveals duty and also his own uncreated beauty and glory. Unless we are in this moral state, we cannot claim to be accepted by the Searcher of all hearts, though we believe that creed we confess, and obey the dictates of our conscience. A true estimate of the innocence or guilt of Saul may be formed by comparing two verses in the same chapter (1 Tim. i, 13, 16) which assign different, but not inconsistent, reasons for the special mercy he received, "But I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." "Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on him to life everlasting." Did Saul utter blasphemies against one whom he knew to be the Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, crucified out of love for a guilty world? Did he know that he was wasting the elect of God, the Church, which is Christ's bride? Not of that wickedness was he capable, or he would have been past hope of conversion, past mercy. God had pity on the blinded sinner. But he was not like Simeon, who waited to see the salvation of God. Jesus could not have said of him as of Nathanael, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!" He had not the love of truth and righteousness which led John and James, Peter and Andrew, to be first disciples of the Baptist and then of Jesus. It was mercy, great mercy, that bore with his unbelief, and gave him a special revelation of the Son of God that he might be convinced and saved. His is a monumental case of the long-suffering and grace of Jesus Christ.

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Art. III.—THE REGENERATION OF PALESTINE.

Palestine has been for many years a land of ruins; and ever since its chosen people were banished, as a nation, from its confines, members of the race have indulged in spasmodic efforts to regain its fertile plains, beautiful valleys, and crowning city, as their own. But these efforts have not been national, not even general, and, as a rule, have been little more than vain and enthusiastic plans plaguing the brains and torturing the hearts of a few of the faithful who have hoped to see Jerusalem regained and Israel re-established in his ancient home.

Within the last few years the Jews of some of the European capitals—London and Paris especially—have made some concerted trials to effect organization, and to proceed in a regular manner to possess the land and make it their own. The wealth and influence of Montefiore and the Rothschilds, in combination with the labors of the "Alliance Israelite" of Paris, have succeeded at least in calling the attention of the world to the fact that the Jews are again active in the matter of regenerating the Promised Land, and fitting it for the advent of their long-looked-for Messiah; and occasional announcements of their enthusiasm and success have led to the popular belief that they are quite likely to be successful in their endeavors. We have been told that their promised inheritance is rapidly becoming their own, and that a remarkable change is taking place through them in the Holy Land. It is stated that the scepter is even now virtually in the hands of that stanch Israelite, Baron Rothschild, who, for the loan of two hundred millions of francs to the Sultan, has a mortgage on the entire land, and may possess it any moment he pleases. According to these floating stories, great improvements are going on among the Jews of Jerusalem and the whole country; they are building up a new city in and around Jerusalem; are founding schools, hospitals, and newspapers; and a body of Venetian Jews is sustaining an agricultural school with a view to train up a community of their brethren to be tillers of the soil. The number of Hebrew residents has doubled, according to these statements, in the last ten years, and every thing is on the high road of modern improvement, even to a railroad, etc.

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Now, it is clear that these things are set afloat by interested parties and circulated by ignorant ones, and they are gladly believed because it would be gratifying to the world at large to see this land of ruins regenerated, and at least fitted for the abode of men if not for the coming of the Messiah, either of the Jews or the Gentiles. But in the main these accounts are not true, and they have become of late so rife and mischievous that there appeared in a late issue of the New York Christian Advocate the following rejoinder to them all, from an authority well-known to our Church and the nation, and which, we need hardly say, puts a very different face on the matter:

Jews Returning to Zion.

We have just clipped from a religious journal the following article on the return of the Jews to the land of their fathers, and the improved condition of Palestine, which contains so many statements calculated to mislead the public, I deem a correction necessary:

"Meanwhile, a railroad stretches over a part of the Holy Land; the scream of the iron horse echoes among the hills and valleys where the old prophet long ago uttered his prediction of a chariot that in the great preparation day of the Lord would run like lightning. There are also two hundred and fifty Protestant Churches worshiping among the sacred hills; and seven hundred and sixty children in the Sunday-schools of Palestine ring out the very hymns and songs that our children know and sing here in America. Baron Rothschild, at the time of the last loan of two hundred million francs made to Turkey, accepted a mortgage on the whole of Palestine. Owing to the Jewish immigration, the population of Palestine has more than doubled during the last ten years."

The facts are: There is not a railroad in all Palestine. "The scream of the iron horse" has never broken the deathly silence that pervades the land. There is not an American missionary in the Holy Land, nor a Sunday-school; but one Protestant Church in Jerusalem, another outside the walls, and one at Nazareth. The Jewish population has increased during the last few years, but the population of the country has more rapidly decreased. The Jews have no intention of re-occupying the land. They go there to die, not to live. No Jew around Jerusalem owns or cultivates an acre of ground. Baron Rothschild has no mortgage on Palestine. He could easily purchase the country if he wanted it, but he does not covet it. The Jews of Europe and America will never return to Palestine unless forced back at the point of the bayonet.

F. S. Dr. Hass,
Late U. S. Consul at Jerusalem.

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Now, harsh as these assertions may seem, they are corroborated by other authorities that we might quote, and by frequent correspondence from the Holy Land on the part of intelligent and disinterested observers. And it may now be well to consider the present condition of the country, and obtain a candid view of the real efforts that are being made by various parties to improve the condition of things in Palestine; for there are many eyes turned thitherward in holy zeal and with a hope, almost forlorn, to be able by degrees to regenerate the land. But we need hardly say that the day has gone by, if it ever existed, when men of sound mind went thither as ordinary emigrants, in the hope of bettering their condition and making a fortune. When Canaan was the fertile land of milk and honey we can comprehend why foreign nations regarded it with longing eyes and desired to pitch their tents and guard their flocks on its plains. But at present the soil will not, certainly does not, support one tenth of the population that then lived in plenty. The mountains are at present without forests, and, being scorched by the sun, are poor in running streams. Their sides were once made fruitful by terraces of rich earth, which long ago by neglect were allowed to be washed down by the rains into the water-courses, so that one sees every-where little else than bald and barren precipices. The fig, the olive, and the grape, once the glory and support of the land, are now so meager and so poor as to have lost much of their value and fame.

The country possesses three large and fertile plains, which might be made the sources of great wealth. But the valley of the Jordan lies fallow because of the inertness of the government in superintending its irrigation, and what little is now produced is quite likely to become the spoil of the nomadic and thieving Bedouins. The plain of Esdraelon and the plain skirting the sea are still valuable, even with their primitive mode of cultivation; with a generously renewed soil and a modern style of culture they might be made mines of wealth. The natives, however, will make no effort to improve the condition of the land and introduce new methods, and strangers can hardly live there on account of the deadly fever. The Mennonites, who leave Russia in large numbers to escape military duty, and who are just now coming to us, for awhile tried the plain of Sharon along the sea, but in the course of a

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year so many of them died of the fever that the rest gathered up their effects, sacrificed what money they had invested, and came away.

The cultivation of the land by the native peasants—the so-called fellahs—amounts to merely enough to keep them from starving. If they produce a bushel of grain more than they need for their direct wants, it is taken from them by the Turkish tax-gatherers, who are experts in extortion. The extreme poverty of the poor natives is their only protection, and so the land lies neglected year after year. In the line of industry there is not any more encouragement: there is no market for their products, neither in the back country nor on the coast, for there are no ports for convenient export. All the ancient artificial harbors are in ruins, with one exception, that of Jaffa, which, though sufficient for the small sailing craft of ancient days, cannot accommodate the steamers of the period; these sometimes, therefore, lie for days before Jaffa in a storm, waiting to land passengers, or they carry them past to other ports to be taken back to Jaffa by some returning vessel that may have better weather and consequently better success.

There is only one passable road in the country—that which leads from Jaffa to Jerusalem—and it is going to decay. It was made some nine years ago, and has been neglected ever since. For a time there was some talk of a railroad on this route from the port of Jaffa to Jerusalem; but the French company that proposed it did so as a matter of speculation, and as soon as it was seen that it could not be made to pay, the project was abandoned. No enterprise, indeed, can be carried on that needs fuel, for there is but little to be had; and therefore manufactures that depend on it for steam power, as well as railroads, can have no success. Consequently camels are still the main means of transport for what little merchandise there is, which, indeed, scarcely extends beyond the olive-wood wares from Jerusalem and the mother-of-pearl work from Bethlehem. Even these industries are far from lucrative because of the active competition caused by the excessively narrow sphere for industrial labor.

These are clearly no very attractive conditions, and one is, therefore, surprised that men are ever inclined to go thither as emigrants, to better their material condition; and, indeed, none have done so except a few visionary enthusiasts, like the

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Adams Colony, which emigrated from Maine a few years ago, but quickly fell in pieces, some of the colonists returning home, charitably assisted to do so by our authorities, and a few remaining to eke out a precarious existence as guides and dragomans to American and English visitors. Those who go to stay must have some stronger motive than that of making money. The Jews go in religious fanaticism, many of them to live and die as recipients of charity, if not as paupers. All the efforts that have been made at times in this country to get up colonies of Jews for Palestine have failed. The Israelites of this country know well enough that for them the Land of Promise is to be found in our large commercial centers, which have for them more attractions than Jerusalem itself. The only power that moves them thither is religious enthusiasm; not even persecution can do it, for they put up with every thing rather than desert their rich opportunities in the great cities of Europe and America. The present irritated feeling about the Jews in Germany will not send one of them to Palestine. Those who go thither are impelled by religious motives only, and of these there are not many in comparison to the thousands scattered about the world.

For the last few years about four hundred have gone thither annually, as our consul says, "not to live but to die." These are mostly from Russia, and they come not so much to avoid military duty as to flee from the conflicts with their own brethren—the Reform or Progressive Jews. The strife between the Orthodox and the Liberal Jews often becomes so bitter as to divide families and introduce the greatest antagonism. The adherents of the Talmud would rather leave their homes than endeavor to live in peace with those who follow the dictates of the Cabala. The Russian and Polish Jews are extremely strong in their prejudices, and nothing can move them from their purpose. They believe that the kingdom of the Messiah will soon be re-established in Palestine, in accordance with the words of the prophet, and those who are there will be received with rejoicing. This hope to them is a magic power, and if not fulfilled during their lives, they will at least have the pleasure of laying down their bones in the valley of Jehoshaphat, whence they can see the coming of the Lord to judge the heathen and all oppressors of their people. And

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therefore are found among them so many old and decrepit men, who simply come to spend the evening of their days on the sacred mountain, and pray, and be buried, in view of the site of the ancient temple.

The present condition of the Jewish colonies in Palestine is any thing but desirable. They are forced for protection to reside together in certain fixed settlements. Nobody likes them, and they could not settle anywhere at random; Oriental Christians, as well as Moslems, would persecute them, for Oriental Christians are experts in intolerance. There are now in the Holy Land about twenty-one thousand Jews, who live mostly in the rabbinical cities—Jerusalem, Saffed, Tiberias, and Hebron. About fifteen hundred live in the commercial centers, but the largest number is to be found in Jerusalem—thirteen thousand. These differ very greatly in costume and speech, according to their origin. Half of them are Spanish Jews, who took refuge here when expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. In language, appearance, and dress they all betray their southern origin. The so-called German Jews are mostly Russian, Polish, or from the Danubian Principalities. They are very tenacious of their costume, even to the fur cap, though in a warm southern country. Many of them are slovenly and filthy in appearance, and well calculated to inspire disgust at sight. One sees the same type at all the great fairs of Germany and Russia. Then there are some five hundred hailing from Northern Africa, who are in reality Arabs, and thus resemble the natives. But each of these groups has its national peculiarities, and they all have their antagonisms. The only national bond is the Hebrew tongue, which all male Jews must understand.

The Jews are mostly confined to their own quarter in Jerusalem, as they are in all the large cities of Europe; they are now, however, inclined to infringe on the Christian quarter, and especially to extend their district outside of the gates. But they largely tend to herd together and live in densely populated houses, partly for the reason that they may have access to the same cisterns for water, in the use of which they are forced to be very economical; indeed, many of them live almost without air, light, or water, and the result is a great mortality from fevers and other diseases, induced by uncleanly

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habits. Most of those who come bring a little money with them, but, in the absence of any remunerative employment, this soon runs out, and the impoverished depend on benevolence for support; and they would all assuredly starve were it not for the practice of the Jews in Europe to send large sums to the Holy Land for the support of their co-religionists. All Orthodox Jews continue to pay the ancient temple-tax, in the shape of alms for their brothers in the Holy City. Even the Liberal Jews of the European capitals will do this, in order to counteract the efforts of the Christian missions, which, as we know, make but little progress in reforming them. There is thus a steady stream of money flowing in to the rabbies for the support of synagogues, hospitals, poor-houses, and hospices for the temporary shelter of the unfortunate. In confirmation of which let the reader peruse the note below, lately sent from the Holy Land in correspondence to the "New York Herald," by a gentleman who has lived there for over a dozen years:

JAFFA, *November* 12, 1879.

"The Jews Regaining their Land," is the title of a paragraph going the rounds of the papers, to the effect that, "owing to the Jewish immigration, the population of Palestine has more than doubled during the last ten years." As a resident of this country since 1867 I can positively deny this statement. Many Jews, it is true, have come to live in Jerusalem, (not in other places,) or rather to lay their bones in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, during the past decade, but it is incorrect to declare that "the population of Palestine has been doubled" by such immigration. The population of this land was 1,200,000 ten years ago, and to maintain it has doubled would give us an influx of 1,200,000 Jews. The truth is that about five thousand have come to Jerusalem during the past ten years. Of these a large number have died, but others may have taken their places, leaving the number about the same. Nearly all these Jews live in poverty, and make appeals from time to time to their wealthy brethren in Europe and America for means to maintain themselves and their families. The immigration is, in fact, an influx of paupers, who expect to live in idleness upon the savings of their relatives in other lands who may take pity upon their destitution. Some are eventually disgusted at the penury which the rabbies' strict rule often enforces, and return to the countries whence they came. I helped a few weeks ago a poor American Hebrew to return to New York, and the United States Consul at Jerusalem has given assistance to many of various nationalities out of a fund sent him for that purpose. I am informed that there are sixty charity associations in Jerusalem, a city of 25,000 inhabitants.

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These Jews of Palestine are neither inclined nor able to engage in trading or industrial pursuits; they have no culture for any thing higher; and their entire energy is, therefore, concentrated on the matter of religion, which, in a certain sense, pays them, either from the poor fund or from their own zealous endeavors in behalf of others. A goodly number of the Polish and Russian Jews make a living by offering for their friends at home daily prayers, which, since the destruction of the temple, may take the place of the ancient sacrifices. For these they receive a regular stipend, which seems to satisfy both parties, though the prayer becomes a mere mechanical performance, totally destitute of unction and consecration; indeed, they are evidently a very burdensome task to the operators. Even the young men seem to have no ambition to work for an honest living, and their highest aim is to be promoted to the rabbinical order, to which end all their studies are directed. All studies are neglected that do not aim to fit them for the peculiar sect to which they may chance to belong. They thus acquire a skill in memorizing the *minutiæ* of the Talmud, and maintaining hair-splitting disputations on points of the law; but they entertain a supreme contempt for the sciences and all the other refinements of western civilization.

This state of things has been greatly regretted by intelligent Jews in Europe, who for many years have been making fruitless efforts to effect some improvement. In this connection we may make honorable mention of Sir Moses Montefiore, the distinguished English Jew, who at the advanced age of ninety-three years, even now, it is said, contemplates a visit to Jerusalem to inspire energy into plans that he has created for the regeneration of his people and the country. His purse has long been open to their calls, and our journals have periodical paragraphs relating to the enterprises that are being carried on under the auspices of his bounty; but it is very doubtful if any good results from it. His friend and colleague in good efforts, Baron Rothschild, of Paris, has also not been weary in well-doing; and the Parisian Jews, under the lead of the statesman Cremieux, lately deceased, some time ago formed a Jewish league, termed the "Alliance Israelite," whose object is to aid the Jews of Palestine to help themselves. But the very moment any proposition is made to them to cast away their sluggish

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inertness, they find a thousand reasons for opposing it; nothing satisfies them that is not according to the letter of ancient law. This Parisian Alliance resolved to establish an agricultural school and colony near Jaffa, in the hope of introducing a better system of tilling the land, and above all of leading the young Jews to take an interest in agricultural pursuits, which would give them an honorable support and develop the latent wealth of the country.

A considerable sum of money was expended in securing a fine farm, erecting buildings, and supplying stock and agricultural utensils. But the Orthodox Jews, who still hold to the ancient laws—and they are by far the most numerous—looked coolly on the whole enterprise, and would have nothing to do with it unless the undertakers would consent to observe the sabbatical year, pay tithes for the priests and Levites, and make contributions for the elders. These exactions, of course, settle the case, for under the best of circumstances the enterprise would be a losing affair; while thus burdened it cannot be a success. This matter is also alluded to by the aforesaid correspondent from the Holy Land, and we feel it well to have the support of his assertions, which are as follows:

Attempts at Agriculture.

Sir Moses Montefiore has often aided his indigent countrymen, and recently sent a donation to the Judah Touro poor-houses. He is an advocate of the scheme of founding agricultural Jewish colonies in Palestine, and suggested that a fund be raised in London for this object, and thus give employment to worthy Israelites. The success of such an undertaking is doubtful, judging from the attempt that has been made to found an agricultural model farm on the plains of Sharon, under the patronage of the "Alliance Israelite" of Paris. A chief impediment is the fact that the young Jews disdain work so long as they can live upon charity. Much has been made in European journals of the growth of Jerusalem of late by the building of houses outside of the walls. A number of new dwellings have, indeed, been erected on the Jaffa and Bethlehem roads during the last ten years by both Jews and Christians, following the example of the Protestant and Russian missions, which first began to do so. These houses, being built over cisterns of rain-water, are, for the most part, nests of typhus and malarial fevers, and, instead of contributing to the health of the city, have materially added to the prevalent insalubriousness of Jerusalem. In the city itself the soil is so saturated with the accumulated impurities of

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past generations that any disturbance of the ground for building purposes invariably engenders malignant fevers. Captain Warren, R. E., and his corps of assistants, while making explorations and excavations in and about Jerusalem, suffered terribly from this cause. The scarcity of pure water is another source of evil at the Holy City, and although an abundant supply could be brought from the ancient pools of Solomon beyond Bethlehem, yet all efforts to repair or rebuild the aqueduct are thwarted by the fanaticism of the Moslem rulers. Baroness Burdett-Coutts offered the municipality £30,000 for this purpose several years ago, but her munificent gift was rejected on the ground that it was "unlawful to receive money from a Christian for the expense of conveying the 'gift of God' [water] to the holy mosque of Omar and to the holy Moslem city 'El Khuds.'"

It is very clear, therefore, that not much is to be expected from the Jews, as regenerators of the Holy Land, and there is not any hope of an improvement in the character of their immigration. As long as they will obstinately bring back the past rather than make an effort to introduce the manifold improvements and methods of the present, so long they will be in the way of any progress in Palestine. Indeed, the land seems cursed with all sorts of burdens; from Turks to Jews there is scarcely an element of its population that is not baneful to it, while its government by the Sultan is simply disgusting. The Turkish rule has no other interest than to farm the country out to tax-gatherers, whose extortions are so fearful that they lie like an Alp on every effort at improvement. If the Grand Turk could be bought out or driven out, and the land placed under an intelligent and progressive rule, it might again be made to blossom as of old. It only needs the *dictum* of the Great Powers to give the Sultan his walking-papers out of Palestine; but as long as these must expend their efforts in keeping up their own political balance, this will not be done. If these Powers were only willing to take Palestine among them, and hold it under an intelligent protectorate, there might also be some light; but as long as the same brutal rule continues there, and the same degraded population curses the land, we may count on nothing good.

Is there, then, no hope for the regeneration of the Holy Land? To this question we reply that we see a ray of light in an honest and intelligent enterprise that seems to have no herald to tell its story to the world. Nothing but new blood and

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new ways will effect the purpose, and these, to some extent, have been tried in certain colonies from this and other countries, and have failed. But something more is wanted than even these. The best of capacities must be sustained by a religious zeal and enthusiasm in the work of regenerating the land and preparing it for the second coming of the Lord. And agents of this kind have been silently growing up and gaining experience; and the main object of this article is to call attention to their origin and plans, their struggles, and partial success.

A few years ago there arose in Würtemburg, in Southern Germany, an association of Christian men imbued with the idea that it was their duty to prepare the way of the Lord for his second advent, which they believe will be in the land where he appeared of old. They were under the lead of the venerable Christopher Hoffmann, a most intelligent and enthusiastic divine, who felt himself moved to engage in this work as a special mission To the German Protestant Church they were zealots and hare-brained enthusiasts, and they received but little encouragement. They termed themselves the Friends of Jerusalem, and declared their purpose to be to restore the "spiritual temple of the Lord in the Holy Land." They believe in the literal interpretation of the prophecies which foretell a glorious regeneration of the "Promised Land," whose citizens will not be Israel according to the flesh, but Israel after the Spirit. They believe they can succeed in making Palestine, in a spiritual and material sense, a model kingdom, which will incite all people to its imitation. In this land Christ will again appear in his glory and assume his throne, and will, for his sympathizing and happy children, inaugurate his reign of a thousand years.

Now, whatever may be said of these religious views, they at least inspired in earnest men that enthusiasm necessary for the great undertaking, in which they were encouraged by the King of Prussia, who had assisted in founding a Christian mission in Jerusalem. This, however, was about the only encouragement they received, for the State Church persecuted them, and the revolutions interfered with them, and their government authorities would not give them aid in negotiating with the Sultan for the privilege of settling in the land with protection; for the policy of the Turk always has been to keep all Chris-

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tian effort away from Palestine, and until quite recently it was not possible for foreigners to acquire land; they were merely allowed to settle by sufferance, with the understanding that they might be removed at will. Under such conditions it was, of course, not possible to begin, and especially in Jerusalem, where they desired to make a commencement. Besides, an indispensable condition was a certain amount of capital, which their leader hoped to be able to obtain in Germany, Switzerland, Southern Russia, England, and America, and for which he continued to make great efforts by the formation of filial associations in these countries. At last it was resolved to send out a commission which should travel over the Holy Land and study the situation and all questions which could affect the weal or woe of new colonies going thither to settle. This commission returned in about six months with a passably favorable report, but based too much on the enthusiasm of spiritual zeal to be a practical recommendation to commence the work. It was thought best at first to encourage a few small parties to go out on their own responsibility, but under the shield and sympathy of the body, to stay and try their fortune in beginning a work and making a livelihood. Only a few of these were successful, and some met with a very sad fate from mishaps and climatic fevers. But their experience was valuable, and their counsels as to the best spots for settlement were regarded.

Finally, in 1867, it was resolved to make a formal commencement of the enterprise by a governmental organization. A republican constitution was formed; Mr. Hoffmann was chosen leader, and a Mr. Hardegg made his right-hand man. An executive board was appointed from the various associations and agents to oversee the matter of churches, schools, colonization, industry, and commerce. A party went out, headed by Mr. Hoffmann, and they first visited Constantinople, with the hope of obtaining certain concessions from the Sultan; but with all the influence they could bring to bear, nothing could be effected. They therefore decided to proceed to Syria, and soon after founded a post at Haifa, at the base of Carmel. They bargained for a small piece of property not far from the post, where ten or a dozen families might lay the foundation of a settlement for those who might follow. The next move was the establishment of a permanent mission at Jaffa, as the port

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of Jerusalem, and the place to which come all travelers on their way to that city. In this they were favored by the opportunity to buy the houses, mills, and other appurtenances of a Russo-German mission which was just retiring, and also the deserted houses of the Adams Colony, from Maine. The "Temple Association" thus rapidly got a start, and immediately proceeded to lay plans for operations and support. Hospitals and schools were needed, and even a hotel, for there was scarcely a decent refuge for the weary tourist in reaching Jaffa going to Jerusalem.

And in the midst of all their practical work, which was first necessary in order to lay a foundation for material existence, they also commenced to lay plans for a school of the higher order, that might train civil officers, physicians, teachers, and preachers, that would harmonize in their views regarding the restoration of Palestine. Their profession of faith and constitution are laid down in a work by Rev. Christopher Hoffmann, bearing the title of "Orient and Occident." In this he develops the Mosaic law as far as it can be harmonized with the present order of things, and finally settles on the practical portions of the moral law and the principles of humanity to guide him as a ruler. Mr. Hoffmann is also the author of several works of a religious and historical character combined, in which he indulges in keen analysis and accurate criticism, viewing the course of history for the last two centuries in the light of religious truth, and showing the growing apostasy of the age. He is a man of very extraordinary intellect, and a writer of no mean powers. His great object now is to fight against the social evils of the day, and lay the foundation of a system that may relieve the world from many of its present burdens and inconsistencies. In over-enthusiastic zeal he advances theories that many may find fault with, but this implicit faith in his system and hope in his work make him and his followers peculiarly adapted to meet and wrestle with the difficult material questions to be encountered in his present undertaking. It is success in this line that now mainly interests the world, and to which we think better to devote our labors. If he can regenerate Palestine he will certainly be accounted a general benefactor; and if his religious zeal gives him a key to interest other men in a discouraging and painful work, we can easily afford to

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pass lightly over what the world may consider Utopian, to regard that which every one must see is of great practical good.

If any men can succeed in this work, these are they, for they come to regenerate the Promised Land through the sweat of their brow, and they undertake a task that can be carried out only by such men as martyrs are made of. They have already suffered a great deal, but are not discouraged; and it now appears that great social, religious, and political reforms in the Holy Land may eventually be achieved through them. None of their number are allowed to go there except those who have stood the test of trial and examination in their own country. The association refuses to help or send any who do not exhibit the characteristics needed for utility and success; it is not an ordinary emigration, but rather a species of pilgrimage to a shrine, with a lofty purpose.

The "Friends of Jerusalem" began to establish colonies in the Holy Land in 1868, and there are now there four of these, settled in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, and Sharon. These came from Germany, the United States, and Russia, in which countries there are congregations of these Christians who have this cause at heart, and from which the fittest are sent to the Holy Land. We may mention Buffalo, Schenectady, and Chicago, as being centers in this country, and the parties concerned are all Germans. These four colonies are virtually under one control, and each may have specialty in its efforts. Nearly all the men who go are hard-working, thrifty men, who know what it is to battle with life. The most of them are agriculturists, and are, therefore, best adapted to what the land most needs; namely, a practical training in the profitable culture of the soil. Their settlements are just outside of the towns at Jaffa and Haifa, where they have an opportunity to raise, besides the ordinary products of the country, many of the desirable vegetables of their native land. On the heights in the rear of Jaffa they have built up their settlement in such a pleasant manner as to attract the attention of the natives and give them an object-lesson of much more value to them than any theories could be. The pleasant gardens and cheerful-looking houses are becoming the envy of the thriftless natives or indolent fellahs, who are said to stand and regard them with a dreamy admiration that indicates a wish on their part to possess some of the same kind.

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In Haifa the colony has also made itself so clearly felt in good examples that at the recent death of the valuable leader of that band, Mr. Hardegg, the entire community seemed to join in tokens of mourning. When the day for the funeral ceremonies arrived, the flags of the various consuls were placed at half-mast, and, to the surprise of every body, the colors of the Turkish Pasha also came down. This is probably the first time that a Turk ever noticed the burial of a Christian. In this settlement there was opened in October last a boarding-school of higher order for girls, with some twenty pupils, in which there are several good teachers, undertaking, besides the ordinary branches, the French and English languages, and music. This will be a great blessing for Christian foreigners settled in Palestine, as well as for the Temple Community itself, who have not known hitherto how to have their daughters educated without sending them away to a great distance. The young ladies can take their exercise on the declivity of Carmel, with a charming prospect of the sea and of the snow-capped summits of Hermon. In Jerusalem a lyceum has been established for boys in the same careful way; both under the general supervision of Rev. Mr. Hoffmann, which is security that the education imparted will be of a Christian nature. These institutions greatly need material aid, and they could not be sustained at all without great sacrifice on the part of the teachers and the Association.

The latest colony founded is that on the plains of Sharon, on the site selected and built on by the Mennonites, who abandoned it in a short time because of the unhealthy situation and the difficulty in making it a profitable enterprise. The Temple Association took for a song what was left, and thus obtained a start. The natural supposition would be that this was not advisable, but the result proves that the enthusiasm and resolve of these men will carry them through difficulties under which others will sink. They placed most of their dwellings on a little more elevated ground, and thus escaped the ravages of the fever, to which they are becoming acclimated, and are now working industriously at their problem, which is to improve the agricultural methods in the country. A firm in Buffalo has presented them with a mowing machine, which is the wonder of the Arabian peasants, but which gives them

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some trouble because of the difficulty in getting Arabian steeds that will submit to the control needed to use it properly. This is being remedied by procuring a quieter race of horses. The report of their last harvest was quite gratifying. The land is rich, and seems to appeal to the traveler to stop and till it in a sensible manner. The yield of wheat and barley was good, and nearly all the produce of the field was bountiful. Grapes grew plentifully, and the hay harvest was rich, but they lost quite a number of their cattle from the plague. When the harvest was over, several new houses were erected, and the colonists not thus engaged found fairly profitable employment in transporting produce to Jerusalem. Thus it will be seen that the colonists put their hands to every available industry, and so set a valuable example to the thriftless people around them.

The Palestine of to-day has virtually no industrial occupations; the natives are confined to agriculture, cattle-raising, and trade. This was largely so in the olden time, but the land was then fully cultivated and gave forth a multitude of products. The few miserable struggling cities now on the coast, as the remnants of former times, still live on the little commerce that is carried on; but the population every-where is greatly below the ancient figures. There were then, probably, ten millions of people in the land; now scarcely more than three hundred thousand. This is Palestine as ruined by Turkish rule. Jaffa is now a city of about twenty thousand inhabitants, and has a regular connection with Europe by means of the Austrian Lloyd steamers from Trieste, which stop there twice a week. The harbor is very miserable, and mainly useful for small sailing vessels owned by the Greeks, who do most of the coasting trade; and yet this is the port through which most of the trade of Palestine is done. Haifa is mainly the outlet for the grain from the rich plains of Esdraelon and the mountains of Galilee, but its exporting facilities are not what they once were, and a portion of it is a miserable nest. Nevertheless, the Germans are doing much toward its regeneration. Jaffa is about the only port worth mention, and is the outlet for Jerusalem and all cities on the way or contiguous to it. The Valley of the Jordan and the land of the Moabites send their productions hither, and traders, pilgrims, and tourists, all land at Jaffa on their way to the Holy City.

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The Temple Association has, therefore, done well to settle at Jaffa and enter into its industries. The city is surrounded by orange gardens for a considerable distance, which are artificially irrigated, and the oranges are largely exported.

The trade of Jaffa is now increasing, and the imports and exports are becoming more various: they receive coal, coffee, iron, sugar, petroleum, etc., from England, France, Italy, and the United States; and in return send out oranges, olive oil, barley, wheat, soap, etc. The Germans are engaging largely in the manufacture of soap from olive oil, and bid fair to build the business up to respectable proportions. It is a very acceptable article for the toilet, and may be procured at reasonable prices of many of the druggists in our cities; it is very solid and lasting, and is growing more popular with every year. The imports of Palestine were in 1878 about $375,000, and the exports $1,500,000. In contact with Europeans the natives must soon learn to raise more and need more, and thus largely increase the trade. With the growing inclination to increase our trade in the Mediterranean and contiguous waters, it would not cost our vessels much more time to go to Palestine with coal in ballast, and bring back cargoes of Oriental fruits, olive oil, and the soap mentioned above. Coal is the great desideratum to progress in Palestine; it is needed for mills and machinery of all kinds on account of the dearth of fuel. Even building timber is brought into Palestine from Turkey and Austria. The era of steam mills is likely to commence now by the enterprise of the German colonists. The last accounts inform us that they are constructing one in Jerusalem, much to the mystification of the natives, who see no water with which to run it. But the fuel will be a far more difficult question than water, and not much can be done in this line until the "coal question" can be settled.

The import trade is almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners, among whom the Germans have two large houses, one in Jerusalem and another in Jaffa. The heaviest import is that of salt, amounting to three millions of pounds, a greater weight than that of all other articles together. The cause of this is, doubtless, the fact that salt is used by all the inhabitants of Palestine, whereas all other imported articles are used only by small portions of the community. Even rice, which is

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largely eaten by the inhabitants of the cities, reaches the poor fellah's mouth only as an article of luxury on special occasions. The misery of these poor wretches is said to be nearly indescribable; they work all day for the merest pittance, and quiet their hunger with a few hard cakes baked on stones.

The export trade, on the contrary, is nearly all in the hands of native merchants, who, as land owners and leasers, and money lenders, have the poor fellahs so tightly in their hands that they get but little from their unwilling labors. The fellah seldom owns any land, or if he does he has not often the money wherewith to obtain cattle and seed. He either borrows money, or the cattle and seed are provided for him by the dealer, who in turn demands so much of the crop that the fellah gets scarcely enough for his sternest wants. In this way he seldom succeeds in saving any thing, or, if he does, the Turkish tax-gatherers, to whom the customs are generally farmed out, strip him to his back.

Of the articles of export, olive oil, tilseed for the manufacture of croton oil, and the olive-oil soap are the principal. Olive oil is to-day the leading production of Palestine. The olive-tree is found every-where, and many new plantations are now being started. In the plains is the olive, as on most of the mountains around the villages; it is found on Carmel and around Bethlehem and Jerusalem. The monks of the cloisters are setting out new plantations. The Greek monastery in Jerusalem some time ago bought a waste piece of land for $4,000, and covered it with young olive-trees; and now, in twenty years, they ask over $100,000 for it. This fact shows the capacity of the country if cultivated with energy and thrift.

Palestine is pre-eminently the land of the grape, in certain sections; but as the Moslem drinks no wine, he does not know how to make it, and, therefore, this industry has brought him nothing. But the grape is a very important article of food in the summer months, and what they do not eat they dry for raisins, or use in the manufacture of an excellent grape honey. The ancient grape city of Hebron is still surrounded to great distances with vineyards, which make it one of the prettiest places in Palestine. It is natural that the Germans should utilize the grape for the production of wine, after the manner of their home-life, and they are doing this in the neighborhood of Jaffa,

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and especially at their settlement in the plains of Sharon, not far from Jaffa. They raised enough last season for their own use, but some of them are now beginning to acknowledge that in this Oriental land a pint of milk is of more value than a pint of wine—which is a great concession for a German to make—and they are seriously discussing the question whether they will not gain more from their cows than from their wine-presses. It is doubtful whether they will ever make a good wine for export, although they are trying to do so.

One drawback to their success is an occasional bad harvest in certain regions. This has just been the case around the Bay of Acre, by which the colony at Haifa has severely suffered. On the contrary, the colony at Sharon had a very good year for wheat and barley. The Germans are teaching the natives the value of manuring the land, which they entirely neglect. Land from which the Arabian peasants had ceased to get any thing is now bearing such fine crops as to be the admiration of the surrounding country. Last year the olive crop was a partial failure. This was a calamity, for olives are one of the principal articles of food of the fellahs. They are soaked in salt water and eaten with bread. Another curse of Palestine is the cattle pest. Owing to the carelessness of the government in regard to repressive measures, the disease rages over all the land, so that at certain periods there are no cattle for the agricultural work or for slaughter; mutton is, therefore, the principal article of animal food; but fowls are plenty, and the forests furnish the wild boar. The Germans are meeting these troubles like intelligent agriculturists, and are making vigorous efforts to counteract the difficulties which they meet; and their success in proving that this Promised Land may again become one of milk and honey with intelligent care and treatment, is calling the attention of local authorities to their labors. The English embassador, Layard, on his recent visit to Palestine, honored them with a call, inspected their labors and their settlements, broke bread with them, and wished them great success. Some of the most intelligent American teachers and missionaries that have visited them—men, for instance, like Drs. Vandyke and Long—have said very kind and encouraging words to them, and bid them go on in spite of the many discouragements. In short, we think it

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fair to say that it is the general impression of those who study the case, that if Palestine is ever to be regenerated these are the men to do it.

In the theoretical study of Palestine and its scientific exploration the German *savants* have been active for many years. It was our rare opportunity years ago to hear that distinguished German professor at the University of Berlin, Carl Ritter, discourse on the Physical Geography of Palestine, after a scientific visit thither. He filled his hearers with a measure of his own enthusiasm, which has borne fruits, and since then the German mind has been closely engaged with the subject of Palestinean exploration, in its scientific aspects. Tobler has gained the reputation of being among the most learned of the Palestine explorers, and other noble names are arranged by his side, which, however, are but little known outside of Germany. The reason of this may be partially found in the fact that nearly all these men were poor, and most of them did what they did with their own scanty means, which were often too limited to secure a worthy publication of the results of their labors. Thus in the practical exploration of Palestine the Germans were not abreast of other nations, and their scientists have been obliged to stand in the background as mute observers of the work, or to be satisfied to point to harvests for others to garner. But they have watched the expeditions of the French, English, and Americans with careful eyes, and are well aware of the labors of Robinson, Van de Velde, Lynch, Saulcy, and a host of others. They have looked with admiration at the exploration funds that have been raised in other nations, and have enjoyed, without jealousy, their valuable results in the various works lately published on the exploration of Palestine.

In view of these results there has arisen in Germany a desire to unite all their forces for the exploration of Palestine. Their own national regeneration and the high respect that the German consulates now enjoy in Oriental lands give them much reason to hope that the time has arrived when they, too, can join the bands that are intent on investigating and restoring the land. About three years ago some German professors in Basle and Tübingen conceived the idea of establishing also a society for the exploration of Palestine. They constituted themselves as an executive committee provisionally,

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and succeeded in obtaining a score or so of others who were willing to join them; among these latter, some persons of high position in the government, such as the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg and the famous soldier Von Moltke. They met at Wiesbaden, and formed an association, with a business committee, consisting of Kersten of Berlin and Guthe of Leipsic. This committee are now publishing, in Leipsic, a periodical devoted to the interests of Palestine, which is sent to the two hundred and fifty members of the association, who pay yearly only the small sum of two dollars and fifty cents as membership fees, which includes also the price of the periodical. The object of the association is the publication of all new and interesting knowledge gained in the matter of exploration, and the founding of a fund for self-labor of their own members. The Emperor of Germany and the Crown Prince, as well as the King of Würtemberg, are among the patrons, and the Emperor of Austria has also subscribed liberally to the funds of the society. Among the scholars who take a special interest in it are such men as Delitzsch and Ebers, in Leipsic, and Kiepert, in Berlin. All the German consuls in the Holy Land are also members.

The first volume of the proceedings has been issued, consisting of four numbers, and it is very rich with the contributions of its members. Nearly every field of labor in the exploration is well represented by text and engravings. We need scarcely say that the maps are very fine, as Kiepert has had them in charge. One of the members of the society lives in Jerusalem, and he is regarded as the most critical judge of all its topographical relations. He is the architectural member of the Turkish authorities there, and in all investigations that are made he has the best opportunity for information. The Germans hope for great success through this undertaking, and are desirous of extending its patronage beyond the limits of their country. They have thus fairly entered the arena of learned rivalry as well as that of practical regeneration. We are confident that their efforts in both spheres will be attended with success. The very foundation of these industrial and agricultural colonies on their part gives them a point of support that is very desirable in the work of regenerating this impoverished and desolate land, though in itself so rich and promising. And he who looks with reverence and love to the

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land where our Saviour mingled with men and imparted to them his divine teachings, must gather new hope for its restoration to civilization and humanity, knowing the sturdy efforts that are now being made by men of pious enthusiasm and Christian zeal to introduce a better state of things. They are teaching by example as well as precept, and they have come to conquer or perish in the attempt. They are of the stuff of which martyrs are made, and if any can succeed in this much-needed work, they are these men.

Art. IV.—ECUMENICAL METHODISM.

Methodism, in an organic condition, is in America—in the United States, in Canada, and in Mexico; in Europe—in the British Isles and on the Continent; in Africa; in Asia—in the great empires of India, China, and Japan; and in Australasia, where it has a General Conference with four Annual Conferences. Methodism has more than one hundred thousand itinerant and local ministers, nearly five millions of lay members, and a community filling its congregations and subject to its influence of not less than twenty, and possibly reaching twenty-five, millions. Methodism speaks almost every language, has its adherents of every complexion, gathers its trophies in all lands, and unfurls its conquering banner beneath every sky. It publishes books, newspapers, and tracts, by the million, in the different tongues spoken or read by its myriad converts. It is found, with its peculiar institutions and distinctive usages, on every continent and in almost every quarter of the globe.

In all its history Methodism has been a doctrinal unity. It has had no divisions or secessions because of dogmas. The avowed object of all its branches has been the maintenance of the spiritual life, the spread of scriptural holiness, and the conversion of sinners. Whoever has known Methodism in any of its forms would at once recognize it in whatever form it exists. It is English, American, African, Asiatic, Australasian; Episcopal and non-Episcopal, cultured and uncultured; finding its adherents in the highest and in the lowest classes of society; worshiping in splendid churches, in the rudest structures, and

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in the open fields; but always and every-where it has the same distinctive features.

It is remarkable that Methodism, despite its doctrinal unity, oneness of purpose, substantial harmony of usages and common spiritual life, should, nevertheless, be broken into more than a score of independent fragments. It is not our purpose to trace the history of these various organizations. Some of them have resulted from political convulsions, some have come in the order of national growth and independency, and some from an avowed purpose to maintain primitive Methodism in its purity and power. Not one of them has been a departure, in purpose or fact, from the essential doctrines and usages of Methodism. It is, doubtless, true that some of these bodies have no sufficient reason for a separate existence, and that a waste of means and energies has resulted, in some instances, from the presence, in the same locality, of different and rival Methodist organizations.

The special need of Methodism, however, is not, in our judgment, an organic union, or the reduction of these fragmentary bodies into two or three, or a half dozen, or even a half score, great continental communions. What is required, as a condition of the largest Methodistic success, is not consolidation, but confederation. We need a holy league and covenant, in spirit if not in letter, binding all the branches of the one Methodist family together, to do the work and fulfill the mission assigned us by the great Head of the Church. We need to feel more deeply that we are one people, and "a band of brothers everywhere." We need some practical system of co-operation, especially in our mission fields. We need the strength and encouragement which come from the assurance that every part of the grand movement is in harmony with every other part, and that all are working together from a common impulse, and to secure a common triumph. We need to give such visible expression to our invisible unity, "that the world may believe" that we have a common spiritual life, and that we are one with Christ as he is one with the Father.

It was, doubtless, because of convictions such as these that the General Conference of 1876 resolved in favor of an Ecumenical Conference of Methodism; declared its judgment that such a Conference would tend in many ways to a closer alliance,

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a warmer fraternity, and a fuller co-operation among the various Methodist organizations for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom in all parts of the earth; ordered the appointment of a committee to take the whole subject into consideration, to correspond with different Methodist bodies, and to endeavor to arrange for such Ecumenical Conference; and empowered said committee to speak on this subject, for and in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. The committee, selected by the Bishops, and constituted as the General Conference had directed, of two Bishops, four other ministers, and three laymen, was as follows:

Bishops.—Rev. Matthew Simpson, D.D., LL.D., of Philadelphia, Pa.; and Rev. Edward R. Ames, D.D., LL.D., of Baltimore, Md.

Other ministers.—Rev. Augustus C. George, D.D., of Central New York Conference; Rev. Lorenzo D. Barrows, D.D., of New Hampshire Conference; Rev. Park S. Donelson, D.D., of Central Ohio Conference; and Rev. Isaac N. Baird, D.D., of Pittsburgh Conference.

Laymen.— Hon. J. W. Marshall, of Washington, District of Columbia; Hon. James Harlan, of Mount Pleasant, Iowa; and Francis H. Root, Esq., of Buffalo, New York.

Rev. Bishop Edward R. Ames, D.D., LL.D., and Rev. Lorenzo D. Barrows, D.D., having deceased, the Board of Bishops appointed in their places Rev. Bishop Jesse T. Peck, D.D., LL.D., and Rev. James Pike, D.D.

It appears, from the report of this Committee, submitted to the recent General Conference, that the proposed Ecumenical Council has received the approval of the Methodist Protestant Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the American Wesleyan Church, the Evangelical Association, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church—all of the United States; the Methodist Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, and the British Wesleyan Conference of England. In November, 1879, the Committee published a card in all the papers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and requested its publication in all the Methodist journals of the world, reciting in brief the above-named facts, and concluding as follows:

It seems now to be necessary that there should be a joint meeting of these committees, or of their chairmen, or of some one or

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more persons authorized to act in their stead, to prepare a call for such Ecumenical Conference, determining the time and place of meeting, suggesting a basis of representation, and providing for essential preliminary details. We would, therefore, respectfully propose that such joint meeting be held in the city of Cincinnati, May 6, 1880; and we express our earnest desire that it may be attended, not only by the representatives of the several Methodist bodies which have taken action in favor of an Ecumenical Conference, but also, as far as practicable, by authorized representatives of all other Methodist organizations in every part of the world. We would, furthermore, call on all Christians, and especially on all Methodists, to offer, continually, fervent prayers to Almighty God, that he may be pleased to further this godly design with his blessing, so that it may redound to his glory, and may result in a large increase of the spirituality, unity, and prosperity of his Church, and the more speedy conversion of the world to our Lord Jesus Christ.

In accordance with this summons, delegates assembled in St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati, representing the British Wesleyan Conference, the Irish Methodist Conference, the Methodist Church of Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Protestant Church, the Free Methodist Church, the American Wesleyan Church, and the Independent Methodist Church. Rev. William Arthur, A.M., of England, presided over this holy convocation, and diffused through it much of his sweet, Christian spirit. The convention was fraternal, devout, earnest, harmonious, and unanimous in its conclusions. The final result reached, after a number of meetings, the freest and fullest consultation, and frequent seasons of fervent and united prayer in which the Holy Spirit was manifestly present, was expressed in a "call" for a Methodist Ecumenical Conference, to be composed of four hundred members, and to meet in City Road Chapel, London, if found practicable, in August, 1881. This "call," which provides all the necessary machinery for carrying out its great purpose, was signed by every person composing the Conference, or joint committee meeting. It has attached to it the names of William Arthur and F. W. Macdonald, of England; of Wallace M'Mullen, of Ireland; of Bishops Simpson and Peck, of the Methodist Episcopal Church; of Bishops Doggett and M'Tyeire, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and of others, both clerical and lay, scarcely

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less distinguished and honored. This "call" for a Methodist Ecumenical Council concludes as follows:

In conclusion, we desire to express our devout thanksgiving to the God and Father of all our mercies for the favor which he has been pleased thus far to show to this truly catholic movement, and especially for the spirit of forbearance, charity, and brotherly love which has prevailed in all our councils. We fervently pray that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon our work and upon his people, and eminently upon every branch of the great Methodist family; and that this proposed Methodist Ecumenical Conference may be brought to a glorious consummation, and may be made fruitful of blessings to all mankind.

That there has been, in the last quadrennium, a great growth in the Church of the Ecumenical idea, is evident from a number of facts. In the General Conference of 1876 the proposition for a Methodist Ecumenical Council was referred to the "Committee on the State of the Church," where it was received with doubt, questionings, and suspicion. When amended "as to its title and phraseology," the word "Council" being struck out and the word "Conference" inserted, and reported favorably by the Committee, "with the recommendation that it be adopted," its provisions met with earnest opposition on the floor of the Conference; and it only prevailed, through the strenuous exertions of its original mover, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-seven to seventy-four. Some of the ablest men in the Church, who were recognized leaders in the Conference, were included in the negative vote.

There was quite a different state of things in the General Conference of 1880. The work of the Committee having this matter in hand, and the discussions of the Press, had not been wholly unfruitful. The hearty, favorable responses of other Methodist bodies had produced their natural results. Fraternity was in the air, and "syllables and soundings" came from every quarter in the direction of a Methodist Council. Every body seemed to discern that "Ecumenical" was not now the symbol of Roman power or of Papal pretension. The word οικουμενη *ecumenical*, the whole human race, the habitable world, is, indeed, a word having the sanction of frequent New Testament use. To preach the gospel of the kingdom, ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, *in the whole habitable world*, (Matt. xxiv, 14,) to spread scriptural holiness throughout all lands, to carry the glad tidings to

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every house and to every soul, is the precise genius and mission of Methodism. "The world is my parish," said Mr. Wesley, and Ecumenical Methodism is a recognition of the accepted truth. The one grand, world-wide revival movement which, like the ocean, has sent its waves to all shores, must of necessity have a tidal re-flow toward some common center.

The Bishops, in their quadrennial Address, referred to the steps taken to secure a Methodist Ecumenical Conference, and added: "The measure thus inaugurated, it is hoped, will be consummated, and will add to the strength, influence, and unity of the Methodist family of Churches." The Address of the British Wesleyan Conference, signed, on behalf and by order of that body, by Benjamin M. Gregory, President, and Marmaduke Clark Osborne, Secretary, closed with these memorable words:

> The proposals which we have received from your Committee that an Ecumenical Conference of the various Methodist bodies in Great Britain, the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and other countries, be held for the purpose of considering the position and work of the people called Methodists, have been favorably reported upon by the Committee appointed to consider them, and communications are now proceeding which will, we trust, issue in the realization of this important project. Much wisdom will be needed to mature and guide so great an undertaking.
>
> In conclusion, dear brethren, we renew to you the sincerest assurances of our Christian esteem and affection. We rejoice in every indication of growing unity in the universal Church of Christ, but with the most abundant welcome do we hail any movement that tends to bring closer together the kindred Churches that had their origin in the large-hearted charity and world-embracing zeal of John Wesley. The substantial unity of Methodism the world over is a providential fact of the profoundest significance.
>
> We would cherish whatever promotes the recognized oneness of all the Methodist Churches; not in visible organic union—that need not be—but in fraternal alliance and the bonds of common service and sympathy. Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied unto you from God our Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord!

In the fraternal message of the Irish Methodist Church, this paragraph occurs:

> We heard with great satisfaction of the suggestions for the holding of an Ecumenical Methodist Conference, which you have submitted to the consideration of the British Conference. We have no doubt that the holding of such a Conference, under suit-

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able conditions, would "tend in many ways to a closer alliance," a warmer fraternity, and a fuller co-operation among the various branches of the great Methodist family. We hope to hear, in due time, that any practical difficulties which may seem to lie in the way of carrying out your proposals have been overcome, and that the Conference will be held. We shall be glad to co-operate in any way in our power.

Rev. William Arthur, A.M., the fraternal delegate of the British Wesleyan Conference, in his stirring and eloquent address, said:

Allusion has been made to the proposal that has emanated from you for an ecumenical gathering of Methodists from all the world. We should like that gathering to take place where the Methodist Society originated. We should like it to take place at City Road, where John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and Joseph Benson preached, where the first Conferences were held, and where the cradle of Methodism will always be spoken of, and that with interest more profound as time advances. I speak now not merely of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but for a moment I think of all the other branches scattered throughout the world. Whatever name they may have adopted for themselves, they had the Methodist origin; and I like the name; and we should link them all together, and see if by the blessing of God we cannot, in such a meeting, so take counsel one with another, that we shall, every man, go away, one to India, one to Italy, and one to the Caffirs of the Cape, one to the negroes of Monrovia, and another to Hudson's Bay, and to California, and Japan, and China, to Rome, and so on right around the world, telling our people every-where we may go that, being many, we are one! I trust that one we shall remain, and become more and more conscious of our oneness.

Rev. A. G. Haygood, D.D., fraternal messenger from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in his address to the General Conference, dwelt largely on this subject, and among other things, said:

Before closing this address I may add that our people have looked forward to this General Conference with deep interest, not only because it is in itself a most important and influential assemblage of Christian men, met to consider of affairs vital to the Church, but chiefly because, here and now, the first practical steps are to be taken for bringing about an Ecumenical Conference of universal Methodism.

It is a grand conception, Mr. President, that honors the heart and mind that first suggested it. It will honor, also, the hearts and minds of those who, under God, may so guide the development of this great idea as to realize the large possibilities that this scheme involves.

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Let this greater Conference be held. Let representatives—the wisest and holiest of them all—be present from every Methodist family in the world. And this Conference, my brethren, will be held. So great a thought as this, of a Pan-Methodist Conference, that may confer, in brotherly love and confidence, in the spirit of mutual helpfulness, concerning all the interests of Methodism, and that, so conferring, must help forward all these interests—a thought so great as this, with so much wisdom and faith and Christian love in it, was not born to die.

Such a Conference might, as it seems to me, bring to each one of our Methodisms the momentum of the whole body; might impart to each the larger views and higher inspiration of the whole confederation, but would, at the same time, preserve intact the autonomy of each, thus leaving each one of the Methodist household to fulfill, without hinderance, its providential mission to the world.

We trust that this General Conference will devise and accomplish many wise and excellent things for the Church, that it will be long remembered for the blessings that followed it; but will not its relations to Ecumenical Methodism give it its chief historic glory and importance? I cannot doubt that in every country where Methodism has a foothold, there are ascending prayers for the divine blessing upon the deliberations to be had in this city, preliminary to the assembling of a Pan-Methodist Conference that will consider of the affairs of universal Methodism, and of the greater affairs of our common Christianity.

When that Conference meets, when the English Methodisms, Irish Methodism, the Methodisms of the Canadas, of Australasia, India, China, Europe, and the many Methodisms of our great Union —Episcopal and non-Episcopal, Caucasian and African—when all these brothers meet together to advise, to bless, and to help each other, then will the ascended fathers say, with deeper emphasis and larger meaning than the words ever bore before, "What hath God wrought!" . . . Pardon me, Mr. President and brethren, for alluding once more to the mission work of our Churches. If any thing worthy is to come out of our fraternity and our Ecumenical Conferences, surely one result will be a vast increase of our faith and zeal and enterprise in the work of converting the many millions of the heathen world. Vain is our boast of more than four millions of Methodists, if, when we are drawn together in the bonds of Christian brotherhood, we do not realize the greatness both of our opportunity and responsibility.

Rev. Edward B. Ryckman, D.D., fraternal delegate from the Methodist Church of Canada, said:

This Ecumenical Conference is the noblest attempt ever yet made to give visible expression of our Methodistic unity, and it will arrest the attention, attract the sympathy, and call forth the prayers, of thousands upon thousands of Methodists who, although

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separated by wide distances, some of them by intervening oceans, are yet one in doctrine, one in spirit, one in the love of a common work. May our geographical separation be the most serious that shall ever divide us! The result of such a Conference must be good. Whether the subjects of discussion be general, such as the right way of maintaining the sanctity of the Sabbath, or disseminating a healthful Christian literature, or promoting revivals of religion, or training the young to an early consecration to God and his service in every department of Christian work, or, if the subjects should be more particular, a mutual agreement as to the partition of the mission field so as to take possession of the world for Christ in the most systematic and expeditious manner possible, the possibility of a Pan-Methodist hymn book, the practicability of a confederation of all the Methodist bodies under the shining sun of heaven on a well-understood fraternal basis, we shall have the prayers of all good men and the blessings of the Head of the Church.

The elaborate report of the Ecumenical Conference Committee was ordered printed in the "Daily Christian Advocate," and also in the Journal of the General Conference. The report of the Joint Committee, summoning an Ecumenical Council, was accorded a similar honor. The General Conference also adopted resolutions, providing for the appointment of two members of the Executive Committee, to perfect arrangements for the Council, and authorizing the Bishops of the Church to select the delegates to the Ecumenical Conference. Nothing more is needed in the way of legislation, or necessary pre-arrangement, to bring this grand undertaking to a happy consummation.

Not the least notable of the public services held during the session of the General Conference were those arranged and carried out by the Ecumenical Committee. In accordance with the request of the Committee, Rev. William Arthur preached in St. Paul's Church, May 9, from the words, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all," discussing Christian unity as resting on two things; first, a common nature, and, secondly, a common origin. Said Mr. Arthur:

> Let all Methodists love one another and promote harmony, which will, in time, bring unity. The world has need of our light. Let the Bishops of the South strive with the Bishops of the North, and the laymen of each section strive with each other, striving *together*, and not against each other. God send us the day of unity! God grant us this day an antepast of this union,

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and of the time when all the world shall be compelled to say that Christians love one another!

The Monday night following there was a meeting of great interest, devoted to prayer, brief addresses, and sacred songs. Bishop Simpson presided, assisted by Rev. William Arthur, Bishop D. S. Doggett, Rev. Wallace M'Mullen, and Rev. Dr. E. B. Ryckman. Remarks were made by Rev. E. H. Dewart, of the Methodist Church of Canada; Rev. F. W. Macdonald, of the British Wesleyan Conference; Rev. W. Nast, D.D., "the father of German Methodism;" Rev. B. Lane, A.M., of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada; Rev. J. G. Mitchell, D.D., of the African Methodist Episcopal Church; J. H. Carlisle, LL.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Hon. Charles J. Baker, of the Independent Methodist Church; Rev. N. Wardner, of the American Wesleyan Church; Babu Ram Chandra Bose, lay delegate from North India to the General Conference; and by Dr. J. B. M'Ferrin, Bishop Doggett, and Rev. William Arthur. We quote one paragraph from Mr. Arthur, which is decidedly ecumenical in its strain. He said:

> I thank God for what I have seen to-night; I thank God that we have had here different colors and accents and nationalities. I thank God for the German accent; I thank God for the black complexion; I thank God for the Hindu complexion. Methodism was born with the word upon its lips, "The world is my parish." That was its birth-cry. There is a vast deal of its parish into which it has never set foot. We sometimes say that Methodism is to be found in all the world. Aye, aye, found in all the world the same as gas lamps are to be found in all America. They are here and there, but there is many an acre, many a mountain, and many a valley, where there is no gas lamp. We have only begun; but, thank God, we are a band of brothers every-where. We may be Anglo-Saxons, Hindus, Negroes, Caffirs, Malays and New Zealanders, and yet we are a common brotherhood.

This meeting, attended by the representative men of so many different Methodist bodies, will, doubtless, be productive of wide-spread and glorious results.

Such a movement as this proposed Methodist Ecumenical Conference will have to be guarded against many perils. It may degenerate into a mutual admiration society. It may waste itself in gush and glorification of Methodism. It may

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fall into the hands of ambitious men, seeking chiefly for distinction. It may prove to be more social than devout. Methodists need to remember that in holding this Council they are placing themselves and their Church in the focus of the world's observation. Methodism will be on exhibition, and will be studied, scanned, and criticised as never before in its history. There is no place in such a Council for platitudes, and no demand for oratory. There is some practical, earnest work to be done which will benefit the Church and hasten the glad hour of the world's redemption. This object, this chiefly, this only, now demands the brain and heart of Methodism. Mr. Gladstone, in his short speech after his great Mid-Lothian victory, said:

> What we have now to show, gentlemen, is that we can use the strength which we have shown ourselves to possess, and that we can turn the victory we may be said to have obtained both here and elsewhere to good account for the common and universal benefit of our country.

So, in this Ecumenical Council, Methodism, now conceded to have strength and ability to achieve noted triumphs, must demonstrate to the world that she can use her resources wisely, that she can turn her victories to good account, and that she has learned how to employ her wealth, culture, influence, piety, organic life, and practical expedients, for the benefit of mankind. Great responsibility rests on those who have the authority to appoint the delegates to this Conference, and even greater, perhaps, on the general Executive Committee, which must make a programme of exercises, indicate the topics to be considered, and select the men who are to present them to the Council.

Methodism is not only world-wide in extent, but many-sided in development and Christian work. To carry religion into all the affairs of life and to make every secular thing sacred, has been its fundamental purpose. Methodism, therefore, has vital relations to the home, to the school, to citizen-duties, to reforms, and to all missionary modes. Methodism has peculiar means of evangelization, such as camp-meetings, an itinerant ministry, and the employment of the lay element in the Church for the performance of certain ministerial and pastoral work. How far these may need to be modified or adjusted, so as to secure the greatest efficiency, are legitimate questions for an

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Ecumenical Conference. How Methodist unity may be maintained, increased, and made manifest to the world, is an inquiry of great importance. It is possible that a common psalmody, a common liturgy and order of worship, co-operation in missionary work, the perpetuation of a general executive committee, a pastoral address to the Methodism of the world, and Ecumenical Conferences at stated periods, are among the things contributing to that end which may be realized. The safety of small craft in a turbulent sea will not, perhaps, be increased by having them lashed together; but they ought to be within hailing distance of each other, and to have a well-understood system of signs and signals, to which each and all will be ready to respond. Methodism cannot afford to have her smallest ship sink, while there are abundant resources in the whole squadron to bring every galley which floats her flag at its mast-head safely into the harbor. We heartily concur in the conclusion, reached by the Committee of Correspondence, that a Methodist Ecumenical Conference, while not imperiling the autonomy of any society, "would produce a salutary visible unity; would bring the stimulation and strength of a great growing body to each of the several parts; would secure a wiser and less wasteful expenditure of the resources and energies of the Church; would make the practical experience of each body the property of all; would demonstrate the adaptation of Methodism to every demand of Christ's cause in every part of the earth; would combine the strength and influence of all Wesleyan organizations against the giant sins and wrongs of the age; and would impart new impulses of spiritual life to Christendom and the world."

This ultimate Protestant unity—the practical co-operation of all who are in Jesus Christ by faith—must be kept constantly in view as the great object to be realized. This is the convincing argument for the Messiahship of Jesus. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." To show that love to the world is the business of Christendom. When it does this, thoroughly and effectually, the world will speedily be saved. "Great as the Presbyterian Church may be," said Professor Patton, in his sermon before the General Assembly, "in that for which she is distinguished, she is greater still in that which she shares in common with the Christian

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world." So also of Methodism. Great as this movement is, in its peculiar usages and distinctive features, and worthy as it is when thus considered of the world's study, it is greater still as the conservation of the common orthodoxy of Christendom, as a revival of that spiritual life which is possessed, to a greater or less degree, by all bodies of Christians, and as an aggressive agency against that Antichrist, in whatever form revealed, which is the deadly antagonist of the whole Church of God.

We shall only discover the true and wide significance of such convocations as the Pan-Anglican Convention, in Lambeth; the Pan-Presbyterian Convention, in Edinburgh and in Philadelphia; and the Methodist Ecumenical Conference, in City Road Chapel, London; when we see that the ultimate consummation must be a confederation of Churches, a practical union of the several tribes of our Israel in one godly commonwealth, a spiritual and powerful republic, which shall demonstrate to the world that the invisible and divine oneness of all who are in Christ, of whatever denominational name, is more real, effective, and available for the maintenance and extension of the truth of God and the victory of the cross in all lands, than any enforced uniformity in doctrine or discipline, or any array of ecclesiastical machinery with a pretended infallible head. When Anglican Episcopal Convention, Presbyterian Pan-Council, Methodist Ecumenical Conference, world-wide Baptist Association, and other bodies of similar import, can speak in the name and with the authority of the great Churches which they represent, there will soon come to be, not only a growing feeling of fraternity, but also more practical exhibitions of the common brotherhood of worship, work, and warfare for the common object of the world's evangelization. In a word, our children will see, if we do not, a *Parliament of Protestantism*, aiming not at uniformity, but rejoicing in spiritual unity, helping the coming, and heralding the advent of the millennial glory.

It is a mistake to suppose that this Protestant unity will be at the expense or sacrifice of denominational integrity. The several bodies of Christians will still exult in all that is grand and heroic in their history, will still cling to their respective confessions of faith, and will still maintain their own peculiar forms and usages; but every one will admit every other one's

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right to be, and every one will discover that no single Church organization has all the excellencies, or has found out all the best appliances, for doing the Lord's work. The same spirit will prevail which characterized that memorable Church Council of which we have an account in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that only council which had the right to say, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," and uniformity will not be exacted, and no unnecessary burdens will be imposed; but liberty will be guaranteed, and diligence in doing the work of the Lord will be enjoined. "The multitude of them" will not be of one name or of one belief, but they will be "of one heart and of one soul;" and the more persistently they speak the same thing, the less will there be of divisions, σχισματα, among them, and the more closely and lovingly and perfectly will they be "joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." 1 Cor. i, 10. All that is needed to this glorious consummation is the catholicity of Archdeacon Hare, when he asserts, "If the body holds to the one Head, and is connected by the one faith, and is sanctified by the one baptism, it is a Church before God;" the self-sacrificing love of Calvin, expressed in the words, "I should not hesitate to cross ten seas, if by this means holy communion might prevail among the members of Christ;" and the brotherly spirit and wise, statesmanly evangelism of Wesley, revealed in his declaration, "I desire to have a league, offensive and defensive, with every soldier of Christ." An organic union, even of Churches of the same faith and order, is not the objective point of our endeavors; but that we may all discern the things in which we agree, the precious treasures which we hold in common, the one grand indivisible work which we have to accomplish, and the completeness which we realize and manifest more and more as we grow up into Christ, our living Head. With this discernment will come a Pentecostal baptism, an increased strength and fervor of religious experience, a more aggressive movement against the powers of darkness, greater spiritual successes in all lands, and a speedier inauguration of the new earth and heaven.

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Art. V.—THE GREECE OF TO-DAY.

New Greece. By Lewis Sargeant.
Finley's Greek Revolution.
The Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Problem. By Hon. Wm. E. Gladstone, M.P.

Among the nations of antiquity Greece, though not the largest of the galaxy, is the brightest and most attractive. It has been her peculiarity and boast to be a microcosm of letters and art, of refinement and eloquence. Though often eclipsed and clouded like the sun, her nationality has never been destroyed. She has buffeted with hostile peoples, overcoming and being overcome, from the earliest times, but in the midst of saddest vicissitudes her spirit and genius have survived and reappeared. To-day, after three hundred years of barbaric Turkish rule, she lifts her proud head among the powers of Europe, like the little horn in Daniel's vision, and forces recognition as a factor in the Eastern Question that cannot be eliminated or waved aside. Though denied a representation in the person of a Greek embassador by the great powers at the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, she yet compelled a concession and recommendation from that imperial body that her domain shall be enlarged to an extent corresponding nearly with her ancient territorial limits.

No intelligent tourist considers his European or Oriental trip complete until he has seen Greece, and especially Athens, its capital. Nor is this country a point of attraction to the idle and curious merely, who travel for personal gratification or in search of health. Thinkers, historians, statesmen, and Christians are looking at Greece at the present moment with absorbing interest and exhilarating hope. Mr. Gladstone, by some thought to be the greatest living statesman, has recently written an important article on Greece for the "Contemporary Review," taking the ground, as Daniel Webster did before him, that natural right and political justice require that her national independence should be conceded and guaranteed. The leading writers of England are in deep sympathy with the Hellenic cause. There is scarcely a number of the many stately "Reviews" of that country that does not contain an exhaustive discussion of some aspect of the Greek problem. And in all the diplomatic consultations it obtrudes itself. It is the "irrepressible conflict."

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Modern Greece has magnified itself into so great importance that historians have begun to make it a subject of distinct history. Greece was taken and subjugated by the Turks under the lead of Omar in 1455. It continued an integral part of the Ottoman Empire until the treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, when she rose in heroic desperation and threw off the despotic yoke, and became again free by the aid of Great Britain. Finley gives a full account of this struggle in his work entitled "Finley's History of the Greek Revolution." More recently another book has appeared, under the title "New Greece."

This author deals especially with resuscitated Greece. It is a picture of the late progress, the present prosperous condition and future prospects, of the Hellenic people. Thus Greece, like a magnet, is drawing to herself the thought and press of Europe. We may judge of the character of a nation by the literature which it inspires and of which it makes itself the subject. Nobody writes a history of Spain or Turkey now, unless it be a recital of horrors or misrule, to show why neither should exist longer.

No full-orbed picture can be given of Greece except from personal observation. We approached it from the north and west on a vessel of the Peninsular and Oriental Line of English steamers that ply between Venice and Egypt. Starting from Venice, we steamed down the Adriatic into the Mediterranean direct for Alexandria. Taking this course, our track lay in a curve around an important part of Greece, and necessitated our skirting the coast for a day and a half. Late in the evening of our third day out, gray barren hills capped with snow made their appearance to the left. It was the island of Corfu, where the English made their governmental head-quarters from 1815 to 1864, when, under the administration of Mr. Gladstone, England surrendered this, with six other islands, to Greece.

Sailing onward, another island comes in sight, of similar configuration and general aspect. It is Cephalonia. And still another. It is Zante. And what are all these craggy peaks in the ocean, denuded of vegetation and tipped with snow? They are three of the seven famous Ionian islands, which gave one of the three dialects to the classic Greek tongue, and contributed much in the days of their greatest importance and prosperity to the glory of Athens and of ancient Greece, and by competition

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so excited the jealousy of Corinth as to become one of the causes of the Peloponnesian war. The next morning we found ourselves gliding in full view of a long range of mountains still wearing the turban of snow on their brow, diversified by ravines and small towns hanging on the hill-sides, or nestling down in the valleys, or hugging the sea, so nearly on a level with the water as to be scarcely visible. This is the mainland of Greece, now called the Morea, anciently styled the Peloponnesus. It is a peninsula connected with the continent by an isthmus six miles wide, on which the ancient city of Corinth was located, and where, three miles distant, on the coast of the Gulf of Corinth, is found the miserable town of New Corinth, where we spent the Sabbath in coming from Kalamaki.

Since the earthquake of 1858 nothing remains of the voluptuous city of ancient Corinth, except two dilapidated and broken columns. The imposing mountain peak called Acro-Corinthus, a part of the original site of the city, and which overlooked the center of the city proper, still stands, in spite of wars and earthquakes. On the rear-side it slopes to the sea-level, and is ascended by a winding carriage-way. This grand and virgin summit of nature is cursed with the historic memory that it was the seat of legalized licentiousness, and the spot where a thousand corrupted women were supported by the Government. It stands in frowning silence, and looks down upon the devastation below, seeming to say, "The wages of sin is death."

This our first view of Greece at the point of junction between the Adriatic and the Mediterranean was unfavorable. It impressed us as broken, rocky, barren, without trees or vegetation of any kind, and yet we were told the soil was productive under the hand of cultivation. From this we saw no more of Greece until we reached the classic isles from Smyrna on the east.

We weighed anchor from Smyrna at five o'clock in the evening, and the next day at one P.M. we touched at Syra. Syra is the chief sea-port town of Greece. At this point all the large ships stop, which run in the trade of Constantinople and the ports of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. They do not go up the Saronic bay to Athens, but take on and discharge their Grecian freight at this place. The town of Syra is built on a steep hill-side stretching up from the water's edge to a dizzy height. A large proportion of the houses are new and white,

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which gives the place a gay and showy appearance, especially in the moonlight. This results from the fact that the atmosphere of Greece is not murky, like that of England and Germany, but clear and transparent, like that of Syria and Egypt. This imparts to the Grecian sky that high and spacious aspect and deep-blue tinge described by Byron:

> "Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild,
> Sweet are thy groves and verdant are thy fields,
> Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smiled,
> And still his honeyed wealth Hymethus yields;
> There the blithe bee his fragrant fortress builds,
> The free-born wanderer of the mountain air;
> Apollo still thy long, long summer gilds,
> Still in his beams Mendeli's marbles glare;
> Art, Glory, Freedom fail, but Nature still is fair."

All this we felt to be true as we stood on the summit of towering Lycabettus and looked across the plains of Attica.

After spending a day and night at Syra we transshipped and sailed direct for Athens. Ten hours brought us to Pireus, a thriving town at the head of the Saronic bay. Athens is inland six miles from this place, and reached by turnpike or railway. We chose a carriage, and, riding rapidly over a broad, smooth road, found ourselves on classic ground, domiciled in the good "*Hotel de Strangers*," and surrounded by a brilliant coterie representing many nations, who had come like ourselves to visit this city of greatest renown in the kingdom of letters and art. We had come to see the seat and monumental ruins of a nation that had achieved greater success in thought, literature, architecture, and prowess, than any other people on the globe outside Bible lands.

But we can give only the briefest synopsis of her old enchanting annals. Authentic history of Greece dates back to the first Olympiad, 776 years before Christ. All accounts previous fade into myth and legend. Indeed, for two hundred years after that period much of Grecian history is founded in conjecture and mixed with fable. Homer is supposed to have lived 800 years B.C. But this is not certain; a cloud of obscurity has ever hung over his nativity. Herodotus and Aristotle place his birth at two different periods, separated by the enormous gap of two hundred years, while some ruthless rummaging and iconoclastic German critics have denied his existence alto-

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gether. It is only when we come down to the days of Solon, Darius, Xerxes, and other contemporaneous celebrities, that we find ourselves reading well-accredited history. If the authority of the Pentateuch were so in doubt we might well tremble.

The annals of Greece may be divided into four epochs. Her heroic age, her chivalrous period, her palmy days of philosophy and art, and her present state of revivification and promise. The heroic age is the misty antiquity of Grecian mythology—the time of fabled Hercules, the hero of Hellas, from which the Greeks take their true and ancient name, Hellenes. Then also existed the ideal Theseus, the hero of Attica, and Minos, the King of Crete, and the goddess Athene, the namesake of Athens. In commemoration of these legendary characters the temples were built whose ruins are the chief attraction of the city of Athens to this day.

Another remarkable era in Grecian history is the period of military exploits on sea and land, by which Greece covered herself with glory. These great achievements were three in number: 1. The defeat of the Persians on the plains of Marathon, under Miltiades. 2. The overthrow of the naval forces of the Persians at Salamis, under Themistocles. 3. The famous battle of Thermopylæ, where the brave Leonidas fought and fell with all his Spartan compatriots except one, and where they would have won a victory but for treachery in their ranks. In all ages human nature has maintained its identity. Two thousand years ago Greece had its Benedict Arnold in the perfidious person of Ephialtes, who, in hope of a great reward, went over to Xerxes and informed him how, by a circuitous route, he could flank Leonidas. But in spite of this betrayal Leonidas won a moral victory, for such was the valor of the Spartan band of three hundred against ten thousand chosen men that in their defeat and sublime death Greece was raised to the apex of military and national renown. Defeat is sometimes better than victory. It was so in this case; for the prowess thus acquired soon repulsed and warned off the Persians, and kept all barbaric invaders at bay for centuries. As a result, the arts and products of peace and civilization grew up and flourished beyond all precedent for those times. Not that wars are a blessing; intrinsically they are a curse, but in the degeneracy of nations they may be the less of two evils. The rupture of an abscess is bet-

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ter than the occult diffusion of disease causing death. It is on this principle alone that our late war can be justified. It involved the nation's life and the weal of coming generations. The same is true of the Hellenic wars; they swept away the malaria of barbarism. At this period began the halcyon days of Greece under the lead and patronage of Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles. Pericles was the great patron of the fine arts. "He sought to make Athens the seat and center of every excellence. His idea was that the nation's capital should be at once a fortress of strength, a city of palaces, an abode of refinement, a school of philosophy, and a temple of the gods." Under the administration of such conceptions, letters and art sprang as by magic into being and celebrity. But it was the illustrious Phidias and his co-artists that placed the crown of surpassing beauty upon the brow of Athens. They constructed of white marble, on the lofty summit of the Acropolis, magnificent temples—the Propylæa, the Parthenon, and the Erechtheum. These are supposed to be the most exquisite specimens of architectural art that the genius of man has ever produced. They are sublime in their ruins.

In this period also appeared the great philosophers, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Zeno, and others whose works have been the basis of classic education and the sources of philosophic study down to the present time. And it was the rationalism of these writers that prepared the way and necessitated the transition from polytheism to monotheism; and this monotheistic innovation in turn by a similar necessity became the precursor of, and finally created the demand for, the introduction of Christianity. But the norm of human history is, that following every day there is a night—not of necessity in a moral sense, but as a fatality involved in a fallen condition unaided by counteracting grace. In this state we cannot bear prosperity, for with it come luxury and vice; and sin, being a reproach to any people, weakens character and subverts governments. The sun of Greece began to decline with the long civil strifes of the Peloponnesian war, 404 B.C., and ended with the extinction of her liberties, 338 B.C. And yet, such were her vitality and momentum, that, like a dying tree with living roots, she continued to flourish for many centuries. But being finally conquered by the Macedonians under Philip, in spite of the

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heroic efforts of Demosthenes to rouse his countrymen to resistance, she remained under that rule with various vicissitudes until 86 B.C., when, under Sulla, the Roman yoke was imposed upon her. But still the artistic magnificence and literary character of Athens continued until after the middle of the first century, when Paul appeared and preached on Mars' Hill, complimenting their learning, and making it a basis of remonstrance against their superstitions and idolatries.

After this came the Goths and Ostrogoths and Turks, who swept the land with devastation, and introduced misrule, which lasted until 1827, the date at which modern Greece begins.

But we must recur to our personal observations. In coming to Athens from Pireus we enter the city on the south side, which is the business part, and looks more European than Oriental. Indeed, there is much taste and appearance of thrift in the stores and shops. As we reach the north side we come to a public square, in the center of which is a beautiful park, green with tropical plants, and smiling with flowers and ripe oranges, though in latitude thirty-eight degrees, and early in the month of March. On the south side of this square are large business houses; on the east and west the principal hotels; and on the north, crowning a gentle ascent, are the palace and grounds of the young King George. All these buildings are substantial and commodious, but not magnificent. To the right and left of the square, within the radius of one mile, are to be found the best private and public buildings, and all the chief objects of antiquarian interest. Athens nestles between two high bluffs, the Acropolis, five hundred feet above the level of the sea, and Lycabettus, still higher, and surrounded by the sunny plains of Attica, which may be made as productive and gardenesque as Scotland under the hand of cultivation and art.

Objects of Interest.

1. The Stadium, where Grecian games were practiced. This is a level arena a little way out of town, about one hundred feet in length and one hundred and fifty in breadth, lying in the shape of an ox-bow. It is encompassed on three sides by sloping ground, say fifty feet high, just steep enough to form the base of receding seats, bringing the spectators in full view of the arena.

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The Stadium looks now like a natural recess into the hill-side; but it is evident that it was originally put in shape by excavation, because in the curve of the ox-bow there is a subterranean passage which obviously served as a way of ingress and exit. But oh, the vicissitudes of time! the Stadium is now a pasture-field and play-ground. Sheep crop the grass and bleat for their young, and children sport, where once the *élite* of Athens sat in chairs of Pentelic marble, and fifty thousand people were held entranced over contingent results as the contests went on. But oh, all is reduced to the silence of death and the decay of the grave. Three hundred years before Christ, and eighteen centuries of our Lord's era, have swept over their ashes, and consigned all their memories except a few to eternal oblivion, and their souls to immutable destiny.

2. A second object of interest is the Olympium, a sumptuous temple built on ground held sacred from the earliest times, and separated from the Stadium by the River Ilissus. Hadrian's arch, which formed the magnificent gate-way into the Olympium, and fifteen of the mighty columns, sixty-four feet in height and over seven feet in diameter, still stand; two lie prone and broken on the ground, victims of the gnawing teeth of time. If Christian civilization is faithful to her interests these relics will be preserved, and, like the Pantheon, at Rome, tell the story of the transition of the people from heathenism to Christianity.

3. A third and principal object is the Acropolis. A perpendicular rock on three sides, facing the city and approached and mounted from the rear by a winding carriage-way of gradual and easy ascent. Its summit is crowned with the ruins of four or five temples, the chief of which is the Parthenon. Nothing but its foundation and pillars remain. These columns are not monoliths, but circular sections of stone placed one upon the other, and so closely jointed that the seams can scarcely be detected. I called the attention of Dr. Constantine to these joints. He said, "I will show you a seam that you cannot find at all." He pointed to a spot in the steps of the Parthenon. No junction was discernible; nothing but a place where a piece had been broken out made it possible to discover the joint after the closest inspection.

Contiguous to the Acropolis, and separated from it by a road-

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way, is Mars' Hill, where Paul preached to the court and scholars of Athens. Mars' Hill, like the Acropolis, is a precipitous rock, though not nearly so high. Three of its sides overlook the city; one slopes off to the ordinary level. The Areopagus is reached by a flight of steps cut in the solid rock, some of which are broken, others entirely gone. By these Paul and his hearers must have ascended. I stood on the rocky pulpit, and rehearsed the words of Paul. The surroundings inspire just such thoughts as Paul's discourse contains. In front, the city and the Olympium; at the right, the Parthenon; at the left, the temple of Theseus; in the rear, the rostrum of Demosthenes; Plato's Villa in the distance in one direction, the place where Socrates drank the hemlock in the other. In the midst of such associations, Paul, that intrepid man of God, who never was ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, sowed the seed which has proved itself ineradicable unto the present day.

The Parthenon is a double reminder. As a specimen of art, it tells of the highest civilization under heathenism. As a ruin, it reminds us of the utter incompatibility of culture with polytheism and idolatry. Here we have an instance. Culture and genius in the person of Phidias built the temple and gave it to Athens and the worship of the gods. But the same culture that developed the genius of Phidias and Praxiteles also brought out Xenophanes the philosopher, and other monotheistic teachers, who attacked the popular religion, and sapped it to its very foundations. Thus the cause of the splendid temple was also the cure of its false worship. It is a noteworthy fact that knowledge and refinement collide with, antagonize, and finally subvert all false religions.

Not so with the Christian religion: it thrives on the pabulum of education and literature, locks arms with culture, keeps step with science, takes a position in advance of all knowledge, and invites to a higher plane—a plane far above the proud soarings of our vainglorious scientists. The result was that when Paul came declaiming against idolatry and superstition on Mars' Hill he gained an easy victory, because the philosophers had gone before, as John the Baptist, and prepared the way. Ever since Paul spoke on Mars' Hill polytheism and idolatry have been smitten with decay—struck with death. They live, but they

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live as the roots of trees live when the trunk has been cut away. *They live to rot.*

4. The Pnyx. This is the place where Demosthenes delivered his orations against Philip of Macedon. It lies at the edge of the city, about a hundred rods back of Mars' Hill. The bema is a rock platform, say twenty feet long and half as wide, and elevated some four feet from the ground. Behind is a natural wall of rock; in front, a little circular field slightly descending from the rostrum. The acoustic properties of this place are remarkable. I stood five hundred feet from the rostrum, and heard Dr. Constantine distinctly as he spoke in a conversational tone.

Here the classic orator of greatest antiquity gave us a type of oratory for our schools and public speakers, which, perhaps, will never perish. As showing the tenacity with which the Greeks adhere to their national life and customs, the Pnyx is still used as a place for public assembly and political harangues. A meeting was recently held there to consider the "Eastern Question," in which the Greeks are more deeply interested than any other nation. Thus, after a lapse of two thousand years, speeches were made by the professors of Athens University on the spot where Demosthenes stood, rivaling in spirit and eloquence, and perhaps excelling in learning, the orations of that great orator. The air of Greece is thick with independence, and the whole of Greece impregnate with hostility to the Moslem Government and religion.

On the opposite side of the town, at the base of towering Lycabettus, we find the works of modern art—the beginning of the Hellenic resurrection. Here are the Parliament House, the University, the Academy of Fine Arts, and most of the new and fine residences. Athens is the capital and chief city more on account of its prestige and ruins than its local advantages or commercial importance. But, having a population of fifty thousand, fine scenery, and all the government buildings, it is bound to be the chief city of Greece for some time to come. But she will not retain her supremacy without competition. Indeed, the chief commercial centers to-day are Syra, Corfu, Petras, and Pireus. And when the projected ship-canal is cut through the isthmus, these latter places will have the decided advantage, for then the Corinthian gulf will be the great highway to Asia

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Minor and the Orient. And this improvement, in connection with the railway now under discussion, will give to Greece a maritime interest never before realized.

Petras and Corfu are large shipping ports, situated on the gulf of Corinth. Each has a population of twenty-five thousand. Corfu, on an island of the same name, is a lovely city, built on a high bluff, jutting out into the sea, in the midst of wild and deep ravines, which make it a romantic summer resort.

But leaving the cities, Greece has but little enchantment to the view. It is a small, rock-bound, hilly country, with thin soil, few streams, narrow valleys, and no forests except in the north. Parnassus and contiguous mountains are said to be well timbered with pines and oaks.

Greece has a prospect of enlargement. The Congress of Berlin, in 1878, advised a cession of territory by Turkey, which, if she obtains, and Crete is annexed, will nearly restore her ancient boundary. And to such restitution Providence evidently points. Indeed, the great powers of Europe could not do a wiser or more humane thing than to interject a Greek nation between Russia and Egypt, Syria and India.

England must cease to depend on Turkey to resist the encroachments of the Russian Bear. Turkey is a doomed nation, and Mohammedanism is a doomed religion. That government cannot rise to the civilization of the nineteenth century, and Mohammedanism cannot transfigure itself into Christianity. Both must perish. The Turk is every-where, like falling autumn leaves, the symbol of decay. But the Greeks represent vitality and recuperation, like the shooting vegetation and bursting flowers of spring. Like Milton's angels, "Vital in every part, they can but by annihilation die." The merchants who take the lead in all the important industries of that belt of States stretching from the Adriatic into Asia Minor are Greeks, and in numbers they form a larger factor than any other race. It has been estimated that there are four millions of Greeks now under Turkish rule in and about the Ægean Sea, two hundred and fifty thousand in Constantinople alone, ninety thousand in Cyprus, a half million in Crete, and so on.

The truth is, the Greek is as indigenous to the Ægean Sea and its outlying countries as the black man is to Africa. It is theirs

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by the blood of a thousand battles and the graves of an illustrious ancestry stretching back into prehistoric times. Byron asserts the imperishability of this people on Grecian soil with as much truth as beauty:

> "They fell devoted, but undying;
> The very gale their names seemed sighing;
> The waters murmured at their name;
> The woods were peopled with their fame;
> The silent pillar, lone and gray,
> Claimed kindred with the sacred clay;
> Their spirits wrapped the dusky mountain;
> Their memory sparkled o'er the fountain;
> The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
> Rolled mingled with their fame forever;
> Despite of every yoke she bears,
> That land is glory's still, and theirs."

Signs of National Resuscitation.

The Greeks are renewing the whole face of the country, and reviving her mineral and agricultural resources. In 1863 the value of their imports and exports were six times as great as they were thirty years before. This may appear to be slow progress in our fast age; but it must be remembered Greece had every thing to re-create, soil, roads, forests, vineyards, public works, herds, and even population; for in the war of independence the greater part of the enterprising Greeks were slain. The truth is, the heroic Greek won territorial desolation on the verge of national extinction. Indeed, it was seriously proposed by the Turkish authorities to exterminate the whole Greek population. The *mufti* was consulted, and when he decided that the Koran did not allow the slaughter of the innocent with the guilty, he was accused of misinterpreting Scripture, and banished. Immediately the island of Scio was attacked with fire and sword, and in four days beautiful Scio, the seat of modern Greek literature and civilization, was a mass of blood and ashes. Out of a population of one hundred and thirty thousand only nine hundred were left, and these were taken into the markets of Smyrna and sold into slavery and debauch worse than death. But to-day, despite all this carnage and savagery, the commerce of Greece floats on every sea. England alone pays her five millions annually for her products.

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Manufactories.

This little country is making rapid strides in manufactures. She promises to become the New England of the archipelago. Pireus, a town of eighteen thousand inhabitants, and which ten years ago did not possess a single manufactory, has at the present time more than thirty steam factories, representing as many industries. In the whole kingdom she has eight hundred and twelve factories, twenty-four thousand three hundred artisans employed in them, while the value of their annual products amounts to $28,000,000. Her maritime trade is also very considerable. The amount of this may be inferred from the number of her merchant vessels, which in 1871 was six thousand one hundred and thirty-five, an increase of five thousand one hundred and thirty-five since the close of the war of independence.

Government.

The political institutions of Greece are a fair approach to our own government. They have a king, it is true, but he is little more than a permanent president, with less power than the President of the United States. They have a Constitution, a House of Deputies, and universal suffrage. With the exception of full religious toleration, their Constitution secures every right which our Constitution makes sacred; including even the Fifteenth Amendment. In Greece men cannot be bought and sold. A purchased slave, of whatever race or religion, is free from the time he enters Greece. The royalty is only a nominal sovereignty, like that of England. I heard an English gentleman conversing at the dinner-table with a Greek, a member of the Assembly. The Englishman, referring to the limited prerogatives of the king, said, "You have a republic with a king at the head." The Greek quickly retorted, "And you have a republic with a queen at the head." The government and laws of Greece are now well administered. As a result brigandage and the Vlaques, a horde of vagrant nomadic shepherds from whom the brigands sprung, have been suppressed. The Areopagus is again the supreme court of Greece.

Education.

The most remarkable feature of the Greek nation to-day is its devotion to education. It is a national passion. Her fa-

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mous university was founded as late as 1837. Now it enrolls thirteen hundred students, with seventy-two professors, and a library of one hundred and fifty thousand volumes. They have a richly-endowed girls' school, and a whole constellation of other educational institutions for both sexes, and these are all fed by a system of primary schools that penetrate into every nook and corner in the land. The primary schools are both free and compulsory. Besides these there are night schools and lectures, and a system of secondary schools, which are numerously attended. The result is, Greece is plethoric with learning. She has more educated men than she knows what to do with. A traveler in Greece wanted a dragoman, and asked a member of the government to recommend a suitable man to act as a guide and interpreter. "Why not take my brother?" said the minister of the government; "you will find him just what you want; he is a graduate of the Athens University, speaks several languages, is a civil, obliging fellow, and anxious for a situation."

Religion.

The prevailing religion of Greece is that of the Greek Church, which is separate and distinct from the Greek Church of Russia, and differs but little from the Roman Catholic. It is the established Church, and affiliates more with the Oriental Patriarchates than with either the Russian, Greek, or Latin Churches. The late learned Alexander Lycurgus, Archbishop of Cyclades, and friend of Mr. Gladstone, went to Jerusalem for ordination and true apostolic succession. Rome was too diluted. It is, however, one with them in faith, ritual, superstition, and sin. The parish priests are said to be ignorant and dissolute; they are of the peasant class, and entirely dependent on voluntary contributions for their support. They must be married men, and cannot, therefore, be promoted, for the canon law requires the bishops to be celibates or widowers. I was told two priests were in prison, and several bishops had been sent to the monasteries for bribery and fraud. They bought their bishoprics, corrupted the voters, and oppressed the people. A teacher in a Protestant school told me the law required the parish priest to come to the school periodically and catechise the children. She also said it was her custom to tell the stupid man what to say when he had any moral advice to give.

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I attended a service on Thursday morning in the Greek Church. Not understanding the language or motions, I supposed the priests were preparing to perform the marriage ceremony for a well-dressed and handsome couple who stood by themselves in a recess. But the service being short, the supposed bride kissed the crucifix held up to her, and both retired, passing quite near me, entered a carriage, and drove away. It proved to be King George and Queen Olga. The young king looks amiable, and is said to be quite democratic and unassuming, whether of choice or necessity does not appear. He is a Lutheran, and has a private chapel and chaplain in his palace, while his wife is of the Greek Church of Russia. The government gives but a meager support to the higher clergy. The Metropolitan Bishop of Athens receives but one thousand and seventy-five dollars; other bishops less. From this and other facts it would seem that the Greek Church has not a stronghold in Greece. A pure and earnest type of religion, I am persuaded, would rapidly commend itself to the people. As a result of the ecclesiastical degeneracy in Greece the educated men are reported to be infidel. Therefore the learning of this rising Greek microcosm of letters threatens to become a mighty power of mischief, because unsanctified.

Now, what is vital Christianity doing to resuscitate this dead Church, or to supersede it? What Protestant agencies are at work to leaven the Greek schools with evangelism, and regenerate the head and heart of the Hellenic race? I found five Protestant organizations represented in Athens. The first and oldest mission is that of the Protestant Episcopal Church, founded more than fifty years ago by Dr. and Mrs. Hill. They are still there, though the doctor has passed into the venerable state of *emeritus* superannuation, being an octogenarian of eighty-six years. His work chiefly consists in teaching schools. He employs American ladies as teachers, and they make part of his family. Dr. Hill fraternizes more with the Greek Church than with the other Protestant missionaries. I was told that the Greek priests are so well pleased with him, that they have intimated a willingness, in case of his death, to give him a funeral. His schools are large, and, though subject to the inspection and teaching of the Catechism by the Greek priests, they are evangelical in their tendency.

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The second mission is Congregational, under Dr. Constantine, supported through a committee composed of the president and professors of Amherst College. Dr. Constantine preaches every Sabbath to a congregation of forty, with a Sunday-school of the same number. He has written and published a commentary on the New Testament in modern Greek. The doctor is doing a good work, and if all his irons were made red hot by a baptism of the Holy Ghost he would burn his way into the Greek heart.

The Presbyterians of the South are represented in the person of Rev. Mr. Kalipatharkis, a man of Greek origin, like his colleague, Dr. Constantine. His work, however, is more discursive. He itinerates, and depends more upon public preaching. In this line he meets with some opposition and danger from violence. He, too, has a good school, and is evidently diffusing an evangelical influence. Another Greek, Rev. Mr. Sacularis, represents the Baptist Church, and is doing similar work, with the same moderate success.

The Woman's Union Foreign Missionary Society, whose head-quarters are in New York city, had two female workers in Athens. One of them, Mrs. Fluhart, is a Methodist. Excepting this lone prophetess, in this abnormal relation, Methodism has no part or lot in the matter of Greek evangelization. These ladies impressed me as being both earnest and spiritual, and they had a most interesting school. Since we were there the government officers required them to hang a picture of the "Virgin" on the wall of the school-room, and allow the priests to come in and catechise the children. This they refused, and the school was closed. They have now gone to Cyprus, where John Bull will see that they have fair play.

I might mention another agency, which will show the unrest and struggles of the Greek mind in relation to religion.

There lives in Athens a *materialist*, who has published the English Prayer Book in the native language, to which he has appended moral exhortations. Being a man of wealth, he circulates the book gratuitously. He professes to be influenced by motives of patriotism, and justifies his inconsistency on the ground that morality and religion are necessary to the existence and prosperity of the State. There is, also, an association

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called the "Friends of the People," which gives free public lectures, secular and religious.

From all these facts it appears that the unclean spirit of polytheism, and of groveling baseness and brutality, which characterizes the Turk and the Arab, has gone out of the ruling spirit of the Hellenic people. The Greek mind is "empty, swept, and garnished" by literature and civilization, so far as that can be done by those agencies. Now the danger is that the unclean spirit, finding the Greek mind in such a prepared condition, will "take to itself seven other spirits," and re-enter, when the last state of that nation will be worse than the first. What is the duty of the living Churches in such an emergency? Is it not that at any expense and without the loss of a day they should preoccupy this educated moral vacuity with pure gospel truth? What missionary field on the face of the globe demands such haste? or where else shall we find forces so potential ready to our hand? Greece, to-day, is a magazine of literary and intellectual thunderbolts. These are active agents, that cannot lie inert, like buried gold and fossil remains, doing neither good nor harm for ages. It is in their nature to make themselves felt for good or for evil. If they are sanctified, Greece may soon be next to England as an intelligent evangelizer; if not, she will soon supplement German rationalism and French infidelity.

True to her ancestral character, Greece is destined to be a nation of ideas. Her thin soil and rugged hills necessitate this. Thought is born of rocks, and genius of hard times. In every age we find the muses and genius nestled among mountain peaks, and perched on crags, and dipping their wings in troubled waters. Greece, like New England, Scotland, and the hill country of India, is required by nature to give birth to intellectual greatness. Anciently she felt these mental throes indigenous to her soil, and, having no Star of Bethlehem to guide her wise men to the infant incarnate Light of the world, that lay sleeping in Mary's arms, they gave to the world the highest type of heathen philosophy, and a universal standard of flowing numbers. It was a spontaneity. She did her best. It was not her fault that some of her theories turned out to be philosophy falsely so-called; it was the want of light; and now that she has come out of her grave the only nation that has had

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a resurrection in the history of the world, and is beginning instinctively to build up her ancient glory in the kingdom of letters, it must be that Providence has a mission for her of no ordinary magnitude. It may be the divine purpose that from this little "Ephratah" the Saviour shall go forth again to resuscitate the extinct apostolic Churches. The literature of Greece is now circulated in Thessalonica, Smyrna, and other sites of these old apostolic foundations. Greeks print twenty-five daily newspapers.

The Church cannot afford to neglect these occult forces and pent-up energies of New Greece. They are irrepressible, and must become a "savor of life unto life, or of death unto death." The duty of the hour is to saturate the schools and literature of Greece with spiritual Christianity, and we must cease to depend on the scholastic method, and mass our strength on direct preaching. Who will go, without purse or scrip, if need be, and preach on Mars' Hill? If I were young I would haste to this moral waste, where the letter killeth, asking only to be accredited by my Church and commissioned by the Holy Ghost.

Art. VI.—MILEY ON THE ATONEMENT.

The Atonement is the heart of the Christian organism. As our Lord Jesus Christ, in the act of crucifixion, thrust forward his heart, as his head reclined to the right, and as the Roman soldier pierced the pericardium with his spear when the atoning death was achieved, making the physical organ visible, so is the heart of God revealed in all the vital functions which the atonement affects. A defective theory of Atonement involves cardinally a defective theology. It is heart disease in its highest, worst, and most fatal form. A true theory of Atonement sends its life-blood into every fiber and tissue of a body of divinity, and compels the health of symmetrical "proportion of faith," as the apostle calls it, by throwing off what is extraneous, and healing what is defective. Andrew Fuller thought systematic theology should begin at the cross as the center of divine manifestation, and from that focal point of infinite light, love, justice, wisdom, and condescending

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almightiness, the endless rays of all divine attributes, purposes, plans, and works could be traced to best advantage.

Methodism has had from the start a homogeneous and symmetrical theology. It is such a theology as will bear being preached. It has not one set of dogmas for the creed and catechism and another for the pulpit. Truth never needs suppression; still less is it capable of contradiction. A complimentary representative from a Calvinistic denomination told our General Conference a few years ago that Calvinists preached like Arminians. If Arminianism is good for the pulpit, it is good for the creed, the catechism, the theologic treatise, the profession of faith; for the one ought to be the exponent of the other, and truth is sacrificed if there be disharmony.

So busy has Methodism been in preaching its saving truths, demonstrated as truths by their widespread saving efficacy, that we have had very little time to formulate them into a literature. Dr. Miley, who has shown by his footnotes and otherwise that he has surveyed the field, frankly confesses that our literature on this central theme of salvation is very meager. Methodism is rich in literature. We have our precious biographies, our sacred lyrics, our biblical comments, our systematic divinity, our homiletics; but anthropology and soteriology have not taken wide and specific literary form.

A new ecclesiastical era is upon us. What Amherst has been to Congregationalism and Princeton to Presbyterianism, Drew, Evanston, and Boston are about to be to Methodism. A book-making age has come to our Zion. Whether it will be best for the unity, simplicity, and effectiveness of our faith remains to be seen. This book of Dr. Miley's, at all events, is a great gain in the right direction. We hail it with pleasure.

It is natural for a teacher to write didactically. This excellent book is evidently prepared for didactic purposes. The didactic needs of the author in the lecture-room doubtless necessitated it, and the material is put in the form of a text-book, which will probably take its place in our theological seminaries and in the revised course of study for our traveling preachers.

Dr. Miley's cast of mind is logical, perhaps too severely so. Logic is shy of tropes and metaphors. Logic keeps the naked

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thought in view; dressed in metaphor, it may mean too little or too much. In the work before him logic has cause for unadorned simplicity, severity, and directness. Nothing could take the place of it. But one cannot avoid the thought that a little ornamentation could with safety be occasionally indulged without peril to perspicuity and logical precision, and with manifest help to the average reader and student. Bald rock glints with mica and quartz. Frowning mountain peaks are decked with fern and ivy. Our Lord, the severest of logicians, abated no part of logical precision by parable and illustration. If our acute Drew professor had occasionally picked a flower by the way and indulged in an analogue, he might have made a book of less hard reading, and logic would not have been sacrificed to the graces of rhetoric.

Dr. Miley believes in short sentences. Manifestly he thinks each thought should be shut up to its own sentence. A thought has enough duality or plurality to be shut up in a sentence, as it were housekeeping in its own castle, without having the repulsiveness of a hermit. More than one thought, dual or plural in attribute, is often let into the homestead, at the expense of elegance, perspicuity, and effectiveness, on the principle that two families live in one house with less comfort than in two; but, without meaning to be hypercritical, it has seemed to me that in many cases the doctor might lengthen his sentences with happy effect, and with a gain in power.

The *fact* of Atonement is admitted by all who admit the Bible. Atonement is *the* fact of the Bible. Prophets before apostles testified the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow. A suffering Christ is meaningless except as he is an atoning Christ. God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. This is the central truth of Christianity. This *is* Christianity. Reconciliation involves atonement. Reconciliation *is* atonement. The word "atonement" occurs but once in the New Testament. "And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement." Rom. v, 11. The word is *καταλλαγη*. It is used four times. Twice it is translated "reconciliation," and once "reconciling." It is an old Saxon combination—at-one-ment: the means and act of being at one with one with whom we have been at variance.

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Sin is alienating. It alienates man from his fellow; it alienates man from God. "Your iniquities have separated between you and your God." Isa. lix, 2. The alienation is mutual. Not only does the sinner turn from God, but God turns from the sinner. Sin never can be regarded with complacency by a holy being, still less by one infinitely holy. "God is angry with the wicked every day." Psa. vii, 11. And the sinner turns with such malevolence from God that "the carnal mind," which man has apart from the renewing of the Spirit which makes him "spiritually minded," "is enmity against God." Rom. viii, 7.

The Atonement is the means of ending this alienation. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself." 2 Cor. v, 19. God loved his enemies, and in Christ looked upon them in compassion. God loved the unlovely, the hideous, the repulsive, and in Christ reached out in quest of the prodigal and the lost. And the Atonement is the means of ending human alienation from God. The ministry of reconciliation in Christ puts into operation influences divine, angelic, and human, by the highest motions of which our nature is capable, to induce us to be "reconciled to God."

Atonement reaches God-ward, not to *make* God placable; for the placability of God made the Atonement; but to remove all barriers in good and righteous government to the legitimate exercise of placability. Atonement reaches man-ward, to secure voluntary acceptance of the divine overture and all the blessings of reconciliation; for, as sin is voluntary alienation, the Atonement calls for a voluntary termination of it.

Our author fortifies impregnably the basal truth of the reality of the Atonement by what he calls "witnessing facts" and "witnessing terms;" and insists that a true theory of atonement should fit these facts and be in full harmony with these terms. As in any science, a true theory will be the outgrowth of the facts and an inductive generalization from the factors which the God of nature puts at our disposal in the revelation of his works; so in this science of redemption, a true theory will be the outgrowth of biblical facts and an induction from the inspired factors which the God of supernature puts at our disposal in the revelation of his word. Any theory is false if it is not true to all these facts and terms; a theory true to them all has highest proof of being true.

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What is the true theory of the Atonement? is *the* question in Dr. Miley's book. In answering it there must be no preconceived opinions, no favorite hypotheses. There must be pure love of truth. Lord Brougham says, "There is nothing so plain to which the influence of a preconceived opinion, or the desire of furthering a favorite hypothesis, will not blind men; their blindness in such cases bears even a proportion to their learning and ingenuity."

A priori, we cannot conclude as to the fact of the Atonement or what the Atonement is; for we can have no *a priori* knowledge of God. God is known only so far as he chooses to reveal himself. His works are known only so far as revelation, either natural or supernatural, makes them knowable. In the simplest of all God's works there are impenetrable *adyta*. No philosopher has a plummet long enough to sound the depths of mystery in an atom. A man must be very bold in presumptive arrogance when he ventures beyond revelation in his theorizing concerning confessedly the greatest of all the works of God. Creation, *a priori*, is unknown; it is known only so far as it is revealed in the things that are made: and creation cost God only a word; for "he spake and it was done; he commanded and it stood fast." The mysteries of Redemption are as much greater, we would argue, as its cost is greater, for in redemption God had to become incarnate, suffer, and in his human nature bleed and die.

Frederick Robertson insisted that truth should be put constructively, by stating it without polemics with the opposing error. Robertson thought the establishment of truth was *per se* the destruction of error. The ushering of light is the dismissal of darkness. In the main, this is the proper method, if we can judge from the example of the Great Teacher.

In a work where such valuable service has been rendered the cause of truth, we should be very modest in venturing a criticism at so vital a point of methodology; but Dr. Miley's argument, which is apparently unanswerable, would perhaps have been more satisfactorily, effectively, and logically put if Robertson's idea had been carried out by a clear enunciation of what he calls the Governmental Theory as the primary and staple part of this division of his discussion, leaving the confutation of the Moral Theory, which he calls no atonement at all, and

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of the Satisfactional Theory, to as natural result as the fading of darkness before the opening beams of day. For satisfactory reasons, doubtless, to his own mind, the author has concluded that the confutation of error was the proper prelude to the establishment of truth; and he has evidently kept in thought "the influence of preconceived opinions and the desire of furthering favorite hypotheses," of which Brougham speaks; and felt the importance of preparing the way for a true literature on this central point in theology, where the vast bulk was on the wrong side.

Arminianism is not only good to preach, as Dr. Patton has ingenuously confessed; it is good to write and print and publish. Illogically so far as the creed is concerned, but logically so far as the oracles of truth are, Satisfactionists have, both in review and volume, come over to the true Governmental idea.

Albert Barnes, identified with the New School dissent from hyper-Calvinism, and the chief mover in that organization, but who came over to the unified Church in which the old theology was reaffirmed, has written some of the strongest words in the Arminian line of thought.

Dr. Enoch Pond, in "Bibliotheca Sacra," 1856, says all that Dr. Miley or Dr. Raymond claim:—

> He (Christ) endured, not the proper penalty of the law, but a complete governmental substitute for the penalty. His sufferings and death in our room and stead as fully sustain the authority of law, as fully meet the demands of justice, as fully answer all the purposes of the divine government, as would the infliction of the penalty itself; and consequently are a complete substitute for the penalty; or, in other words, a complete atonement.
>
> It is commonly and justly understood among evangelical Christians, that Christ's death was vicarious, or that he died as a substitute. But a substitute how? and for what? Not that he endured the proper penalty of the law for us, but that he endured an adequate substitute for that penalty; so that the penalty itself may now be safely and consistently remitted. Were the penalty all borne, there would be nothing to be remitted. But as it has not been borne, but only a substitute for it—as it has not been removed, but only a way opened by which it may be—there is as much need of forgiveness as though the Saviour had not died.

This is not the monergism of Calvinism, in which redemption has been achieved by contract between the Father and the Son

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for a definite number, who are the elect, no more and no less; but it is the synergism of Arminianism, in which the result of redemption "may be," if we comply with the requisite conditions.

Dr. Symington, as quoted by Dr. Miley, defines Atonement, "Such act or acts as shall accomplish all the moral purposes which, to the infinite wisdom of God, appear fit and necessary under a system of rectoral holiness, and which must otherwise have been accomplished by the exercise of retributive justice upon transgressors in their own persons." This definition Dr. Miley willingly admits.

The definition of Atonement given by the author is more succinct, but full: "The vicarious sufferings of Christ are an atonement for sin as a conditional substitute for penalty, fulfilling, on the forgiveness of sin, the obligation of justice and the office of penalty in the moral government."

Truth in a theory of Atonement must be the analogue of truth in any other theory. A true theory of astronomy must harmonize with the phenomena of the sidereal bodies. A true theory of electricity must harmonize with the phenomena of this subtle fluid. A true theory of Atonement must harmonize with the phenomena which twinkle like the fixed stars in the firmament of everlasting truth, revolve like the planets in the orbit of obedience to law, and shine like the sun, the center of light and gravitating power, and with the flashes and thunder of the storms of wrath which purify the air and precede the beauty of the bow of promise and of hope. What are these phenomena?

1. As the Atonement is for sin, it must meet the demands of the demerit, the guilt, the condemnation, the pollution, the enormity, the hideousness, the prevalence, the suffering, the death of sin. No theory meets the facts either in biblical record, or in the experience of life, which in any measure makes light of sin and dares not treat it with the awful gravity which the facts of an accusing and punitive conscience and all the experiences of transgression attest. The doctrine of sin must be tremendously emphatic. "Sin by the commandment" is "exceedingly sinful." Its heinousness and malignity are mitigated only by apposition to the commandment. A theory which deals with sin as if it were curative by the influence of

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moral example is as philosophical as the proposed cure of consumption by a rubefacient, or of cancer by a smelling-bottle. Atonement, deep enough to eradicate the cancer of sin and to heal the tubercles of depravity, broad enough to cover the spiritual needs of human nature, must strike down deeper than sin; must be stronger than sin; must have more than the element of philanthropy; must be more than human. Perhaps an unhappy and sometimes misleading use has been made of the phrase "total depravity." The phrase is nowhere used in Scripture, though, rightly interpreted, the doctrine contained in it is fundamental in the Scripture. Man is not totally depraved in the sense that he is a fiend; though he may grow to be such by the downward trend of transgression; nor is he as bad as he can be, and bad in all respects, though this is the tendency. Possibly "universal degeneracy" would be to some minds a phrase more expressive of biblical statement and human experience; but, call it what you will, there is an abounding in sin and a frightful power, which call for more than a lackadaisical sentimentalism. The influence of moral example is good as far as it goes, and we could not have atonement without it; but soteriology demands sterner things in dealing with such a stern outlaw as sin—it calls for suffering, for blood, for death.

2. As the Atonement is for holiness, it must rise to a superabounding pre-eminence above the abounding amplitude and power of sin, and give adequate motive, sufficient help and ample resources for a clean heart and a holy life. This cannot be done by any mere humanitarian appeals. Still less can it be done by any alleged capriciousness and arbitrary discrimination on the part of God, doing all for some, nothing for others, and setting forth a rule of conduct calculated to make us partial and unlovely. If I believed Calvinism true and myself one of the elect, I might fear God, but I hardly see how I could love such an arbitrary being; and if I regarded myself as one of the reprobate, not included in the Satisfaction Theory in which Christ died for the elect, I should feel it a sort of virtue to hate a being guilty of such outrageous enormity. A true theory of atonement sets before both saint and sinner an example of Fatherhood, of Brotherhood, of rigid justice, of compassionate love, of infinite magnanimity, which appeal with

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constraining power to all that is manly, magnanimous, and responsive to truth in natures which, though wrecked, have enough salvage to keep on the voyage of accountable probation. Holiness has its stern as well as gentle traits. Holiness is practical goodness; and goodness in its practical achievements, in a world of sin, whatever may be the case in a world where there is none, has rigid, stern, and severe attributes. The Atonement is to cultivate many-sided, symmetrical, manly character, tender, gentle, sweet, and pure—feminine in the loveliness of embodied love, masculine in the strength of embodied justice and righteousness.

3. As the Atonement is the highest exhibition of the glory and symmetry of the Divine Nature, it must have nothing ignoble or calculated to challenge the criticism of generous minds, and it must have an affluence pre-eminently worthy of God. Moses never rose to a point of greater sublimity of conduct than when he declined the guidance of a mere angel and stood ready to resign his high office if God himself did not go with the people. Strangely in contrast with the spirit of Moses is that theology which insists that the leadership of a mere man is sufficient for us. If Jesus is a mere Man, redemption is not the chief exhibition of divine glory and power. Creation towers above it; for *God* created the heavens and the earth. But as that big little word "*so*" in the sixteenth of the third chapter of John, and all the logic of the entire tenor of Scripture, and the progressiveness of the works of God, render the Atonement superlatively exalted as a Divine Manifestation, a true theory must see in Jesus supreme and superlative Godhead in his highest and divinest functions. If angels have been baffled students of the redemptive plan for thousands of years, with all the helps to knowledge which they possess, it must certainly have more than a finite element in it; and if such noble and generous beings bend with such zest of inquiry, it must be more than a piece of bargain and sale of so much for so many.

4. As the Atonement is for man's sin, it is for the sin of every man; and as every man has sinned, it is for every man not in a public, ostensible, but insincere and ineffective sense, as if "the world," "every creature," "all men," were used in an exoteric sense for common consistency's sake; but the ex-

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oteric and esoteric declarations of divine provision and purpose are the same; the secret and the published decree of the divine counsel are identical, and the Atonement is not limited but universal; it is not for the elect only, but for the entire human family.

5. As the Atonement is for man, it is for man as he is, with all his power of volition. Material things come to us conditionally. Intellectual things come in the same way. Why should not spiritual and eternal things, with which the Atonement specially has to do? The true theory of man's relation to both Nature and Providence is synergism, and not monergism. Atonement is out of analogy with all the works and ways of God, if it involves a different arrangement.

6. As the Atonement is from sin unto holiness, as it is the chief display of divine glory, and for all men, though realized in its saving efficiency by those only who comply with the conditions, it is full, complete, and perfect; full, because not fragmentary; complete, because not defective; perfect, because it is free from all inadequacy to meet the sublime ends for which as a plan it was achieved. It is adequate to save from all sin; to rescue from the deepest degeneracy; to uplift the chief and vilest of transgressors; to impart an entire justification, a complete sanctification, a victory over every foe, and the endless and ever-augmenting beatitudes of an eternal heaven: in a word, to make us like Jesus here, and endlessly and ever-increasingly like him in glory.

And, 7. As the Atonement is by suffering, Christ having once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, in this vicarious substitution, and as the whole line of truth indicates it as an infinite achievement, the suffering involved was nothing less than infinite. Dr. Miley argues this conclusively:

> Nor have we the truest, deepest sense of the sufferings of Christ, except in the fact that he endured them as the *Theanthropos*. With the doctrine of a union of the divine and human natures in a unity of personality in Christ, and that in the incarnation he was truly the *God-man*, we know not either the theology or philosophy which may limit his sufferings to a mere human consciousness. And with the impassivity of his divine nature in the incarnation and atonement, many texts of Scripture, fraught with infinite treasures of grace and love, would be little more than meaningless words. On such a principle their

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exegesis would be superficial and false to their infinitely deeper meaning. The divine Son incarnate, and so incarnate in human nature as to unite it with himself in personal unity, could suffer, and did suffer, in the redemption of the world.

Redemption from suffering by suffering involves the element of infinity. If sin has its course, and ultimates in the penal death which violated law threatens, there is the element of infinity in it; for such suffering our Lord says is "everlasting" or eternal; and eternity is infinity. If our Atoning Substitute saves even one sinner from the ultimate consequences of sin, he does it by suffering, and this vicarious suffering must have the element of infinity in it. That element is not eternity, for Christ suffered "*once*," to suffer no more; he died "*once*," to die no more; but the element of infinity is to be sought in sufferings endured in finite time. How could this be except as it was endured by an Infinite Nature? If *Christ* suffered, the divine nature suffered, for Christ is divine as well as human. And if the divine nature suffered, the infinite element is introduced into the atoning sufferings in finite time.

It has long been a favorite view of theologians that God is impassible; that he is incapable of suffering. But do the Scriptures anywhere teach this? Is it not a venturing in theologic dogma beyond the bounds of revelation? Is it not a substitution of a deduction from human reasoning for a "thus saith the Lord?" Is it not a limiting of the Holy One of Israel? Is it not a contradiction of what God says concerning himself? Dr. Miley cites many passages of Scripture bearing on this vital issue.

On psychological grounds, apart from revelation, we do not question that ability to suffer is the complement and correlate of ability to enjoy. Where there is no ability to enjoy, there is none to suffer; but wherever there is ability to enjoy, there always is, and, from the nature of the case, there must be, ability to suffer; and the ability in one direction is the measure of the ability in the other. As God is undeniably capable of enjoyment, and enjoyment that is infinite, it is a reckless declaration, violative of psychological facts, as well as out of harmony with the word of God, for any one to affirm that he is incapable of suffering. To say the least, it is very immodest for men to speak dogmatically concerning what is impossi-

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ble in a nature as illimitable as God's, when they cannot tell what is the limit of possibility in their own. More than that, it is impious, and a familiarity which God has taken occasion to resent on more occasions than one. If God has established the great law, which we see contradicted nowhere, but asserted every-where in the whole compass of sentient being, that ability to suffer invariably and necessarily accompanies ability to enjoy, it would certainly require a very explicit divine revelation on the subject to make it possible for us to believe that he violated in his own nature his own law.

The Atonement is an infinite transaction. It is the highest divine achievement. It is the sublimest and divinest visible manifestation of the heart of God. It may prove the central event in all history. Its primary applications are to our lost but redeemed world; its wider, ultimate, and eternal applications are "to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." Eph. iii, 10–11.

Art. VII.—A HARMONY OF THE EGYPTIAN AND MOSAIC RECORDS.

We give from the London (Wesleyan) Quarterly Review for January, 1880, part of an article on Egyptian Chronology, which furnishes a remarkably clear view of its accord with the Hebrew chronology. Its identification of Menes with Mizraim is as good as any other account of Menes; that is, pretty much good for nothing. Such identification supposes but a brief period for the founding of a kingdom of Egypt; and thus perhaps demands the Septuagint chronology at that era. It furnishes no room for the legendary slow growth and mature grandeur of the empire of Menes; but it furnishes other legends quite as authentic, namely, that Abraham, 2,000 years before Christ, taught arithmetic to the Egyptians! The more rational supposition seems, perhaps, to be that Mizraim or Menes led the first immigration to Egypt, and occupied the ground whence the kingdom of Egypt rose, and so was the essential founder.

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He carried much of the antediluvian science and civilization inherited through Noah with him; but the fantasy that he was a great monarch preceded by ages of development is too absurd for any but the greediest credulity.

Chronological Contradictions among Egyptologists.

The late Dean Milman had no hesitation in declaring, in his "History of the Jews," that "the internal evidence in respect to the genuineness of the Mosaic records is to me conclusive. All attempts to assign a later period for the authorship, or even for the compilation, though made by scholars of the highest ability, are so *irreconcilable with facts*, so self-destructive, and so *mutually destructive*, that I acquiesce without hesitation in the general antiquity."—Vol. i, p. 46. This conclusion of a distinguished historian respecting the "mutually destructive" nature of rationalistic speculations on the genuineness and authenticity of the books of Moses, appears still more evident when we see the differences which exist among those who ignore Scripture testimony respecting various incidents in the combined histories of Israel and Egypt. We propose to set this plainly before our readers in the following brief tables.

First, as regards the primary colonizer or protomonarch of Egypt after the dispersion at Babel. *His name is first seen on the monuments in the reign of Pharaoh Seti I., in the fifteenth century B. C.*, and therefore nearly 1,000 years after the biblical date of the Noachian deluge. It is read now by Birch and other Egyptian scholars as *Mena*, by Herodotus and the Greek historians as *Menes*, and in Genesis as "Mizraim," the son of Ham and grandson of Noah. Of him Manetho, the Egyptian scribe, thus speaks: "After the dead demigods, the first king was Menes the Thenite; and he reigned *sixty-two years*;" while Syncellus, a Byzantine historian, who gives the canon of the kings of Egypt, says that "Mizraim, who is the same as Menes, reigned *thirty-five years*." This difference between two ancient historians respecting the duration of the reign of him who is regarded as the first king of Egypt, is significant of the amazing variations between modern interpreters of Manetho as to the time when the said Menes lived. Thus the era of Menes is dated by various chronologers as follows:

1.	Mariette-Bey computes the era of Menes to have begun.....	B.C. 5004
2.	Brugsch-Bey.....	" 4400
3.	Lepsius.....	" 3890
4.	Bunsen, on the first occasion.....	" 3623
5.	Bunsen, on the second occasion.....	" 3059

showing a variation of nearly 2,000 years for the foundation of the Egyptian kingdom.

So as regards the time when that greatest of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, was erected,

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the differences among scholars of the present day are still more marked. This will be seen in the following table:

1.	Le Suer computes the building of the Great Pyramid.....	B.C. 4975
2.	Brugsch-Bey.....	" 3657
3.	Bunsen.....	" 3460
4.	Lepsius.....	" 3426
5.	Piazzi Smyth, the Astronomer Royal of Scotland.....	" 2170
6.	The late Sir George Cornwalle Lewis.....	" 993

Thus showing a difference of nearly 4,000 years! The only one of the above quoted authorities whose date may be accepted as the most correct, and this only approximately, is that of Professor Piazzi Smyth; and he is far from ignoring Scripture, though we believe he accepts the Septuagint computation in preference to that of the Hebrew.

The Earliest Inscribed Monuments.

As many Egyptologers in the present day ignore the evidence of Scripture on this subject, it is satisfactory to know that the elder Champollion, who may be regarded as the founder of Egyptology, in allusion to such skeptics once wrote: "They will find in this work an absolute reply to their calumnies, since I have demonstrated that *no Egyptian monument is really older than the year* 2200 *B. C.** This certainly is very high antiquity, but it presents nothing contradictory to the sacred histories, and I venture to affirm that it establishes them on all points: for it is, in fact, by adopting the chronology and the succession of kings given by the Egyptian monuments, that the Egyptian history accords with the sacred writings." † More recent discoveries in Egypt since Champollion's time have proved that a tablet, which has been in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford for upward of two centuries, must be approximately dated about B.C. 2300, and therefore about a century older than any monument known to the learned Frenchman.

Assuming, then, for a moment, that this Oxford monument, as being the oldest proof of man's existence at present known to us, may be dated within a century of the biblical date of the Noachian flood, *circa* B.C. 2348, we have the authority of the Turin papyrus for saying that only 355 years elapsed between the era of Menes, or the first colonization of Egypt, and the end of the sixth dynasty. This would give the approximate date to the end of the sixth dynasty somewhere in the twenty-first century B.C. It has long been seen by Egyptologers that some of Manetho's dynasties are certainly contemporaneous. It is the failure of not seeing this which has caused certain authors to prolong the dura-

* The author of "Grant's Travels Around the World" says that for other antiquities we have only traditions and doubtful records; for Egypt there are the sure monuments. And certainly an inscribed contemporary monument would be a very conclusive voucher. But, lo, the earliest monument is of about the era of Abraham!—Ed.

† "Ancient Egypt, its Monuments and History," p. 56.

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tion of some of the early dynasties far beyond what the truth of history warrants.

A series of Pharaohs, discovered by Mariette-Bey on a tomb at Saqqarah, near Memphis, implies that in the order of succession *the sixth dynasty is immediately followed by the twelfth dynasty.* In the sepulchral grottoes of *Beni Hassan*, on the banks of the Nile, there are still to be seen some inscriptions belonging to the early kings of the last-named dynasty. Special mention is there made of the "Panegyry, or Festival of the First Year," which Poole refers to the commencement of the *tropical cycle*, that is, a perfectly exact cycle of the sun, moon, and vague year, which happened in the reign of Amenemes, one of the early kings of the twelfth dynasty, and which the science of astronomy has enabled the Astronomer Royal of England to fix at the date of B.C. 2005.*

Era of Abraham.

According to the Hebrew chronology, Abraham's visit to Egypt took place not many years before that date, *circa* B.C. 2010. According to the testimony of Josephus, when Abraham went down into Egypt he found the Egyptians quarreling concerning their sacred rites. By his skill in disputation the patriarch confuted the arguments on all sides, and by his influence succeeded in composing their differences. Moreover he is said to have taught the Egyptians arithmetic and the science of astronomy, for before the time of Abraham, Josephus says, "they were unacquainted with that sort of learning." † The Jewish historian does not give his authority for such a statement, but when it is remembered that the temple records of Egypt were still in existence at the time when Josephus wrote, and that his work was specially addressed to the Greek and Egyptian philosophers of Alexandria as an apology for his own nation, we may accept his statement as true history. Moreover, this remarkable incident in the life of Abraham is confirmed, according to Eusebius,‡ by two heathen historians, Berosus and Eupolemus, both of whom lived between three and four centuries prior to the time of Josephus.

Osburn adduces some evidence in proof of Abraham's visit to Egypt having occurred during the reign of Pharaoh Acthoes, the father of Amenemes, the first king of the famous twelfth dynasty, and asserts with confidence that while "of Acthoes and his times, and of those of all his predecessors, there exists no single record of king or subject *having a date*, yet tablets and papyri inscribed with dates of the years of the reign of Amenemes, the son and immediate successor of Acthoes, are not uncommon. The same practice continued with all the successors of Amenemes to the end of the monarchy." §

* Poole's *Horæ Ægypticæ*, part i, § 11.
† Josephus, "Antiquities," lib. i, c. viii, §§ 1, 2.
‡ Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel.*, § 9.
§ Osburn's "Monumental History of Egypt," vol. i, chap. vi.

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We have thus some authentic evidence for concluding that these three coinciding events, namely, the visit of Abraham to Egypt in the reign of Acthoes, the knowledge of arithmetic acquired by the Egyptians as proved by the introduction of *dates* on the monuments of that period, and the establishment of the earliest cycle, known as "the Tropical Cycle:" all these events must have taken place within a few years of the date B.C. 2000. And since this synchronises with the biblical date for the time of Abraham's visit, it is satisfactory to know that the Egyptian monuments afford still more conclusive proof of the correctness of the Hebrew chronology for the succeeding fifteen centuries.

Era of Israel's Sojourn.

Before, however, proceeding to show from the monuments the confirmation of the biblical story of the Exodus, it may be well to notice what we gather from Scripture respecting the interval of four hundred and thirty years mentioned in Exod. xii, 40, between the time of Abraham and the exode of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt. We have already found some evidence for computing the date of the exode at B.C. 1580, and the time of Abraham at B.C. 2010. And the date of a very important event in the history of Egypt, namely, the overthrow of the Shepherd dynasty, is fixed by Brugsch, in his interpretation of Manetho, to the year B.C. 1706, the starting-point of what he considers to be reliable chronology, whereas all previous chronology must be regarded as more or less conjectural. The following table, founded on Scripture testimony, will show a very important synchronism in the combined histories of Israel and Egypt. In the first chapter of Exodus it is recorded that "Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation;" and it is added in the verse following, "Now there arose up a new king which knew not Joseph," evidently implying a marked change in the treatment of Joseph's people at the hands of the Egyptians from that which they had formerly received. This can only be explained by the great change which must have ensued on the transfer of power from the rule of the foreign Hycsos, or Shepherd kings, to that of the native dynasty of the Pharaohs. In Exod. vi, 16 the death of Levi, the brother of Joseph, and the last surviving member of that generation, as we may fairly assume, is recorded at the age of one hundred and thirty-seven, and the year before the rise of the new king, which took place, according to the testimony of Manetho, B.C. 1706; the death of Levi having taken place in the preceding year, as our table, gathered out of Scripture, clearly shows:

	B.C.	Year of call.	Genesis.
Abraham's visit to Egypt at the age of 75.....	2010	1	xii, 1, 4, 10.
Isaac born when Abraham was 100	1985	25	xvii, 1, 21.
Isaac married Rebecca when 40	1945	65	xxv, 20.
Jacob born when Isaac was 60.....	1925	85	xxv, 26.
Abraham's death at 175.....	1910	100	xxv, 7.

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	B.C.	Year of call.	Genesis.
Joseph born when Jacob was 91	1834	176	xlv, 6; xlvii, 9.
Joseph sold into Egypt at 17	1817	193	xxxvii, 2.
Joseph viceroy of Egypt when 30	1804	206	xli, 46.
End of the seven years' plenty	1797	213	xli, 47, 54.
Jacob presented to Pharaoh when 130, in the second year of the seven years' famine	1795	215	xlv, 6; xlvii, 9.
Jacob's death at the age of 147	1778	232	xlvii, 28.
Joseph's death at the age of 110	1724	286	l, 26.
			Exodus.
Levi's death at the age 137	1707	303	i, 6; vi, 16.
Rise of the king which knew not Joseph	1706	304	i, 8.
Moses born	1660	350	ii, 1–10.
Moses flies to Midian when 40	1620	390	ii, 15, Acts vii, 23.
The exodus, when Moses was 80	1580	430	vii, 7; xii, 40, 41.

Thus the exodus took place "at the end of four hundred and thirty years"—even to the very day—after God had called Abraham to go from his fathers' country into the land of Canaan. But, inasmuch as much controversy has arisen respecting the duration of the sojourn in Egypt—Bunsen extending it, as we have already seen, to 1,434 years; while his collaborateur Lepsius limits it to 90 years—it may be well to examine carefully the text which treats on this important point. The Authorized Version of Exod. xii, 40, reads as follows: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, *who dwelt in Egypt*, was 430 years." It will be seen by this that Scripture does not necessarily imply that the Israelites were either in Egypt or in servitude during the whole of that period; for it plainly teaches that though their *sojourning* lasted 430 years, it was only a portion of that time that they dwelt in Egypt, and a still more limited portion in which they were enslaved. Such appears to be the teaching of Hebrews xi, 9, where it is said, "By faith Abraham *sojourned* in the land of promise as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise." This is confirmed by the reading both of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX., all of which in the various MSS., as Kennicott * observes, are uniform on this matter, and read the text as follows: "Now the *sojourning* of the children of Israel, and of their fathers, when they *sojourned* in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, was 430 years." And so St. Paul, in Gal. iii, 16, 17, declares that "the promises to Abraham and his seed were confirmed by the law (given on Mount Sinai) which was 430 years *after*" they had been first made.

That the Jews of all ages so understood the text may be thus shown. Demetrius,† who flourished in the third century B.C., reckoned 215 years from the call of Abraham to the going down into Egypt; 135 years from that to the birth of Moses; and 80 years more to the exode; which sums up—215+135+80=430. Josephus, four centuries after Demetrius, expressly says, that "the children of Israel left Egypt in the month Xanthicus, on

* Kennicott, "Dissert.," ii, pp. 164, 165.
† Demetrius, *apud. Euseb. Præp. Evang.*, ix, § 21.

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the 15th day of the month, 430 years after our forefather Abraham came into Canaan, but only 215 years after Jacob removed into Egypt."* Both the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmuds speak of the sojourning of the Israelites as including that "in Egypt and in *all other lands*" besides.† Aben Ezra, a learned Jew, and Joseph Goriondes, of the tenth century, interpret the passage in the following way: "The sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt *and in other lands* was 430 years. Notwithstanding they abode in Egypt only 210 years, according to what their father Jacob told them, to 'descend' or *go down* to Egypt, which in Hebrew signifies 210. Furthermore, the computation of 430 years is from the year that Isaac was born, which was the holy seed unto Abraham." ‡

The testimony of the early Christian writers is to the same effect. Eusebius § distinctly says that it is "by the unanimous consent of all interpreters" that the text should be so understood. Augustine, in his Forty-seventh Question on Exodus, as well as in his "City of God," ‖ taught that the 430 years included the sojourn in Canaan as well as in Egypt. And Sulpicius Severus says: "From the entrance of Abraham into Canaan until the exode there were 430 years."¶ These interpreters of the text of Scripture appear to have well understood the force of an argument, which some in the present day have strangely overlooked, that if the 430 years are to be counted only from the time of Jacob's descent into Egypt until the exode, *the mother of Moses must have given birth to her son* 262 *years after her father's death*, according to the biblical computation, which is a physical impossibility. Hence Clinton wisely observes: "Some writers have very unreasonably doubted this portion of the Hebrew chronology, as if it were uncertain how this period of 430 years was to be understood. Those who cast a doubt upon this point refuse to Moses, an inspired writer—in the account of his mother and father and grandfather—that authority which would be given to the testimony of a profane author on the same occasion." **

Era of Joseph.

We have already seen that the time of Abraham's visit to Egypt synchronized probably with the reign of Pharaoh Acthoes, shortly before the commencement of the twelfth dynasty, which in round numbers may be dated *circa* B.C. 2000. Consequently the time of Joseph being sold as a slave into Egypt would fall *circa* B.C. 1800, *when a Shepherd dynasty was seated on the throne*

* Josephus, "Antiquities," ii, xv, § 2.
† *T. Hierosol. Megillah*, fol. 71, 4; *T. Babyl. Meg.*, fol. 9, 1.
‡ "Historie of the Latter Tymes of the Jewes' Common Weal." By Joseph Ben Gorion. Translated by Peter Morwing, pp. 2, 3. Oxford, A.D. 1567.
§ Euseb., *Chron. Can. Lib. Prior*, § 19.
‖ August., *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xvi, § 24.
¶ Sulpic. Sev., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. xxvi, § 4.
** Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i, p. 299, Appendix.

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of the Pharaohs. This is seen in the fact that Brugsch-Bey, in his "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," considers that any thing like correct Egyptian chronology can only be said to commence with the rise of the celebrated eighteenth dynasty, which he dates approximately at B.C. 1700, as in his earlier work on Egypt he dates it more exactly at B.C. 1706; and inasmuch as he is perhaps the first of Egyptologers who has given his attention to this particular branch of the subject, and as it harmonizes perfectly with the Hebrew chronology deducible from Scripture, we may accept the learned writer's conclusions on this point as most right and just.

That Joseph's captivity and subsequent viceroyalty over the land of Egypt occurred during the reign of the Hycsos or Shepherd kings is apparent from various incidents recorded in Scripture. We learn there that no sooner had the Jewish captive interpreted the dream of the king of Egypt than "the thing appeared good in Pharaoh's eyes, and he said unto his servants, Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom *the spirit of God is?* And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this, see, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt." Gen. xli, 37–41.

In order to understand this remarkable fact of a heathen king recognizing at once the God of Israel, we must consider who this king really was. As far as we can gather from the traditions of ancient times, it unquestionably was one of the Hycsos or Shepherd kings; and though recent discoveries have made it doubtful whether the current tradition was strictly correct, we have monumental proof of its general accuracy. Syncellus, a Byzantine historian of the eighth century, writes that "All are agreed that Joseph governed Egypt under Apophis, *and commenced in the seventeenth year of his reign.*" Apophis is represented in Manetho's lists to have reigned sixty-one years; and the monuments show that Apophis was contemporary with the immediate predecessor of the head of the eighteenth dynasty, "the new king which knew not Joseph." Our comparison of the synchronisms in the histories of Israel and Egypt show that the rise of this new king and the death of Joseph synchronized with each other. Now, Scripture shows that Joseph began to govern Egypt at the age of thirty, and died at one hundred and ten, leaving eighty years for his government of the country, supposing him to have been in office the whole of that period. But if his government commenced, according to the tradition, "in the seventeenth" year of Apophis' reign, the duration of which was sixty-one years, this would only leave forty-four years out of eighty for Joseph's rule under Apophis. Moreover, the discovery of the Zoan Tablet with a recognized era throws some additional light on this complicated portion of Egyptian history.

A few years ago Mariette-Bey found in the ruins of the great temple at Avaris or Tanis (the Zoan of Scripture) a *stele* of the reign of Ramessu the Great, showing that it was put up "in the

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four hundredth year of the era of Noubti." M. de Rougé, in his account of Mariette's discovery, says that "Noubti belonged incontestably to the Shepherd dynasty, and is a local form of Sutekh," one of the Hycsos kings who preceded Pharaoh Apophis. "So that," continues de Rougé, "the four hundredth year of Noubti means the same as the four hundredth year of the god Sutekh." * The year of Ramessu's reign when this tablet was set up is not stated. But assuming that it was in the early part of his reign, which extended, according to Brugsch, B.C. 1407–1341, and that 1404 was the exact year, this would give the *terminus a quo* for the era of Noubti-Sutekh as B.C. 1804, when Joseph was entering upon his government as viceroy of the king of Egypt.

But if Noubti-Sutekh was the actual Hycsos king who made Joseph his prime minister, Joseph may equally have been in office during the whole of Apophis' (the successor of Noubti) reign. It has been further proved from the monuments that the deity exclusively worshiped by the shepherds under the name of "SUTEKH" was the local god of Syria, from which country Joseph and his patron, the king of Egypt, had alike come: as it is written of Jacob: "A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down to Egypt and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous." Deut. xxvi, 5. A papyrus now in the British Museum, entitled "Sallier I.," of the time of Ramessu the Great, throws considerable light on this subject, and it shows Apophis, the Hycsos king, supreme over all the land of Egypt, and acknowledging *Sutekh*, the Syrian god, as the sole deity whom he worshiped. This important passage reads as follows: "It came to pass when the land was held by the Hycsos, Ra-skenen was ruling in the south, and Pharaoh Apophis was in his palace at Avaris. The whole land paid homage to him with their manufactures and all the precious things of the country. Pharaoh Apophis had set up Sutekh for his lord; *he worshiped no other god in the whole land.*"

This noticeable fact of the Hycsos king having been devoted to the worship of Sutekh has been confirmed by the discovery of a colossal statue at Avaris, the capital of the Hycsos sovereigns, with the following inscription, "PHARAOH APOPHIS, WORSHIPER OF THE GOD SUTEKH." Hence observes Brugsch-Bey, "The mention of this god in combination with the Shepherd king proves most clearly what is stated in the papyrus concerning Apophis having been specially devoted to the worship of this god, to the exclusion of all the other deities of the whole country." †

* *Revue Archéologique* for 1865, vol. xi, p. 169; and likewise vol. x, p. 130. In a work published at Leipzig in 1875, entitled, "The Sun and Sirius Year of the Ramesides, with the Secret of the Intercalation and the Year of Julius Cæsar," the author, Herr Karl Riel, adduces evidence in great detail to prove that the four hundredth year of the era Noubti extended from B.C. 1766 to 1366, which, if correct, would do equally well with our conjecture in the text, the only difference being that Karl Riel's estimate would make it fall toward the end, in place of the beginning, of Ramessu's long reign.

† Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, p. 79.

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The well-known hieroglyphic of the god *Sutekh* represents him under the form of a nondescript quadruped animal, *with the head of an ass.* He is so represented in the time of Apophis,* and 400 years later in that of Ramessu the Great, when Sutekh had long been admitted into the Pantheon of the native Pharaohs. In the treaty of peace between Ramessu and the Hittites of Syria, under Khitasir their king, which is still to be seen on an outer wall of the grand temple of Karnac, the inscription reads, "That which is in the middle of this silver tablet and on its front side is a likeness of the god Sutekh," surrounded by an inscription to this effect, *This is the picture of the god* SUTEKH, *king of heaven and earth.* †

There is ample monumental proof that very shortly after the conquest of the Shepherds, Sutekh came to be regarded by the Egyptians under a very different aspect from what they did when they considered him as the deity of their enemies the Hycsos. Mariette says he will "not be surprised if fresh discoveries show that Amosis, the conqueror of the Hycsos, in his turn sacrificed to the god Sutkeh." At all events it is certain that Amosis' grandson, Thothmes III., acknowledged this deity; for in a fine tablet on a wall in the Temple of Karnac, Sutekh is represented as instructing that Pharaoh in the use of the bow. And two and a half centuries later the Temple of Abou-Simbel was dedicated by Ramessu the Great to the four principal deities in the Egyptian Pantheon at that period of history, namely, Ammon, Phthah, Ra, and *Sutekh.* ‡ In the reign of Ramessu's son a monument at Thebes represents Manepthah worshiping "the god Sutekh of Avaris." Ewald, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, p. 450, asserts that *Avaris* means philologically nothing less than "the city of the Hebrews;" and De Rougé shows from the monuments that Avaris is the same as the Tanis of the Greeks, and the Zoan of Scripture, which in Hebrew signifies "motion," and the equivalent in the old Egyptian tongue for "the place of departure," from which the Israelites went forth at the time of the Exodus. Hence we may not be far wrong if we interpret the inscription "The god Sutekh of Avaris," as bearing in its esoteric meaning the sense of "JEHOVAH, THE GOD OF THE CITY OF THE HEBREWS."

Although no monumental proof has yet been discovered in Egypt, speaking of a FAMINE of exactly seven years' duration, such as followed the seven years' plenty when Joseph became viceroy of Egypt, yet Brugsch has produced satisfactory evidence that *such a famine did occur during the reign of Pharaoh Apophis*, which affords additional confirmation to the opinion that he was in reality the patron of the Hebrew slave. Brugsch-Bey adduces very strong evidence in favor of a tomb inscription, of the time of Pharaoh Apophis, bearing on this portion of the story of the Exodus as related in Holy Writ. "We have," he says, "great

* See Lepsius, *Königsbuch der Alten Agypten*, Tafeln XV.

† Brugsch, "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. ii, p. 74.

‡ Burton's *Excerpta Hieroglyphica*, plate XXXVII.

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satisfaction in adding another very remarkable and clear confirmation of our remarks on the tradition preserved by Syncellus and received by the whole world, that *Joseph ruled the land in the reign of King Apophis*, whose age within a few years corresponds with the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. Upon the grounds of an old Egyptian inscription, hitherto unknown, whose author must have been a contemporary of Joseph and his family, we hope to adduce a proof that Joseph and the Hycsos cannot henceforth be separated from one another. The inscription which appears to us so important exists in one of the tombs at El-Kab. From the style of the internal pictorial decoration of the rock chambers, but principally from the name of its owner, BABA, we consider that the tomb was erected in the times immediately preceding the eighteenth dynasty. Although no royal cartouche ornaments the walls of the tomb, to give us certain information about the exact time of its erection, yet the following considerations are calculated to inform us on this point, and fortunately to fill up the gaps." Then Brugsch continues to describe the tomb of this Baba, which contains the following simple child-like representation of his happy existence on earth, owing to his great riches in point of children: "The chief of the table of princes, Baba, the risen again, he speaks thus: I loved my father, I honored my mother; my brother and my sisters loved me; I stepped out of the door of my house with a benevolent heart; I stood there with refreshing hand, and splendid were the preparations of what I collected for the feast day. Mild was my heart, free from noisy anger. The gods bestowed upon me a rich fortune on earth. The city wished me health and a life full of freshness. I punished the evil doers. My children, which stood opposite to me in the town during the days I have fulfilled, were sixty in number, small as well as great, and they had as many beds, chairs, and tables as they required. My speech may appear somewhat facetious to my enemies, but I call the god Month to witness to its truth. I collected in the harvest, a friend of the harvest god. I was watchful at the time of sowing. *And now, when a famine arose, lasting many years, I issued out corn to every hungry person in the city which I ruled.*"

"The only just conclusion," adds Brugsch on this remarkable discovery, "is that the many years of famine in the time of Baba must precisely correspond with the seven years of famine under Joseph's Pharaoh, one of the Shepherd kings." Then he continues to show how applicable the details recorded in Scripture respecting the story of Joseph are to the history of Egypt at this period, by remarking: "Joseph's Hycsos-Pharaoh reigned in Avaris or Zoan, the later Ramses-town, and held his court in the Egyptian style, but without excluding the Semitic language. His Pharaoh has proclaimed before him in Semitic language an *Abrek*, that is, 'bow the knee,' a word which is still retained in the hieroglyphic dictionary, and was adopted by the Egyptians to express their feeling of reverence at the sight of an important

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person or object. He bestows on him the high dignity of a Zaphnatpaneakh, governor of the Sethroitic nome. On the Egyptian origin of the offices of an Adon and Ab, which Joseph attributes to himself before his family, I have already made all the remarks necessary. The name of his wife, Asnat, is pure Egyptian, and almost entirely confined to the old and middle empire. It is derived from the very common female name Sant, or Snat. The father of his wife, the priest of On-Heliopolis, is a pure Egyptian, whose name, Potiphera, meant in the native language Putiper'a, (or pher'a,) 'the gift of the sun.'"*

Brugsch's admission that Joseph became viceroy of Egypt under one of the Hycsos kings is a sufficient reply to those Egyptologers who consider that the reading of Genesis xlvi, 34, in the Authorized Version, "every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians," contradicts the idea. But we think that a careful examination of the context of that very passage proves that Brugsch is right. For did not Joseph, when his father and his brethren had come down to Egypt, and he was about to present them to his patron the reigning sovereign, prompt them to declare to the king that they were "shepherds" whose trade had been to feed cattle? "When Pharaoh shall call you and shall say, What is your occupation? ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." Now how could Joseph have advised his brethren to give such an answer to the inquiring king, unless that he had been a Pharaoh of the Hycsos or Shepherd dynasty?

Another instance of the harmony between the histories of Israel and Egypt is to be found in the record of Joseph's death. The Book of Genesis closes with these words: "So Joseph died, being a hundred and ten years old, and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt." Now it is an interesting fact that the monuments show that about this very period of history the Egyptians recognized the term of 110 years as the limit of human longevity; and, as this can be traced for several centuries back, to almost the period of Joseph's death, we may infer that the expression "the happy life of 110 years" became proverbial among the Egyptians from the very high esteem in which their greatest benefactor was held. An inscription in the British Museum from the tomb of one *Raka*, of the time of Ramessu the Great, (fourteenth century B. C.,) and another in the Munich Museum, on a statue of *Baken-Konsoro*, the high-priest of Ammon in the following century, with a third in the British Museum, carved on a black stone in hieratic characters in place of hieroglyphs, (a most unusual circumstance,) belonging to the time of Amenophis III., of the sixteenth century B.C.—all these speak alike of thankfulness for repose in the tomb "after a happy

* Brugsch, "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. i, pp. 262–265.

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life of 110 years on earth." And in the select papyri of the British Museum, named *Anastasi*, 3, pl. 4, we find similar expressions which remind us of the death of the great lawgiver of the Jews, about a century and a half after the death of Joseph. "Thou approachest the fair *Amenti* [the place of repose for the dead] without growing old, without being feeble; thou completest the happy life of 110 years upon earth, thy limbs being still vigorous and strong." And so Scripture records that "Moses was a hundred and twenty years when he died; his eye was not dim nor his natural force abated."* Moreover, Mariette-Bey has shown, in his description of the tombs belonging to the first six dynasties, and therefore prior to the time of Joseph by some centuries, that the limit of human longevity was higher among the Egyptians, (as it was with the Hebrews,) in those early times, than it subsequently became in after ages. Thus in place of the later formula, "May you obtain repose in the tomb after a happy life of 110 years on earth," the earlier one ran as follows: "May you obtain repose, etc., after a happy and prolonged old age," without any number of years being specified.†‡ From these circumstances we gather that the monuments of Egypt confirm the Scripture narrative respecting the age of Joseph at his death.

Era of Israel's Egyptian Bondage.

"The age of King Apophis," says Brugsch, "corresponds within a few years with the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty." This affords the most important synchronism between the histories of Israel and Egypt, not only in respect to chronology, but respecting the great change which must have ensued when Amosis, the head of the eighteenth dynasty, conquered the Hycsos, and the favored race of Israel, who were until that time dwelling "in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt," were reduced to the condition of bond slaves. We have already seen that the death of Levi, the last of Joseph's brethren, occurred, according to the Hebrew computation, confirmed by secular chronology, B.C. 1707; and that the following year, according to Brugsch's reading of Manetho, saw the conquest of the Hycsos by the chief of the eighteenth dynasty, which is thus tersely announced in the book of Exodus: "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph." Then immediately commenced the enslavement of the Israelites, occasioned by the fear of the new king that "the people of the children of Israel (might become) more and mightier than we. Therefore they did set over them task-masters to afflict them with their burdens. And the Israelites built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses. But the more they afflicted them the more they grew. And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to

* Deut. xxxiv, 7. † *Revue Archéologique*, for 1868, p. 388.

‡ Our readers will note in this shortening of human life a remarkable suggestion in regard to the still greater longevity of the antediluvian age.—Ed.

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serve with rigor: and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage." Exod. i, 6–14.

One of the first tasks imposed on the afflicted children of Israel was to build two treasure cities named *Pithom* and *Raamses*. It is commonly assumed by those Egyptologers who ignore the supremacy of Scripture that as the name of one of these places was "*Raamses*," it must be accepted as proof that Ramesses, or Ramessu,* as his name is more frequently written, commonly called "the Great," must have been the "new king which knew not Joseph." But, independent of the fact that history as well as chronology are alike subversive of this theory, it goes a great deal farther than its founders contemplate, for it equally shows that the same name must have been in use nearly a century earlier, namely, at the commencement of Joseph's rule, when "he placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, *in the land of Rameses*, as Pharaoh had commanded." Gen. xlvii, 11. Moreover, since the several instances recorded in Scripture during the 126 years of bondage which remained to the children of Israel after the rise of the new king do agree very closely with the history of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and do not in any wise accord with the history of Egypt after the accession of Ramessu the Great, there should not remain in the mind of any one who bows in reverence to the oracles of God the slightest doubt to whom belongs the shame of having reduced the inoffensive children of Israel from their quiet life in Goshen to a state of the most cruel bondage.

The name of "Pithom" has been identified by Brugsch with the *Pâ-chtoum en Zalou*, that is, "the treasure city of Thom, built by foreign captives,"† and which occurs in the annals of Pharaoh Thothmes III., grandson of Amosis, the new king which knew not Joseph; and there can be little doubt but that it was the original treasure city *Pithom*, built by the enslaved children of Israel. So as regards the other treasure city, which is variously rendered in the Authorized Version as *Raamses* or *Rameses*; which some Egyptologers contend is a proof that it is confined to the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty. But this is a mistake; Lepsius in his *Königsbuch* shows that Amosis, the conqueror of the Shepherds, and founder of the eighteenth dynasty, had a son whose name in hieroglyphs reads Ra-M SS. The *Raamses* of Exodus was written in Hebrew R H M S S, and sufficiently near in sound to the son of Amosis to warrant the conclusion that they refer to one and the same name.

We have already noticed that various incidents recorded in Scripture connected with the story of the Exodus accord with the history of the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty. And in order to see at a glance the claims which they have for identifi-

* See Lepsius, *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypter*, Tafeln xxxii.

† Comp. Brugsch, *Hist. d'Egypte*, p. 129, with Brugsch, *Géograph. Inscript.*, iii, 21.

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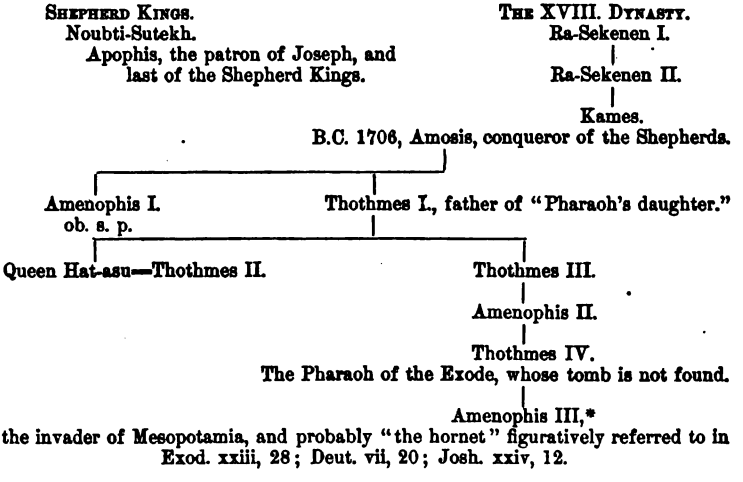
cation with the Pharaohs of the time of Moses, it may be advisable to insert a brief genealogical sketch of the order in which they stand, as gathered from the monuments and the papyri, together with Manetho's history of thirty dynasties of Egyptian kings:


Shepherd Kings.
Noubti-Sutekh.
Apophis, the patron of Joseph, and last of the Shepherd Kings.
The XVIII. Dynasty.
Ra-Sekenen I.
Ra-Sekenen II.
Kames.
B.C. 1706, Amosis, conqueror of the Shepherds.
Amenophis I.
ob. s. p.
Thothmes I., father of "Pharaoh's daughter."
Queen Hat-asu—Thothmes II.
Thothmes III.
Amenophis II.
Thothmes IV.
The Pharaoh of the Exode, whose tomb is not found.
Amenophis III,*
the invader of Mesopotamia, and probably "the hornet" figuratively referred to in Exod. xxiii, 28; Deut. vii, 20; Josh. xxiv, 12.

It is sometimes asserted that no names resembling those of the "Hebrews," or "Jews," or "Israelites," have yet been discovered on any Egyptian monument. But this is probably incorrect. In the statistical tablet of Karnac, erected by Pharaoh Thothmes III., on which Dr. Birch has commented with his usual ability, we find among the various captives under that king the name of *Hebu*, (Brugsch, i, 364, reads the name as *Hibu*, in Abusembel called *Hibuu*) as the seventy-ninth on the list, which is sufficiently like the word *Hebrew* to make it possible that they refer to one and the same people.

So in an inscription deciphered by Brugsch, certain captives called "*the Fenchu*," of the time of Amosis, "the king which knew not Joseph," are mentioned as employed in transporting blocks of limestone from the quarries of Rufu to Memphis and other Egyptian cities. According to Brugsch, the name means "bearers of the shepherd's staff," and the occupation of these captives corresponds with the forced labor of the children of Israel during their bondage. Hence he observes, in his *Geograph-*

* Amenophis III. extended his conquests as far as Mesopotamia, and must have passed through Canaan, weakening the power of its inhabitants, at the very time the Israelites were wandering in the wilderness, thus fulfilling God's purpose, as mentioned in Josh. xxiv, 12, and other passages of Holy Writ. One of the well-known symbols of the Egyptian kings is a "hornet," just as marked a feature in their heraldry as the lion is in that of the kings of England. The writer has in his possession a large rubbing or squeeze of Amenophis III.'s name, sent him by a friend from Egypt, in which the "hornet" is very plainly represented over the cartouche of the king's name.

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ische Inschriften, "with this name are designated the pastoral and nomad tribes of Semitic origin, who lived in the neighborhood of Egypt, and who are to be thought of standing to Egypt in the same relation as the Jews." In his more recent history, Brugsch speaks of the same people when describing the conquests of Pharaoh Shishak, of the time of Rheoboam, the son of Solomon, as follows: "The smitten peoples (Jews and Edomites) are named 'the *'Am* of a distant land,' and the *Fenekh*, (Phœnicians.) The *'Am* would, in this case, answer exactly to the equivalent Hebrew *'Am*, which signifies 'people,' but especially the people of Israel and their tribes. As to the mention of the *Fenekh*, I have a presentiment that we shall one day discover the evidence of their most intimate relationship with the Jews."*

Pharaoh's Daughter.

One of the earliest statements in the Book of Exodus after the enslavement of the Israelites under the rule of the new king which knew not Joseph, is the wonderful preservation of the child Moses by the instrumentality of Pharaoh's daughter. The name bestowed on the child by his royal preserver is thus described in Exodus: "And the child grew, and she [the child's mother] brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name Moses: and she said, Because I drew him out of the water." Hence Josephus ("Antiq.," ii, ix, 6) derives the name Moses from the Coptic for "water," and also "to deliver." And in strong confirmation of the truth of our understanding this period to apply to the eighteenth dynasty and not to the nineteenth dynasty, two centuries later, as some Egyptologers contend, this fact comes clearly out from our investigation of Egyptian history. The equivalent to the word Moses in hieroglyphs is found in the names of both the grandfather and father of "Pharaoh's daughter," both of which might be rendered according to the Greek transcript, as *Aa-moses*, *Thoth-moses*. Brugsch shows, in his "Hieroglyphic Dictionary," that the sense "drawing out" is the original one; but Birch seems to limit it to being "born" or "brought forth," and hence the signification of *Mes* or *Mesa* is "child." Canon Cook renders the speech of Pharaoh's daughter, on having adopted Moses as "her son"—"I gave him the name of Moses, 'brought forth,' because I brought him forth from the water."† And it is worthy of note that Josephus calls Pharaoh's daughter by the name of *Thur-muthis*, which is probably only another way of writing the name of her father *Thoth-moses*.

The other references in Scripture to Moses' treatment by Pharaoh's daughter, such as Acts vii, 22, and Heb. xi, 24, show that he was reared as her adopted son, with the possible succession to her throne, only that by grace he "chose rather to suffer afflic-

* Brugsch's "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. ii, p. 210.
† Cook's "Excursus," in vol. i, p. 484, of the "Speaker's Commentary."

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tion with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt." Further, we may fairly infer that this royal princess must have been a queen regnant in her own right, as none but such could have compelled a jealous priesthood to train her adopted child "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Now it may be shown from the monuments that in the whole line of Pharaohs, extending over nigh 2,000 years, there is only one real queen regnant with whose history we are at all acquainted during that long period of time. Her name appears on the monuments in full as *Hat-asu* or *Hasheps* (as it is variously read) *Numpt-amun*, and exactly in the place we should expect to find her from the account in Exodus, she being, as appears in the above genealogical tree, the granddaughter of "the king which knew not Joseph." She reigned many years most gloriously, first in the name of her father, then conjointly with her insignificant husband, and subsequently alone, until she took into partnership with herself, probably when Moses refused any longer to be called her son, her younger half-brother,* Thothmes III., who after her death showed the meanness of revenge by erasing, wherever he could, every sign of his great sister's rule over Egypt, either in malice on account of her having offered the succession to Moses, or from some other unknown cause.

There are many existing monumental proofs of her reign, the most glorious in the annals of the female sovereigns of Egypt, like that of her present majesty, our own Queen Victoria. She erected at Thebes two obelisks in honor of her father, one of which is still standing, and fragments of the other are scattered all around. The standing one, thirty feet higher than the obelisk which now adorns the Thames embankment, and certainly the most beautiful one in the world, is formed of a single block of red granite, ninety-eight feet in length, from the far Syene, highly polished, with reliefs and hieroglyphs of matchless beauty. The inscription on the plinth states that the work was commenced in the fifteenth year of her majesty's reign, on the first day of the month Mechir, and finished on the last day of the month Mesore, making seven months from its commencement in the mountain quarry. "Her Majesty," it adds, "gave two obelisks capped with

* Any one who has seen the beautiful style of features belonging to Queen Hat-asu, as represented in Rossellini's great work, and compares it with the hideous original bust of Thothmes III., in the British Museum, with its strongly-developed negro cast of countenance, will be inclined to doubt if they could be as nearly related as half brother and sister. Sir G. Wilkinson, in describing a statue of Thothmes III., where Queen Hat-asu is called his "sister," observes that "she was probably only so by an earlier marriage of his father;" and such was the hatred borne by Thothmes against her, that, after her death, he ordered her name to be erased from her monuments and his own to be sculptured in its stead. But this was not always done with the care required to conceal the alterations; and sentences of this kind frequently occur: "King Thothmes, *she* has made this work for *her* father Amun."—Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," App.. ii, viii, 19. Such animosity, as shown by the unforgiving brother toward his great sister after death, can only be explained in the way we have suggested above.

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gold, and so high that each pyramidal cap should reach to the heavens, that she should place them before the pylon of her father, Thothmes I., in order that her name should remain always and forever in this temple." Among other titles which the obelisk bears, such as those of "Royal Wife," "Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt," is found the significant and well-known name of "PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER."

The temple of *Der-el-bahri* is another monument due to the munificence of this great queen, under the superintendence of one Semnut, the son of Rames, the chief architect of all Egypt during her reign. And although Brugsch seems to entertain an unworthy prejudice against Queen Hat-asu, he admits that her buildings are "the most tasteful and most brilliant specimens of the matchless splendor of Egyptian art history." The walls of this temple, besides recording the expedition of her fleet to the shores of Arabia Felix, in order to collect the marvelous productions of this country—which recalls to mind the voyages of Solomon's fleet to the same country seven centuries later—such as gums, scents, incense, trees, ebony, ivory, gold, emeralds, asses, etc., etc., give the details of a campaign against the Ethiopians in the Arabian peninsula. They represent the Egyptian commander-in-chief of Queen Hat-asu's army receiving the enemy's general, who presents himself as a suppliant before him, accompanied by his wife and daughter. And it is not impossible that the Egyptian queen's general may refer to her adopted son, *Moses;* as Scripture tells us that he became "mighty in words and in deeds" in Egypt; and Josephus and Irenæus alike relate "the fame which Moses gained as general of the Egyptian army in a war with Ethiopia," * which, though somewhat incumbered with romance, still helps to explain a statement in the book of Numbers that Moses married a woman of that country.†

The most satisfactory proof, however, of the existence of the enslaved Israelites in Egypt at this period of history is found in the well-known picture of the brick-makers at the village of Gournou, near Thebes, at which place there is to be seen the remains, now fast crumbling away, of a magnificent tomb belonging to an Egyptian nobleman, named *Rekhmara.* He appears to have been overseer of all the public buildings in Egypt during the reign of Thothmes III. The paintings on this tomb, which are admirably delineated in Lepsius' grand work on Egypt,‡ not only afford evidence of the Israelites being in Egypt at the time Moses was compelled to flee to Midian, but of their having been forcibly engaged in the occupation of brick-making. There are several inscriptions on this monument, some of which read as follows:

* Josephus, "Antiq.," ii, x, § 2; Irenæus, *Frag. de Perdid Iren. Tract.*, p. 347.

† Num. xii, 1. Three different explanations have been given of this text respecting the wife of Moses. 1. A real inhabitant of Ethiopia, or a Cushite, that is, an Arabian, (see Bryant's "Analysis," vi, 122.) 2. The Ethiopian princess mentioned by Josephus. 3. Zipporah herself; which last opinion is possible from the juxtaposition of Cush with Midian in Hab. iii, 7.

‡ Lepsius, *Denkmäler Abeth.*, iii, pl. 40.

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The center inscription reads—.

"Captives brought by Pharaoh, (Thothmes III.,)
In order to carry on the works at the Temple of Amun."

On the left the inscription reads—

"Molding bricks for making a treasure city in Thebes."

On the right—

"The chief task-master says to the builders, 'Work hard—
The stick is in my hands. Be not idle. Let there be no giving in.'"

On these inscriptions Brugsch observes: "The picture and the words present an important illustration of the accounts in the Bible concerning the hard bondage of the Jews in Egypt." And in reply to a criticism which has been made against so treating the illustration, because the captive Israelites were not likely to have been removed so far from the place of their original bondage, we may point out that the inscription pointedly says that the captives, some of whom bear the unmistakable features of the Hebrew race, had been "brought" from some place for this special service; and also the Book of Exodus states that "the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble instead of straw."

Era of the Exodus.

Of the Pharaoh of the Exode the inscriptions give but little information, though sufficient to confirm our belief that it was the grandson and namesake of Thothmes III. to whom we must ascribe that great disgrace. It appears that his reign was short and inglorious, which agrees with what Scripture records of this infatuated king. A tablet between the paws of the Great Sphinx at Ghizeh is one of the few remaining monuments of his reign, besides the obelisk at Rome, standing opposite the Church of St. John Lateran, which bears the names of no less than three Pharaohs, with an interval of more than two centuries between them. It was commenced by Thotmes III., continued by Thothmes IV., and completed by Ramessu the Great. Another inscription of this reign on a granite rock opposite the island of Phile has this singular circumstance connected with it. After the usual boasting titles, it stops suddenly short with the dejunctive particle "*then*," evidently pointing to defeat and disaster, which were certainly the characteristics of this Pharaoh's reign.* And the inference that he was the Pharaoh overthrown in the Red Sea appears to be confirmed by the fact that, after all the careful researches of modern explorers, *no trace of this king's tomb* has been found in the royal burial-place near Thebes, where the sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty lie; while the tomb of his immediate successor, Amenophis III., has been discovered in a valley adjoining the cemetery of the other kings.†

* Osburn's "Monumental History of Egypt," ii, p. 318.
† Sir Gardner Wilkinson's "Thebes," pp. 122, 123.

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This may be explained by the fact that the Pharaoh of the Exode was drowned in the Red Sea along with his army, as Moses in the story of the Exodus seems to imply, and as David in the Psalms positively declares, by his song of praise, "O give thanks to the Lord of lords: for his mercy endureth forever. To him that smote Egypt in their first-born: . . . and brought out Israel from among them . . . with a strong hand. . . . To him which divided the Red Sea into parts, . . . and made Israel to pass through the midst of it, . . . but *overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea:* for his mercy endureth forever." Psalm cxxxvi, 3–15.

Wilkinson and others have considered that the Mosaic record does not state as positively as it might the fact of Pharaoh himself having been drowned in the Red Sea along with his army, but that he continued on the throne for some time after the great catastrophe had taken place, as Sennacherib, king of Assyria, did some centuries later. If this be the correct interpretation of the Scripture account, it may serve to explain the tradition which Eusebius gives in the "Armenian Chronicle," * from Manetho's "History of Egypt," namely, that this Pharaoh, Thothmes IV., whom he calls *Armais*, after he had reigned four years in Egypt, was expelled from the country in the fifth year of his reign, by his younger brother *Danaus*, when he fled to Greece, where he founded the city of Argos. Other authorities call this fugitive king of Egypt *Cecrops;* as Augustine positively asserts that "in the reign of *Cecrops*, king of Athens, God brought his people out of Egypt by Moses." † Accepting this as one of the many floating traditions connected with the story of the Exodus, it receives a singular confirmation in the matter of chronology from an unexpected source. We have already seen that according to the Hebrew computation the date of the Exode may be fairly placed at B.C. 1580. Now the "Parian Chronicle" at Oxford, a witness of the most unexceptionable character, inasmuch as it was drawn up as early as B.C. 264, commences with this announcement: "Since *Cecrops* reigned at Athens, and the country was called Actica, from Actous, the native, 1,318 years have elapsed." ‡ Now 1,318+264=1,582, that is, within two years of the biblical computation for the date of the Exodus.

In confirmation that this Exodus date harmonizes better than any other system, besides what has already been gathered from Brugsch's reading of Manetho, we might adduce the testimony of the Apis Cycle, which has been so finely illustrated by Mariette-Bey, § whose discovery of sixty-four mummies of the Apis Bulls, from the time of Amenophis III., the successor of Thothmes IV., in the sixteenth century B.C., to the time of the Roman Conquest, B.C. 30, sufficiently accords with our computed date of

* Eusebius, "Chron. Canon," liber prior, cap. xx.
† Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xviii, § 8.
‡ *Marmora Arundelliana*, Seldon's edition, London, 1628, pp. 1 and 6.
§ *Le Sérapeum de Memphis Découvert et Décrit*, par M. Mariette, Paris, 1863.

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the Exode to warrant our acceptance of the Apis Cycle—a well-known period of twenty-five years—as a confirmation of its truth.

Assuming, then, the identification of Thothmes IV. with the Pharaoh of the Exode, it is not quite certain that his successor Amenophis III., the Vocal Memnon on the plain of Thebes, either succeeded his reputed father immediately on his death, or was, indeed his son, as he pretended to be. The history of that period is singularly confused and perplexing at that very point, which is best explained by the disturbed state of the kingdom, which naturally followed the overthrow of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea. Sir Gardner Wilkinson says that "Amenophis III. calls himself 'the son of Thothmes IV., the son of Amenophis II.;' there is reason to believe that he was not of pure Egyptian race. His features differ very much from those of other Pharaohs, and the respect paid to him by some of the 'Stranger Kings,' one of whom treats him as a god, seems to confirm this, and to argue that he was partly of the same race as those kings who afterward usurped the throne, and made their rule and name so odious to the Egyptians."* If this surmise be correct, it is noteworthy to see how far it agrees with the biblical statement that the eldest son of the Pharaoh of the Exode did not succeed his father on the throne, as it is written, "At midnight Jehovah smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, *from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne*, unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon." Exod. xii, 29.

The testimony of Manetho concerning this period of Egyptian history is, to a considerable extent, in harmony with the biblical story of the Exodus, though he mingles his account of that event with the expulsion of the Shepherds, for he mentions the leader of the Israelites by name, as well as the country to which they went. He says that "the Shepherds were subdued by Amosis, and driven out of Egypt, and shut up in a place called *Avaris*, with 480,000 men; and that, in despair of success, he compounded with them to quit Egypt, on which they departed, in number 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness to Syria, where they built a city, and named it *Jerusalem*, in a country now called *Judea*. It was also reported that the priest who ordained their government and their laws was by birth of Heliopolis; but that when he went over to these people his name was changed and he was called *Moses*."† Considering that Moses was reared at the court of Pharaoh, one of whose capitals was at Heliopolis, we see in this Egyptian tradition, which was current when Manetho wrote, about thirteen centuries later, an undesigned testimony to the truth of the story of the Exodus as recorded in Holy Writ.

* Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," App., book ii, c. viii, § 21. See also Dr. Birch's paper in "Archæological Journal," No. 32, of Dec., 1851, in confirmation of the opinion that Amenophis had an elder twin brother, and that he succeeded his father when very young, and was for many years under his mother's tutelage.

† Manetho apud Joseph., *Centr. Apion*, i, §§ 14, 16.

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ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, July, 1880. (Andover.)—1. Do the Scriptures Prohibit the Use of Alcoholic Beverages? by Rev. A. B. Rich, D.D. 2. The Sabbath: the Change of Observance from the Seventh to the Lord's Day; by Rev. William De Loss Love, D.D. 3. Church Parties as Apologists; by Rev. Francis Wharton, D.D., LL.D. 4. The Data of Ethics; by D. M'Gregor Means. 5. The New Testament Vocabulary; by Prof. Lemuel S. Potwin. 6. Relations of the Aryan and Semitic Languages; by Rev. J. F. M'Curdy, Ph.D. 7. Theological Education.

NEW ENGLANDER, September, 1880. (New Haven.)—1. Historical Position of Modern Missions; by Rev. N. G. Clark. 2. Professor Nordenskiöld as an Arctic Explorer; by Rev. S. J. Douglass. 3. Bryant; by Rev. John L. T. Phillips. 4. The Avesta and the Storm-Myth; by Dr. J. Luquiens. 5. Relation of Evolution to Christianity and Rational Truth; by Rev. L. Curtis. 6. Forcing Truths and Duties into Antagonism; by Rev. F. A. Noble. 7. Do we Need an Ethical Revival? by Rev. Henry M. Goodwin.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, July, 1880. (Boston.)—1. Biographical Sketch of Joel Munsell; by George R. Howell, Esq. 2. Munsell Genealogy; by Frank Munsell. 3. Records of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. (Concluded.) 4. Gray and Coytmore; by William S. Appleton, A.M. 5. Bristol Church Records, 1710 to 1728. 6. Longmeadow Families. 7. Petition of William Horsham, 1684. 8. Taxes under Gov. Andros. 9. Marriage Certificate of John Tucker, 1688. 10. The Cumberland Cruiser. 11. Capt. Hugh Mason's Gravestones. 12. The Edgerly Family. 13. The Great Boston Fire of 1760. 14. Hallowell, Me., and its Library. 15. Records of the Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury. 16. Churchill Genealogy. 17. Petition of the Friends or Quakers to the French National Assembly, 1791. 18. Schools in the Last Century. 19. Record of the Rev. John Cotton, 1691 to 1710. 20. Indenture of Apprenticeship, 1747.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, September, 1880. (New York.)—1. The Ruins of Central America. Part I. By Désiré Charnay. 2. The Perpetuity of Chinese Institutions; by S. Wells Williams. 3. The Trial of Mrs. Surratt; by John W. Clampitt. 4. The Personality of God; by Prof. W. T. Harris. 5. Steamboat Disasters; by R. B. Forbes. 6. Insincerity in the Pulpit; by Rev. E. E. Hale. 7. Recent Works on the Brain and Nerves; by Dr. George M. Beard.

PRINCETON REVIEW, September, 1880. (New York.)—1. Physical Habits as Related to the Will; by Prof. Henry Calderwood, LL.D. 2. Late American Statesmen; by Francis Wharton, LL.D. 3. Popular Education as a Safeguard for Popular Suffrage; by President Robert L. Dabney, D.D., LL.D. 4. Poetic Style; by Principal Shairp, D.C.L. 5. Organization of Labor; by Simon Newcomb, LL.D. 6. Symbolic Logic; Prof. John Venn. Herbert Spencer's Theory of Sociology: A Critical Essay; by President Porter, D.D., LL.D.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, October, 1880. 1. Of the Authority of General Councils. 2. Foreign Missions—Progress, Characteristics, Needs. 3. Southern Methodism and Colored Missions. 4. Studies in Shakspeare. 5. Evolution. 6. Christian Ethics *versus* Agnosticism. 7. Bishop Marvin. 8. Sunday-school Centenary Celebration.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1879. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Character of Sanctity in the Catholic Church; by Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S. J. 2. Physiology and Modern Materialism; by C. M. O'Leary, M.D., Ph.D. 3. Positions of the Intellectual World as regards Religion; by A. de G. 4. Notes on Spain. Part II; by St. George Mivart, F.R.S., F.Z.S., Sec'y L.S. 5. The Con-

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flict of Christianity with Heathenism; by Right Rev. John J. Keene, D.D. 6. A Pioneer of the West—Rev. Charles Nerinckx; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 7. Aubrey de Vere's Poems; by M. F. S. 8. The Recent Ministerial Change in England; by J. D. S. 9. Suicide, Considered in its Moral Bearings; by James A. Cain. 10. Some of the Uses of the Microscope in Science; by D. J. MacGoldrick, S.S.

In a justly severe notice of Dr. Lindsay's absurd book entitled, "Mind in the Lower Animals," the "Catholic Quarterly" furnishes some valuable contributions to our knowledge of the true character and susceptibility to education of the Australians. Dr. Winchell rates them as lowest in grade and first in time of the human race. It is very important to know then how low the lowest is:

Catholic missionaries are even now engaged in converting and civilizing the "black fellows of Western Australia" with marked success, and these people, so long looked upon as the extreme of hopeless degradation, show an astonishing intelligence, aptness, and industry. A perusal of the simple account of the mission of New Norcia, near Perth, in Western Australia, which was published in the "Messenger of the Sacred Heart" during the whole of the year 1879, must be sufficient, in any candid mind, to justify to the utmost that confidence of the "worthy people," at whom Dr. Lindsay sneers, in a "potentiality" for culture and civilization existing even in the lowest savages. It gives a direct contradiction of *facts*, be it remembered, to every one of the reckless assertions we have quoted above. For instance, with regard to their intelligence and capacity for improvement, Mgr. Salvado, Bishop and Superior of the mission, writes: "One day, while I was teaching some little natives to read, one of them learned in ten minutes forty letters of the alphabet, large and small. I believe that few scholars of the same age in Europe would do the same. Another mastered in a few weeks the four rules of arithmetic. A third, seeing a captain of the navy taking the meridian with a sextant, watched him closely, and then, taking up the instrument, repeated the operation with perfect exactness." Nor are these isolated cases. "Mr. Thomas, the present official in charge of the aborigines in the district of Victoria, (South Australia,) who has carefully studied the subject, says that the children easily learn to read and write, that they readily commit to memory some lines of poetry or short songs, that they are very fond of oral lessons in geography, and perfectly understand the use of maps. A young native took, two years in succession, the prize for geography in the normal school at Sydney." A still more decisive instance is the following: "A young Australian woman, who with her father and mother had ranged the woods in the most degraded state of barbarism, was a few years ago received at the mission. She was instructed, baptized, and, because she showed more than ordinary talent, educated with special care, and

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finally advantageously married. She now superintends the post-office and telegraph station of our department. The government of the English colony gives her, besides lodgings, seven hundred and fifty francs a year. All the Protestant journals in Australia have recorded the appointment, and passed the highest encomiums on the mission where Ellen Cuper—that is the name of the young woman—received her education." The above account is confirmed by an official dispatch from the governor of West Australia to the Earl of Carnarvon, Minister of the Colonies:

"No. 9. WEST AUSTRALIA, GOVERNOR'S HOUSE, PERTH, *January* 20, 1876.

"MY LORD: It will probably interest you to know that the present director of the post-office and telegraph station is a native woman, who a few years ago was brought to the Roman Bishop Salvado. She performs the duty to the complete satisfaction of the postmaster-general. We have, moreover, a more recent example of the happy influence exercised on the natives of West Australia by this bishop. . . . A few weeks before my arrival Ellen Cuper, the postmistress mentioned above, was obliged on account of ill-health to absent herself for a short time from New Norcia, and I began to look about for some one to supply her place. The bishop at once informed the postmaster-general that he had at his house a young native girl, named Sarah Cann, quite intelligent, and able after a few lessons to take care of the telegraph station. I willingly agreed to give her a trial. During my visit to the mission I found her at the office. She was already quite at home in her new position. On my return to Perth I sent her my congratulations by telegraph, and she at once returned thanks in the most courteous terms. . . . I have the honor to subscribe myself, your lordship's very devoted servant,

WILLIAM ROBINSON, Esq., *Governor of Perth.*

Even in the freedom of their native forests the Australian blacks are by no means the senseless beings, lower than the brutes, nor even the children, that Dr. Lindsay would fain have us believe them. The testimony of Sir Thomas Mitchell on this point leaves no doubt on the question: "The frequent intercourse I had with the inhabitants enables me to speak with full knowledge. I must say that the individuals we come across in the cities are unfair specimens of the race. Those we meet in the forests and immense solitudes of the interior are handsome in appearance and lead a free and happy life. The first one I saw was tall and well-proportioned. His grave demeanor and penetrating look inspired respect. Two white-bearded old men were seated near him before a fire. One of them was most dignified, almost diplomatic, in bearing. He was so observant of decorum that when one of the children spoke a word while I was asking for directions, he admonished him with a slight tap of his long lance. . . . The man who consented to be our guide was smaller and less robust than the others, but he was full of resolution and courage, while his acuteness and rare judgment made him so useful that I always kept him by my side. . . . He spoke little, and always in maxims, which made his sayings easily remembered. This Australian rendered us great services. . . . I should add that his countrymen are not at all so void of intelligence as is generally given out. To me, who saw them in their natural condition, they seemed *at least equal, in this respect, to the peasants of England.*

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They are even in advance of these in a certain politeness and reserve of manner and language that makes a very favorable impression."—*Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, by Thomas Mitchell, Esq., quoted in the Messenger.*

With regard to their asserted ignorance of the very idea of a God, we think the following passage from the published narrative so important, and the remarks made thereon so judicious, as to deserve quotation in full, despite its length: "'It is exceedingly difficult,' says Bishop Salvado, 'to ascertain with accuracy the religious notions of the Australian savage.' And yet we hear certain tourists speak of them as matters well known to all. These travelers, without knowing any thing whatever of the language of the natives, spend a few days, nay, perhaps only a few hours, among them, and then come home and tell us that they are perfectly conversant with the manners, customs, and religious ideas of savages who, either through a spirit of mischief or reserve, have always been most reticent with strangers on these points. I am well aware how these truthful travelers pursue their quest for unpublished notes upon the Australian race. We may imagine one waiting for his prey. Along comes a poor native. Our knowledge-seeker pounces upon him. 'Have you a soul?' he asks. The child of the woods is disgusted and shakes his head, as if to say, 'I don't understand your jargon.' Our friend, the tourist, is delighted. He has made a discovery, and down goes the following note in his memorandum book: 'The Australians do not believe they have souls.' You see the thing from beginning to end is simply a mystification. As soon as he returns home his notes, with interesting illustrations, are given to the public, and, sad to say, by such truthful writers as our friend are the majority taught. Bishop Salvado, moreover, adds that the Australians, who are easily inclined to joke, often amuse themselves at the expense of the innocent traveler. One of them being asked the Australian word for water, replied *cona*, which in their language meant *excrement*. At another time they gave the generic name of the subject instead of its own specific one." Dr. Lindsay, by the way, asserts that "the language of the Australian blacks contains no word 'to express a general idea' or abstraction. It has no word, for instance, for the notion 'tree.'"

"But from Bishop Salvado they concealed nothing. . . . They believe in a being all powerful, who created heaven and earth, whom they call *Motogon*. This Motogon is a man of very great strength and wisdom, a native of the country, and has the same dusky complexion as they have. When creating heaven and earth, and the waters, and plants, and trees, and kangaroos, he breathed and said, 'Heaven and earth, and waters, and plants, and trees, and kangaroos, come forth;' and they came forth and were created. It is interesting to notice the close similarity between the formula of creation, this breathing, and the words of Holy Scripture, 'Let there be light, and there was light,' as the book of Genesis says in describing the creation. The Australians

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also believe in an evil spirit, whom they call *Cienga.* It is he who excites the fury of tempests; he causes the destructive equinoctial rains; he whitens their children with leprosy and kills them. Thus the savages believe in two principles, the one good the other bad. But, strange as it may appear, Cienga is as much worshiped as Motogon. 'I have seen them,' writes the missionary, 'in times of dreadful storms curse Cienga as the author of them, then run and put themselves under the shelter of their great eucalyptus trees; but when, despite their cloaks of kangaroo skin, they get drenched by the deluging rain, they become furious and stamp the ground with rage, forgetful of Motogon and Cienga.'"

We have said enough to show the gross inaccuracy of the idea of the Australians which is given by "Mind in the Lower Animals." The same, did time and space allow, could probably be done with regard to many other races of whom he gives a no more favorable character. We cannot, however, leave this interesting subject without quoting the following passage from the latest works of an eminent French anthropologist, M. de Quatrefages, relating to the community of wives, asserted by our author of the Australians: "We ought, perhaps, to refer to the idea of property, the manner in which adultery is regarded by some peoples. . . . Nevertheless, even among the most savage tribes, a more elevated feeling, and one which is connected with moral or social ideas, as we ourselves understand them, may be proved often in the clearest manner. The gravity of the punishment incurred by the culprit scarcely permits a doubt that it is so. The Australian, uncorrupted by the vicinity of the white and brandy, never forgives one who has destroyed the purity of his wife, and kills him on the first occasion."—Pp. 561–563.

The reader should particularly note the line where an Englishman places the Australian on a level with English peasants.

On all this we query: Is Dr. Winchell after all right in placing the Australians at the bottom of the human race, and so at its historical beginning? May not the Samoieds of the Arctic be really as low or lower, and therefore the true originals of humanity? If both lie at the bottom, why may there not be two original races? May not man then be both a tropical and "an arctic animal?" Or if the Samoied is to be held a degenerate variety, why not the Australian? Why not both a degeneration from an Edenic center?

The true conclusion seems to be that the human race is *one;* and that, surveyed as a whole, it rounds in upon itself exclusively, girt round with a chasm separating it from all other living races. The highest can pass to the lowest, the lowest to the

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highest, in the due conditions. Says Mivart: "Sir John Lubbock quotes with approval from Mr. Sproat the opinion that the difference between the savage and the cultivated mind is merely between the more or less aroused condition of the one and the same mind. The quotation is made in reference to the Ahts of North-western America: 'The native mind, to an educated man, seems generally to be asleep; and, if you suddenly ask a novel question, you have to repeat it while the mind of the savage is awaking, and to speak with emphasis until he has quite got your meaning.'" And Darwin says: "The Fuegians rank among the lowest barbarians; but I was continually struck with surprise how closely the three natives on board his majesty's ship 'Beagle' who had lived some years in England and could talk a little English, resembled us in disposition and in most of our mental qualities." And again: "The American aborigines, negroes, and Europeans differ as much from each other in mind as any three races that can be named; yet I was incessantly struck, while living with the Fuegians on board the 'Beagle,' with the many little traits of character, showing how similar their minds were to ours; and so it was with a full-blooded negro with whom I happened once to be intimate."

THE CATHOLIC WORLD for June has an admirable article on THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH, containing a very clear view of its origin, history, and prospects, written with candor from the Roman stand-point, and for that reason exhibiting the various phases of the subject. We take the liberty of presenting most of the article before our readers:

In the autumn of the year 1873 a gathering of Evangelical Christians of all lands and all denominations was held in the city of New York, under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance. During the sitting of this conference the present Dean of Canterbury (Dr. R. Payne Smith) and Bishop Cummins, an assistant bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky, partook of the Lord's Supper in a Presbyterian meeting-house—an act which gave great offense to many English and American Episcopalians of the High-Church and ritualistic schools of thought. The authorities of the new sect inform us that the tempest raised proved to Bishop Cummins that all hope of true catholicity in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America was at an end, so he thought it necessary to resign his office. In his letter of resignation, dated November 10, 1873, Bishop Cummins gave three reasons for his

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withdrawal: 1st, the progress of ritualism, which he was powerless to stop; 2d, the conviction that the root of the evil was in the prayer book; 3d, the anti-Christian outcry against the united communion. He concluded his letter in the following words: "I therefore leave the Church in which I have labored in the sacred ministry for twenty-eight years, and transfer my work and office to another sphere of labor. I have an earnest hope and confidence that a basis for the union of all Evangelical Christendom can be found in a communion which shall retain or restore a primitive episcopacy and a pure scriptural liturgy."

Immediately after his secession he proceeded to organize the new communion which he had called into existence; a bishop was consecrated in the person of Dr. Cheney, and a new prayer book was adopted, from which all passages supposed to have a Puseyite tendency were eliminated, something after the mode of that which Lord Ebury and the Prayer Book Revision Society have endeavored to introduce into England. Meanwhile the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, from which he had seceded, held a meeting and agreed that he should be formally deposed. By their canon law, however, they discovered they could do nothing in the matter for six months. The Reformed Episcopal Church was, therefore, well started before the bishops of the other Church had time to degrade their seceding brother—a fact which gave great force to the movement.

It remains to be seen whether it is likely to continue to increase, but there can be no doubt that it has hitherto made great progress. We find from the official report (1879) that it extends from British Columbia and the remote Bermudas to England, that it has five bishops, nearly a hundred clergy, and numbers its communicants by thousands, and that it already possesses a university nobly endowed. It is stated that in England within the last three months the missionary chaplain has inaugurated four Churches, and that its clergy are at work in nine dioceses.

A schism already appears to have broken out in its ranks, for in some announcements we are told that Bishop Sugden is the presiding bishop in England, and in others that Bishop Gregg is the primate. Various recriminating letters have also passed between the contending parties, who apparently are opposed to one another more on the question of jurisdiction than that of doctrine. Attention was drawn to the whole movement in the year 1878 by the charges of two Anglican bishops, (Chichester and St. Albans,) who in pompous language declared that intruders, under the guise of Anglican bishops and clergy, had appeared in their dioceses and performed services that could scarcely be distinguished from those of the Established Church of the country. The appointment and consecration of a bishop in the person of Dr. Toke, who had formally seceded from the Anglican communion after the Bennet judgment, gave rise to much criticism, especially from the fact that his consecrator, Bishop Gregg, had been formerly vicar of a well-known Church

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near Birmingham and a distinguished member of the Evangelical party. This proceeding drew down strong denunciations from the Bishop of St. Albans, who solemnly warned the laity of his diocese of the snare that was laid for them. Bishop Toke had been, till within a few months of his consecration, rector of Knossington, a village near Oakham, in the Midland District, and was a member of the committee for the Old Testament revision. Both the Bishops of Chichester and St. Albans, in attacking this new sect, assumed the Catholic argument—*i. e.*, they entered a protest against any one intruding into the diocese of a lawful bishop as *ipso facto* committing an act of schism, and in high-flown language warned the people against the want of jurisdiction on the part of the new sect. The Bishop of St. Albans went further, for he assumed the complete invalidity of Dr. Gregg's orders, and denied that he had any right to officiate at all. The correspondence is amusing. Dr. Gregg writes thus:

"My Lord: In your charge delivered on Tuesday you not only questioned the validity of my consecration as derived from a deposed bishop of the American Episcopal Church, but you failed to state the real reason for the formation of the Reformed Episcopal Church in this country—*viz.*, the extreme sacerdotalism which almost every-where prevails and will ruin the Church of England. The bishop through whom the historical succession reached me had his consecration directly through the Anglican communion, and had not been deposed when the succession was transmitted through him to the three bishops by whom I was validly and canonically consecrated. . . . That there is a real cause for the existence of the Reformed Episcopal Church in this country is witnessed by the fact that in the diocese of St. Albans alone we have hundreds, if not thousands, of active sympathizers, and those not entirely confined to the laity. The cries which reach me from oppressed churchmen in many places for an evangelical ministry are indeed distressing, and convince me, much as we all love the dear old Church of England, that when she ceases to be Protestant she must cease to exist. I am, my Lord, etc.;

"Husband Gregg, D.D., M.D., *Bishop.*"

In reply the Bishop of St. Albans wrote as follows:

"Rev. Sir: You assert that the bishop through whom the historical succession reached you had his consecration directly through the Anglican communion, and had not been deposed when the succession was transmitted. I presume that the bishop to whom you refer was Dr. Cummins. My statement was that this bishop, though not yet formally deposed, lay under prohibition from performing any episcopal act, which prohibition was publicly notified December 1, 1873, just a fortnight before he proceeded to consecrate that bishop through whom, as you say, you derived the historical succession. I have authority to state

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that none of the American bishops have ever recognized as valid the act of pretended consecration performed by Dr. Cummins, or any act growing out of it. I am, etc., "T. L., St. Albans."

It is curious that the Bishop of St Albans should fail to see that according to his line of argument the Reformation of the sixteenth century was wrong. If it is wrong now (assuming, of course, that the present Protestant prelates were real bishops) for Dr. Gregg to start a new Church in England because he considers that the existing one has fallen into grievous error, it must have been equally wrong for Henry VIII. or Dr. Cranmer to have done so; and yet the Bishops of Chichester and St. Albans cannot justify their position without admitting that their ancestors attacked the existing Church of their day. Again, if it is wrong for Bishop Gregg to intrude into their dioceses, on what grounds do they justify the conduct of the body to which they belong in France, Germany, Italy, and over the Continent of Europe? If they declare that the invalidity of Bishop Gregg's orders is sufficient to prevent their regarding him as a bishop, on what grounds can they object to Catholics for using a similar line of argument against themselves? In the debate on this subject by the bishops assembled in convocation, as reported in the *Guardian* of May 5, 1878, one of that body informed his brethren that Rome invariably ignored all Churches but herself, and that, though Anglicans might object to her line of conduct in partitioning England into dioceses and ignoring the Establishment, she only acted according to precedent, but that such was not the case with any other episcopal communion. Some of the bishops not only objected to the action of the Reformed Episcopal communion, but even ignored the validity of the orders of its clergy. Others, like the Bishop of Winchester, admitted that there was episcopal ordination. The majority, while they repudiated the new sect, were of opinion that the excesses of the Ritualistic party had brought it into life, and that as long as Ritualism prevailed, so long would the Reformed Episcopal Church continue to develop and increase.

It is an acknowledged fact that a great change has, within the last forty or fifty years, come over the Established Church in England, and that extreme forms of ritualism have been practiced by a large body of clergy which are offensive to many. It is, therefore, not surprising that a Church professing to be a "Reformed Church of England" should by such persons have been deemed necessary. Low-Churchmen do not realize the guilt of schism as High-Churchmen do, nor do they hold the same notions as regards the apostolical succession. They prefer bishops to presbyters, as being more respectable and more convenient, but attach small importance as to the manner by which the bishops originally obtained their orders of jurisdiction. It is probable, therefore, that if Ritualism should continue to increase there will be a large accession to the new sect from the ranks of

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the Evangelicals. It is curious to observe the importance that is attached to the question of the validity of orders by Bishop Gregg. He is careful to point out that his consecration was lawfully and canonically derived from the same source as the existing prelates of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, and that he is, therefore, a valid bishop, even in the eyes of the High-Church party.

"Our Church Record," the official organ of this sect, published monthly, thus writes in the October number for 1879: "Our Church has already ruffled the Anglican episcopal bench, it has disturbed the drowsiness of Convocation; it has fluttered the Church papers, and by God's blessing it will yet before long awaken echoes in the representative chamber at Westminster." . . . "Our Church is not intended to be either a proselytizing trap nor a cave of Adullam." . . . "The final result of the solemn meeting of Anglican prelates held in 1878, at Lambeth, with reference to the Reformed Episcopal Church, is that their lordships, having considered the subject of sufficient importance, thought it necessary to obtain special legal counsel in the matter. Their lordships were solemnly advised as to the need of grave caution, as otherwise they might become involved in serious ecclesiastical and legal difficulties, inasmuch as the orders of Bishop Gregg and Bishop Toke are most unquestionably as valid as those of their lordships. The legal advisers even went so far as to state to the Archbishop of Canterbury: '*The orders conferred by Bishops Gregg and Toke are as undoubtedly valid as any conferred by your grace.*' The result is of the utmost ecclesiastical importance, and fully accounts for the grave and fraternal silence recently so strictly observed by our bishops' episcopal brethren in the Establishment, and which has proved so enigmatical to the public in general, and the Church public in particular."

The heads of this sect declare that they have separated from the Church of England for exactly the same reasons that the Church of England separated from the Church of Rome—viz., the growth and rapid spread of Romish errors and practices. What the Church of England did at the Reformation, that, they say, the Reformed Episcopal Church has now done. Article XII of its *Constitution* states that, except where otherwise canonically specified, or where contrary to Evangelical and Protestant principles, this Reformed Church conforms to the laws and customs of the Church of England, and is thus not a new but an old Church. It has undoubtedly found a lodgment both in England and America, and is fast gaining adherents. It adheres to episcopacy but not prelacy, (whatever this may mean;) it accepts the Anglican Prayer Book, minus all passages that it considers sacerdotal; it repudiates any doctrine approaching to a belief in the Real Presence, and is entirely opposed to confession, priestly authority, and regeneration in baptism. It asserts that the Anglican Church has lapsed into something closely allied to popery,

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THE UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, July, 1880. (Boston.) 1. Natural Law; by Prof. O. Cone, D.D. 2. Universalism the only Solution of the Problems of Moral Evil and Human Destiny; by Rev. George Hill. 3. A Study of American Archæology—Part I. Interesting Remains and their Location; by Rev. J. F. M'Lean. 4. Religion and Morals; by Rev. Sumner Ellis. 5. The Chaldæo-Assyrian Doctrine of the Future Life, according to the Cuneiform Inscriptions; by Rev. O. D. Miller. 6. Universalism and Punishment; by Rev. W. C. Stiles. 7. St. Peter's Privileges; or, The Keys of the Kingdom; by Jane L. Patterson.

We are indebted to the "Universalist Quarterly" for a definition of the "New Orthodoxy" in the "Independent," which had escaped our notice in the paper itself, regularly as we are accustomed to peruse its columns. The definition states the basis which the whole tone and course of that paper indicate to underlie its own positions.

If the designation of "New Orthodoxy" is to be thrust upon believers who break away from the severe assertions and negations of old Calvinism, we should say that it belongs first to the Arminianism of the Wesleyan Churches. Their faith is "orthodoxy," and "new;" newer—and older—than Calvinism. If the term be applied to a line of evangelical thought within the Churches hitherto called Calvinistic, we should say that it is characterized:

1. By a very wide tolerance of belief, so it be reverent. It utterly denies the dogma of the Westminster divines—that none can be saved, "be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of Nature," unless they profess the Christian religion. It holds that God's mercy may include Mohammedans, Pagans, even skeptics and Atheists in Christian lands, if they have honestly tried to get at the truth, even though they have failed to find it.

2. By a larger recognition of a human, fallible element in the holy Scriptures. It thinks the application of reason and criticism to the Bible just as legimate as when the canon was made.

3. While heartily accepting revelation and supernaturalism, by regarding as doubtful and unimportant many dogmas and philosophies of old orthodoxies.

4. By recognizing a basis of true faith underlying many religions, and seeing in Christianity the greatest and mightiest of the influences by which men are made the friends of God.

5. By accepting with great simplicity the Edwardean doctrine that true virtue consists in "love to Being in General."—P. 375.

As we understand its articles thus stated we are decidedly heretic to this "New Orthodoxy." We acknowledge the "Independent's" candor in giving a true account of the "Arminianism of the Wesleyan Churches." It virtually acknowledges that our so-called "Arminianism" is the "old," that is, the primitive dogma.

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That dogma is in truth neither "Arminianism" nor "Wesleyanism," but primitive *Christism* and Christ's original apostolism and Churchism. In spite of Augustine and his influence it reigned predominant in the old Churches, Greek, Roman, and Anglican, until at the Reformation the disastrous genius of John Calvin brought Predestination into Protestantism, and actually that much established a spurious "orthodoxy" in its Churches. Arminius rescued the old doctrine, and the Wesleyan reformation completed its rescue and inspired it with its primitive life. Wesley, therefore, did not launch out in an undefined field of speculation; but, as a *restoration*, he firmly stayed within the limits of "Scripture and the primitive Church." Herein he differed from modern Germany and with this "New Orthodoxy." That "New Orthodoxy" seems without a conservative stoppage. It stands upon a smooth inclined plane and smoothly tends to the bottom, or to the bottomless.

In regard to Article First we may say that we coincide in the rejection of the Westminster doctrine, believing with St. Peter, Acts x, 34, 35, that "in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him." But to the "Independent's" very pregnant addition, "and Atheists in Christian lands," Wesleyanism is eloquently silent. She believes that *Atheism is sin.* It is the result of alienation from God, and produces alienation from God. She believes with St. Paul, in Rom. i, 19, 20, that it is a willful and responsible unbelief, "so that they are WITHOUT EXCUSE." It is an unbelief against intuitive light and knowledge as well as against external evidence. It is, therefore, a heinous and a damning sin.

Article Second lays open the sacred "canon" to a free fight; to as free discussion "as when the canon was made." Wesleyanism, thanks to her Anglican origin, has placed the once settled "canon" in her articles of faith, and holds that canon to stand among her undisputable foundations. In our Articles the complete canon is placed on the same basis with the doctrine of the Trinity. The Bible is an ORGANIC BOOK. Take it as it stands, from Genesis to Revelation, and it is a most majestic WHOLE. As to the Old Testament this has been asserted with absolute finality by the divine Giver of all revelation, Jesus Christ himself, the Son of God. Christ quoted the Old Testament as a divine authority; and his collective term for

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the organic whole was LAW, (John x, 34; xii, 34,) which was a synonym for *canon*. As to the New Testament we refer our readers to the concluding parts of our synopsis quotation from the "British Quarterly," and especially to Canon Westcott's affirmation of the *wholeness* of the New Testament. We reject with promptitude the pruriencies displayed by modern nelogists, whether in the columns of the "Independent," or elsewhere, for gnawing like vermin at these foundations. Especially do we reject the flippancies with which petty upstarts not only question the fundamental, but put on airs, and talk about "modern thought," and all that *lingua franca*. And when they make the acceptance of their crotchets a test of being "up to the standard of modern biblical criticism," we have no difficulty or hesitation in stringently applying the critical "rod to the fool's back."

The Third Article is not sufficiently guarded for our acceptance. Wesleyanism has been a well-defined system of doctrines, and it is by their definiteness that they have been efficient. As Dr. Fowler once well said, a religion needs a theology as a body needs a skeleton. That skeleton must be neither boneless in substance nor distorted in shape. There is great danger under the present temper of discarding the doctrines of our theology, of relapsing into a very ignorant religious sentimentalism. It is a very suspicious sign when the word "dogma" becomes a cant term of reproach. It was Theodore Parker's term of stigma for all the peculiar truths of Christianity. And one of Dr. Newhall's earliest and best articles in our "Quarterly" replied by showing that Parker's own *dogmas* were quite as *dogmatic*, and by him quite as dogmatically asserted, as any of the truths of our theology. On the whole, our young Methodist ministers who read the pages of the "Independent" would do well to read carefully, also, Dr. Hurst's "History of Rationalism," that they may fully understand the route by which utter apostasy from Christianity can be very smoothly attained through progressive liberalism.

ORIENTAL AND BIBLICAL JOURNAL. Issued Quarterly. Volume I., No. I. January, 1880. (Chicago.) Palestine Explorations; by Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D. The Silent Races; by L. J. Dupre. Ancient Lake Dwellers. Aztec Signs for Speech. The Test of Linguistic Affinity; by Albert S. Gatschet. The Elephantine Cave. Population of Jerusalem. A Monument of Cyrus the Great. Destruction of Ancient Monuments. Ancient Settlements of the Phœnicians. Museums. Ayenar. Fountain of Youth. Mandarian Language. Asiatic Origin of the Brazilians.

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Copper Age in Mexico. Our Contributors. Scope of Our Journal. Neolithic Implements. Selections from Magazines—Book Reviews. Sources of Information as to the Prehistoric Condition of America; by the Editor.

April, 1880. Influence of the Aboriginal Tribes upon the Aryan Speech of India; by Prof. John Avery. The Latest Cuneiform Discovery; by Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., F.R.S. The Assyro-Babylonian Doctrine of Immortality; by Rev. O. D. Miller. Osirids of Ancient Egypt; by Prof. T. O. Paine. Human Sacrifices in Ancient Times; by Senor Orosco y Berra. Teutonic Mythology; by Prof. R. B. Anderson. The Antiquity of Sacred Writings in the Valley of the Euphrates; by Rev. O. D. Miller. A Cinerary Urn; by Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D. Mount Tabor; by Rev. S. D. Phelps, D.D. Editorial Notes. Miscellaneous: The Transfiguration.—The Beauty of the Dead Sea.—The Holy Land.—Recent Explorations in Greece.—Cleopatra's Needles.—A Buried Temple and Palace.—Synopsis of Articles in Magazines. Archæology and Ethnology.—How the Pyramids were Built.—Discoveries at Olympia.—The Venus of Vienne.—The Relics at Præneste.—The History of Money.—Collections of Coins in this Country.—Folk-Lore.—Mythology. Art and Architecture. Geographical Explorations. Proceedings of Societies. Index of Articles published during 1879 on Archæology, Anthropology, and Ethnology.

Mr. Peet, who has heretofore edited the "American Antiquarian," now issues also a new periodical with the above title, devoted to Eastern archæology, so that he now superintends the Orient as well as the Occident. Its price is two dollars per annum, and the large number, especially of ministers, interested in the wonderful discoveries in Oriental archæology, especially in their bearing on the sacred records, will find every number a rich treat. He has engaged the aid of a large number of scholars, including Professor Sayce, Selah Merrill, Dr. James Strong, and Rev. T. O. Paine, "the best Egyptologist in this country."

From his first number we give the following quotation, indicating that Mr. Peet does not agree with Dr. Winchell in ascribing any immense geological antiquity or profound significance to Professor Whitney's Calaveras skull:

NEOLITHIC IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN GRAVEL BEDS IN CALIFORNIA.

Professor Whitney's reports on the auriferous gravels of the Sierra Nevada, published by the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, describe numerous implements which have been discovered in the gravel. The list comprises, 1. A mortar found in pay gravel underneath the volcanic one hundred and fifty feet, locality San Andreas, Colorado County, Cal., date, 1860 and 1869. 2. A stone hatchet, triangular in shape, size four inches around, six inches long, *with a hole through it for a handle*, found seventy-five feet from the surface in gravel, and under basalt, three hundred feet from mouth of tunnel, locality Table Mountain, Tuolumne County, finder, James Carvin, date, 1858. 3. A large number of mortars, pestles, *stone dishes*, with bones of mastodon

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and elephant, in auriferous gravel, ten to twenty feet below surface, locality, "Murphy," Tuolumne County, Cal. 4. Mortars, some of them weighing from twenty to forty pounds, "in gravels" forty feet deep, locality, Amodor County, date, 1852, 1857, 1858, and 1864, now in Voy's collection. 5. Stone mortars, one ten inches high, and six in diameter, found at ten feet depth, others at a depth of one hundred feet. 6. Bones of a human skeleton, found in clay thirty-eight feet below surface, finder, H. H. Boyce, M.D., 1853, Placerville. 7. Oval stones with grooves around them lengthwise, implements used as handles for bows, hollow on one side and convex on the other, five or six inches long, one inch thick, locality, El Dorado County. 8. Large stone platters, and a mortar made of granite, fifteen inches high and twelve inches in circumference, depth, ten to twenty feet; also a platter of granite eighteen inches in diameter, locality, Placer County. 9. Numerous stone relics, mortars, pestles, and grooved disks at various depths, locality, Nevada County. 10. A stone mortar standing upright with pestle in it, apparently as it was left by the owner. Other mortars from half a dozen to a dozen or two, enough to show a large population, depth, twelve feet underneath undisturbed gravel, also several mortars on the top of blue gravel, and another in blue gravel, forty feet below the surface, finder, Amos Bowman, dates, from 1853 to 1858. We have no opinion to express as to the antiquity or geological history of these relics, but our readers will notice certain points in the description which show that they are *Neolithic* and not Paleolithic, and any inference as to their being signs of a "missing link" in the tertiary age is far-fetched and unwarranted.—Pp. 23, 24.

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. Zemlja i Volja; by Axel Gustafson. 2. The Philosophy of Final Causes; by J. M'Lean Smith. 3. The Value and Regulation of Currency; by Hon. A. J. Warner, M.C. 4. Goethe and Bettina; by Clara White. 5. The Secret History of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; by John A. Parker. 6. The Science of Public Health; by William Dowe. 7. The Political Future of the Jews; by David Ker. 8. The Intellectual Position of the Negro; by Prof. R. T. Greener. 9. William Black's Novels; by William Baird.

Under its present editorship the National sustains an honorable rank in our higher periodical literature. In the present number we specially note Professor Greener's defense of his race against Mr. Parton. The style of the defense is itself a first-rate defense. Specially, also, we have read the able maintenance of Pantheism in the second Article by J. M'Lain Smith. Upon this article we have penciled pretty exhaustive notes, which want of room excludes, but which we may furnish in our next Quarterly.

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English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1880. (London.)—1. Justification. 2. The New Testament a Standing Monument and Verification of the Divine Mission of Jesus Christ; by the late Principal Lorimer, D.D. 3. Hymnology as a Reflection of Christian Doctrine and Life; by Rev. Andrew Carter. 4. Christ's Death: What was it? 5. Spain and Ireland: Resemblances and Contrasts; by Rev. W. Moore. 6. Buddhism; by Rev. Dunlop Moore, D.D. 7. The Body an Argument for the Soul; by Charles P. Krauth, D.D., LL.D. 8. The Exclusiveness of Christianity; by Rev. Professor S. H. Kellogg, D.D. 9. Haeckel on the Evolution of Man; by Principal Dawson.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. The English Precursors of Newton. 2. Mind in the Lower Animals. 3. Naval Power in the Pacific. 4. Memoirs of the Prince Consort. 5. Sabians and Christians of St. John. 6. Landlords, Tenants, and Laborers. 7. Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat. 8. Hodgkin's Invaders of Italy. 9. Bright's Edition of Pepys' Diary. 10. The Divorce of Katharine of Aragon. 11. The New Parliament in Session.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1880. (Calcutta.)—1. Christ, neither Eastern nor Western, but the Son of Man; by Rev. E. J. Scott. 2. The Santals; by A. Campbell. 3. The Later Hindi Translations of the Bible; by Rev. Nehemiah Goreh. 4. The Primitive Religion and the Rig-Veda; by Rev. K. S. Macdonald. 5. Hindu Widows; by Rev. James Payne. 6. The Independence of the Native Church—Our Side of the Case; by a Bengali Missionary. 7. Among the Chandals of Gopalgunge; by Rev. Mothoora Nath Bose, B.A., B.L. 8. Bible Distribution; by Rev. E. S. Summers. 9. The Provisions of the Education Dispatch of 1854: What they are, and how far carried out.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. The First Lord Minto. 2. Middlesex. 3. Thomas Chatterton. 4. Recent and Future Arctic Voyages. 5. Marie-Antoinette. 6. Universities and their Critics. 7. Around the World with General Grant. 8. St. Paul and Renan. 9. Whigs, Radicals, and Conservatives.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1880. (New York.)—1. Scotch Peerage. 2. The Place of Socrates in Greek Philosophy. 3. The Peasant-Poets of Russia. 4. Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. 5. The Life of the Prince Consort. 6. Game Laws and Game Preserving. 7. State Papers: Foreign Series. 8. A New View of the Indian Exchange Difficulty.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1880. (London.)—1. Senior's Conversations. 2. German Preachers and Preaching of the Present Century. 3. Bishop Wilberforce. 4. St. Augustine of Canterbury. 5. A Liberal-Conservative Chinaman on Western Countries. 6. The Early Victory of Christianity. 7. Dr. Moulton on the Hebrews.

The following notice of a late book by Dr. Dawson, written in further demolition of the geologic man, shows the curious effect of the geology of America on the minds of the European theorists in palæontology. They are queerly taken aback at seeing their proud systems suddenly transformed to moonshine. It is not, as the writer almost petulantly intimates, the "American archæologists" that "dispute the vast time-claims of their European brethren," but the American facts. Especially is American catastrophism playing havoc with Sir Charles

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Lyell's uniformitarianism, which the Europeans have carried to a superstition, and made the basis of a system of wild theory:

Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives. An Attempt to Illustrate the Character and Condition of the Prehistoric Men in Europe by those of American Races. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal of M'Gill College and University, Montreal, Author of "The Story of the Earth and Man," etc. Hodder & Stoughton. 1880.

It is three hundred and forty-five since Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence and landed at the Indian town of Hochelaga. This he describes as "a round citie" (we quote Hakluyt's translation) "compassed about with timber, with three course of rampires, one within another, framed with pieces of timber very cunningly joyned together after their fashion." The inhabitants grew maize, pounded it with wooden pestles, and baked cakes with heated stones. They smoked fish and flesh "without any taste or savour of salt," and made wampum of shells. In fact, they were living just as the "flintfolk" were living in a prehistoric British village; and in less than a century after Cartier, when the Sieur of Maisonneuve was founding Montroial, they and their city had disappeared as wholly as have the dwellers in Maiden Castle or the other Wiltshire and Somerset fortresses. Thenceforward till 1860 Hochelaga was lost to the eyes of men. It was then unearthed, while excavations were being made in the west end of Montreal for house foundations, and the "finds" were, as Principal Dawson points ont, exactly like those so common at home, and so universally attributed to ages long anterior to the dawn of history; indeed, "but for Cartier's narrative, the Montreal excavators might have supposed they were dealing with the relics of a people who perished thousands of years ago." The inference is that our chipped flints and primitive pottery and polished stone implements need not be pushed back into such remote ages. Even the so-called palæolithic flints of the Somme Valley and elsewhere, Dr. Dawson suggests, may have been in use along with the polished or neolithic implements, the former being used as hoes in the summer farming of the lower levels, and left during the winter floods in the spots where they are now found by men whose homes, and therefore their more artistic implements, were on the higher ground. He instances the flint hoes or picks similar to those of the St. Acheul gravel pits, which are found in alluvial deposits near the Ohio mounds. Most of the American archæologists, who seem to make it a point of honor to dispute the vast time-claims of their European brethren, attribute these to "the highly civilized nations of the Mississippi Valley, who possessed copper implements." Such flints are found in caches, as if quantities were used at one time; and their being found by themselves, and not associated with polished implements, is no argument against their being contemporary. To think otherwise is, in our author's estimation, "an inveterate prejudice." Such tools would be kept by themselves,

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and never where they were not wanted, just as the stone gouges (probably used for drawing off the sugar-maple sap) are found apart, unmixed with any chipped stones. Arrows and war-axes, on the other hand, are not found stored up, if we except the so-called palæolithic and transition weapons, which Dr. Dawson believes to be half-finished instruments, roughly shaped at the quarry, and left to be finished at leisure when the flint should have got damp enough to be more workable.

On the whole, we are told, the weight of American evidence, past and present, is against any distinction between palæolithic and neolithic; and the European facts will, we are assured, if properly looked at, lead to the same conclusion.

Of course, it is a question for the geologist; but Dr. Dawson is no tyro in geology. He does not underrate the evidence about the Kent's Hole deposits, beneath which implements have been found. He simply says: "To explain these by the continued operations of merely modern causes, without taking into account floods and other cataclysmic agents, is a stretch of uniformitarianism which the deposits themselves plainly contradict. Thus our calculations as to age rather serve to bring the age of the mammoth up toward us than to throw man back in geological time."

We are thus thrown back at once into catastrophic geology; and the wrought flints, which cannot be accounted for by work having been carried on at different levels, are not relegated to an unmeasured antiquity, because buried beneath successive layers of mud and stalagmite, for the causes now at work in nature acted in earlier times with far greater intensity.

There the matter rests. Meanwhile Dr. Dawson's books (for they all deserve careful reading) ought to make us suspend our judgment and reconsider our facts, instead of taking to that scientific dogmatism which is more offensive than its theological namesake.

We see in Europe the stone age lasting on almost to yesterday —stone implements being in use till lately in Ireland and Scandinavia; nay, one form of stone implement, the flint and steel, being by no means obsolete even yet. We see in America the civilization of the stone age co-existing with the fullest modern culture. Why, then, should we demand such vast periods of time for the growing up of this modern culture, and why imagine that the old stone-age folk were one whit lower in the scale than the Red men, whose implements so closely resemble theirs? The Red men, indeed, have gone or are going, without having exercised in a great part of North America any perceptible influence on the intruding race which has displaced them. Those who are left have degenerated—Dr. Dawson has a chapter on "The Lost Arts of Savages;" the wonderful hard stone pipes are now no longer made east of the Rocky Mountains. Of the flintfolk we may believe that they were either Basques or Lapps, or else Celts; that is, cousins-german of the Teutons. In the latter case they

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must have improved rapidly; and it is not impossible that the Red man might have improved had he been better handled. At any rate, there was as much difference between the Mexicans and the Hurons as between the Æduan or Belgic Gauls and the savage Attacetti.

Dr. Dawson (whose book would have been much improved by an index) has collected a great number of facts about "the physical characteristics of prehistoric men," of which we will only say, that it is a little rash to argue from the capacity of one or two skulls here and there. He pronounces the CroMagnon men to have been "gigantic and magnificent," thus confirming the belief that "there were giants in those days." "Judging from their great cranial capacity, and the small number of their skeletons found, we may suppose they represent rude outlying tribes belonging to races which elsewhere had attained to greater numbers and culture. These giants were superseded by a small-statured race with shorter heads, possibly after the catastrophes which destroyed the post-Pliocene continent that stretched westward through Ireland. But whether this bigness of brain indicates, "like the mound-builders preceding the Red Indians, that man's earlier state was the best, that he had been a good and noble creature before he became a savage," we cannot pretend to say. Dr. Dawson claims that this high organization of the cave men "justifies the tradition of a golden and Edenic age, and mutely protests against the philosophy of progressive development as applied to man." We do not see how, as a geologist, he reconciles man's recent origin with his CroMagnon man having possibly visited "the great Atlantis, and the valley of the Gihon, where now is the Mediterranean, and that nameless river which flowed where now is the German Ocean." But, then, he is a catastrophic geologist, and believes that Noah's flood was the break up of this post-Pliocene world, and the bringing land and sea into their present shape. His explanation of the height above the present water level of the Somme Valley caves is ingenious: the land may have risen. It certainly has done so in Scandinavia, in Scotland, etc. "In the days of the cave men the lower valley may have been a sort of delta, with banks of gravel, to which they might resort for materials, or into which their rejected implements might be drifted." They would thus have lived when the land was slowly rising, after the great depression which let in the Irish Sea and German Ocean on what had been dry land.

His summing up, then, is that there is no ground for believing in any race more rude or less physically developed than the modern semi-civilized races. The modern savage is a degenerate creature. The most ancient man seems to have been a well-developed and cultured Turanian; and this "tells in favor both of the moderate antiquity and unity of the species." Further, Dr. Dawson thinks he can find in these old men "the primitive idea of God, the instinct of immortality, and even some premonitions of a Redeemer." Into this very important subject we can-

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not enter; but we strongly recommend (on the *audi alteram partem* principle) the students of Dr. Tyler and Sir J. Lubbock to see what use the American geologist makes of much the same facts as those with which they deal. The similarity between the carved reindeer horns of the Dordogne cavern and the totems of Red Indian tribes is at any rate curious; while Dr. Dawson's engraving of the upright monument of a Chippewa chief closely resembles some of the "sculptured stones" of Scotland, and some of the French *roches percées*. That so-called "primitive" modes of interment lasted on in outlying places to quite modern times is proved by the discovery, in previously unopened Cornish barrows, of very late Roman coins associated with chipped flints and rude pottery.—Pp. 491–494.

British Quarterly Review, July, 1880. (London.) — 1. The Two Nations and the Commonwealth. 2. Father Curci's New Translation of the Gospels. 3. Religion and Morality. 4. Evolution, Viewed in Relation to Theology. 5. Inspiration. 6. Irish Land Reforms. 7. The London Water Question. 8. The General Election and its Results.

The following quotation from the fifth article clearly illustrates the doctrine of

The New Testament an Organic Book.

Our entire canon is the product of the authoritative mind of the primitive Church, including the Gospel of John, and the Epistles of 2 Peter and Jude.

We recognize in the books of the New Testament, in the first place, the relation of the writings themselves to the special spiritual requirements of the Church of God, or of some one portion of it, at the time. The Gospels are adapted, each one, to a definite Christian consciousness, while it is nevertheless true that they stand four-square in their unity. We may believe that as the Christian writings were called forth by their adaptation to portions of the Church, so they were preserved by them. The unity which is manifested in the New Testament is the unity of the Christian Church itself. And upon what basis was it that these different portions of the Church received and preserved the sacred writings? Entirely on the basis of their apostolic authority. Justin Martyr not only recognizes generally that apostolic authority, but he connects it with their work as teachers. "Through the power of God they declared to every race of men that they were sent by Christ to teach all men the word of God." He compares this apostolic teaching to that of the prophets.* "Just as Abraham," he says, "believed the voice of God, and it was counted to him for righteousness; so we Christians, also believing the voice of God, which is both spoken again through the apostles of Christ and proclaimed to us through the prophets, have re-

* I. Apol., 39.

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nounced even to death all that is in the world." * "Prophetical gifts remain with us even to this time, from which you (Jews) ought to understand that those which were formerly left with your nation are now transferred to us." †

The same view is very distinctly supported by the writings of Irenæus, ‡ and by those of Tertullian in his "Exhortation concerning Chastity," (c. 4.) "It is true," says the latter, "that believers have the Spirit of God, but not all believers are apostles. For apostles have the Spirit of God properly who have him fully in the operations of prophecy and the efficacy of healing virtues and the evidence of the tongues; not partially, as others have." This was the voice of the second century. We may well believe that it was that of the first as well. "The history of the New Testament canon," says Dr. Westcott, "may be divided into three periods. The first extends to the time of Hegesippus, (A. D. 170,) and includes the era of the separate circulation and gradual collection of the apostolic writings. The second is closed by the persecution of Diocletian, (A.D. 303,) and marks the separation of the sacred writings from the remaining ecclesiastical literature. The third may be defined by the third council of Carthage, (A.D. 397,) in which a catalogue of the books of Scripture was formally ratified by conciliar authority. The first is characteristically a period of tradition, the second of speculation, the third of authority." §

Speaking of that first period, and of the gradual collection of the apostolic writings, the same devout and admirable scholar remarks in another place: "Silently and slowly, without any formal deliberations or open contests, the work of God went forward. The principles which the apostles set forth separately were combined and systematized. The societies which they founded were more fully organized according to the outlines they had drawn. The writings which they left were preserved and studied, and exercised more and more a formative authority. The Church rose and spread, not by any sudden miracle, but by the gradual assimilation of all around which could contribute to its growth, in virtue of the action of that Spirit which is its life. . . . In their origin the writings of the apostles are seen to have been casual and fragmentary. Their authors claim for themselves distinctly the gift of the Holy Spirit; but they nowhere express any design of conveying to their readers a full outline of the faith. Still less do they indicate any idea of supplementing the Old Testament by a new collection of Scriptures. *Yet it is equally certain that the New Testament does form a whole. Its different elements are united internally by the closest and most subtle harmonies. No part can be taken away without sensible injury to its unity and richness.* The words of the apostles were placed more and more frequently by the side of the words of the prophets, as the teach-

* "Dial. with Trypho," § 119. † Ibid., § 82.
‡ See his work "Against Heresies," book iv, c. ix, 25, 26.
§ Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," Art. Canon.

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ing of Christ by that of the law. Partial collections of the Scriptures of 'the New Testament' were formed without the Church; and as the whole Christian body realized the fullness of its common life, the teaching and the books, which had been in some sense the symbol of a part only, were ratified by the whole."*

Thus we are shut up to this conclusion, that the authority attached to the sacred books was the authority of the Spirit of God as testified first in the sacred writers themselves, and next in those who received their writings and applied to them the test of their own Christian consciousness, as it was developed in the living communities of believers and embodied in the traditions and usages of the Church. In the application of this test, doubtless, it was not either a mere instinct which was appealed to, nor a mere historical tradition, nor the existence of actual documents critically examined. The voice of the Christian community was first the voice of the few and then the voice of the many; first the echo of the living voices of the apostles themselves, and then the memory of those voices, and then the residuum of testimony in the communities, books, and current speech of Christians. And the result is a volume of inspired writings which has preserved to us not alone the testimony of Christ and his twelve representative disciples, but the indirect evidence of the embodiment of that teaching in a Christian society without which it would have been impossible that those writings should have been handed down. The Spirit of God in the book and the Spirit of God in the life of man, in the historic world, confirm and authorize one another—"The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us."—Pp. 120–122.

These principles lie at the basis of all solid Biblical Introduction. On this subject we recommend the perusal of Bernard's "Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament."

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Brieger. Fourth Volume. Second Number.—*Essays:* 1. BRIEGER, The Religious Policy of Constantine the Great. 2. REUTER, Studies on Augustine, (Second Article.) *Critical Reviews:* BUDDENSIEG, Recent English Literature on the History of the Reformation. *Analecta:* 1. NEUMANN, A Tubingen Manuscript of Pseudo-Justin containing the Epistle to Diognetus. 2. WALTZ, Epistolae Reformatorum. 3. KAWERAU, Epistles and Documents Relating to the History of the Antinomian Controversy, (First Article.) 4. WALTZ, Dicta Melancthonis. 5. CRECELIUS, Miscellaneous.

The article by Dr. Brieger inquires into the personal relation and motives of Constantine the Great in regard to Christianity.

* "Bible in the Church," chap. v.

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He assumes that Eusebius' story of the cross vision, in 311, is no longer believed by any writer of note. The personal life of Constantine up to his death proves that he was not a Christian by personal conviction, but that the favors he bestowed upon Christianity were a part of his policy. The first proof of his intention to favor the Christians was given in 312, when he ordered the shields of his soldiers to be marked with the monogram of the name of Christ, a combination of the letters XP. The celebrated labarum which was subsequently carried in front of his armies may possibly have been made at that time, but this is not probable. The Christian symbol when adopted in 312 was, however, by no means used exclusively, but it was placed side by side with the ancient pagan symbols. In 313 the famous edict of toleration was issued in favor of the Christians, but this edict involved no infringement upon the rights of the State religion. The entire pagan worship was continued, inclusive of astrology; occasionally the continuance was guaranteed by laws. Even the coins of the emperor continue to wear a heathen impress; quite frequently they are devoted to the sun-god, the favorite of the enlightened pagan monotheists; in many other cases, to Jupiter or to Mars. The emperor shows no intention, as some writers have believed, to introduce a new universal religion; but, in his opinion, the two religions, the old and the new, shall co-exist. In order to promote their mutual toleration he endeavored to find a neutral ground. Therefore he speaks in his letters and edicts frequently of a supreme Deity, by which the Christians were expected to think of God the Father, the pagans of Jupiter or of the sun-god. The introduction of the celebration of Sunday had the same aim, and in order that Christian and pagan soldiers might celebrate it conjointly he prescribed a general monotheistic prayer to be used by both. When Constantine became the sole ruler of the empire, the favors bestowed by him upon the Christians became more marked, but still the continuance of pagan worship was not interfered with. It is true, paganism was designated as an impious opinion, as a power of darkness. But the "erring" pagans were authorized to keep their false temples. In 326 he issued a prohibition to repair decaying temples, but he remained Pontifex Maximus of the pagan State religion; he provided for the pagan priests,

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and even toward the close of his reign confirmed them in the possession of their income and rights, and in the exemption from public services. An inscription which belongs to the last years of his life, and the genuineness of which is beyond any doubt, proves that a little town of Italy was authorized to erect a temple to his family, the gens Flavia, and to institute scenic plays and gladiatorial combats. Even in his new residence, Constantinople, several new temples arose which rivaled many churches in splendor. In 330 Constantinople was placed under the protection of a special goddess, and all public squares were furnished with statues of gods. During the entire reign of Constantine we find pagans in the highest offices in the army, in the government, at court, and although there were many court bishops who surrounded the emperor, we also find a new Platonic sophist in the confidence of the emperor. The merit of having fully proved that Constantine did not make Christianity the State religion, but established a "partitetic" state, is ascribed by Dr. Brieger to a work by H. Richter on the Great Roman Empire under the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian II., and Maximus, (Berlin, 1865.) No compulsion was used to spread Christianity, but the emperor did not disdain the liberal use of external favors to strengthen the Christian party, and is even reported by his Christian biographer to have made an address to the bishops assembled at Nice, advising them to increase the number of Christians by prudent, though dishonest, measures. After giving this historical summary of those events in the life of Constantine which indicate his personal relation to Christianity, Dr. Brieger inquires more minutely into the aim which the policy of the emperor had in view. He endeavors to show that Constantine, as a statesman, foresaw that paganism was doomed to fall, and Christianity to obtain ere long the control of the Roman Empire. At that time the Christians were only a small minority in the empire. H. Richter, whose work has already been referred to, estimates that there were from five to six millions of Christians against about forty-five millions of pagans. Other estimates place the number of Christians from one tenth to one twentieth of the total population of the empire. But, though a minority, they were steadily growing, and the inevitable doom of the pagan State religion was foreseen by many. At that time the Church already had a

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strong, hierarchical organization. If the emperor without any interference allowed the Church to replace the pagan State religion, it was likely that the Church would become the ruler of the State. To prevent this, Constantine conceived the idea of making the already powerful organization of the Church serviceable to the State and the government. The part he took in the Council of Nice illustrates his position. The emperor called the Council; he appointed the president or presided himself; he indicated to the bishops what resolutions he wanted them to pass; the bishops who refused to concur in these resolutions were deposed or exiled. At that time the emperor favored the orthodox party in opposition to the Arians; a few years later he went over to the side of the Arians, and so many bishops had already learned to submit to the demands of the emperor, that he could secure the deposition by a synod of Athanasius. He treated the Church as a part of the State administration; thus he laid the foundation of the idea of a Christian State Church, and of the so-called Christian State. These ideas still prevail in many European States, among others in Germany. Being a member and a minister of one of these State Churches, Dr. Brieger would fain believe that the system inaugurated by Constantine has redounded, on the one hand, as he admits, to many serious injuries; yet, on the other hand, also to immeasurable blessings to mankind, as the Christian Church on this new basis has become the great educator of the nations. Appended to this article is an essay on the history and the different forms of the monogram of the name of Christ.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1880. Third Number.—*Essays:* 1. GRIMM, The Council of the Apostles. 2. WETZEL, An Attempt to Explain Galatians ii, 14–21. 3. FISCHER, Rothe's Fundamental Views of Ethics and Religion. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. RUPRECHT, The Preparation for Preaching. 2. KLOSTERMANN, The Date of the Martyrdom of Isaiah in the Roman Calendar. *Reviews:* 1. GOEBEL, The Parables of Jesus Reviewed by Achelis. 2. ZOECKEL, History of the Relations between Theology and Natural Science.

1880. Fourth Number. *Essays:* 1. WADSTEIN, The Influence of Stoicism upon the Earliest Formation of Christian Doctrines. 2. ERHARDT, The Views of the Reformers on National Economy, (First Article.) 3. KLOSTERMANN, On the Calendar Signification of the Year of Jubilee. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. BAETHGEN, Critical Notes on Some Passages of the Text of the Psalms. *Reviews:* 1. HERDINGIUS, Hieronymi de viris inlustribus liber, etc., reviewed by Ludwig.

Dr. Ernst Wadstein, the author of the first article in the fourth number, is lecturer in the theological faculty of the

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Swedish University of Lund. The universities of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands, have entirely the same organization as the universities of Germany, and many of the professors have received part of their education at the German institutions, and their literary productions are frequently published by them not only in their native languages, but also in that of Germany. They are frequent contributors to the scientific periodicals of Germany, which, of course, give to their ideas a wider circulation than the periodicals of their own countries. Dr. Wadstein's article first gives a full statement of the religious views of the Stoics, and compares them with Christianity. He next examines the relation existing between Stoicism and the religio-philosophical tenets of the early heresies which troubled the infancy of the Christian Church when theological speculations within the Church had hardly begun. The author of all these early heresies was, according to Irenæus, Simon Magus, a Samaritan Jew, whose doctrine was probably systematized by his disciples, and is fully set forth in the Philosophoumena of Origen. His fundamental ideas are undoubtedly of Stoic origin. The author of the Philosophoumena asserts that Simon derived the principles of his system from Heraclitus, which is so far correct as we know that the Stoics themselves made use of that source. The theory of the Naassenes, which is likewise fully explained in the Philosophoumena, is closely similar to that of Simon. The theories of the Perates, of the Sethians, and of Justin do not greatly differ from that of the Naassenes, although in their conception of matter they appear chiefly to follow Plato. Pythagorean admixtures are discovered in the speculations which are ascribed to Monoïmus Arabs. In all the systems referred to we find the Stoic view of God as a fire, which is both the primitive force and the primitive matter of existence, and which is developed itself by the life of the world. The doctrines of the Docetae are largely under the influence of the speculations of Valentinus, and distinguish fundamentally between matter or darkness and the divine light of ideas which pours into them from above; but at the bottom of the Valentinian ideas a Stoic foundation will be discovered. Basilides, next to Valentinus the most prominent of the Gnostics, excels his predecessors by greater originality and by greater perfection in system-

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atizing. The Stoic element in his system is also very apparent; it is oddly and ingeniously blended with Christian elements, and the latter occupy a much more prominent place in this system than in those mentioned before, although for its development Platonism and Orientalism have furnished very considerable contributions. All these systems, from Simon down to Basilides, were agreed in endeavoring to develop a Christianity freed from Jewish elements, and leaning on Greek philosophy or the religious ideas of the East. In direct opposition to them the Elkesaites, who belonged to the Jewish Christian sect of the Ebionites, identified true Christianity with true and primitive Judaism, and they hoped to restore the latter by removing all foreign elements from the former. They were, however, unable to accomplish this task, as they adopted the theosophy of the Essenes, and besides admitted into their system several pagan ideas, especially some of Oriental origin. Thus, although they had a different aim in view, they were drawn into contact with the Gnostics as soon as they became acquainted with them. The influence of Gnostic systems upon their views is especially found in the Clementine Homilies. Dr. Baur, in his work on "Apollonius of Tyana and Christ," and Dr. Schwegler, in his work on "The Post-Apostolic Age," have traced the influence of Pythagorean views on the theology of the Clementines; but, as Dr. Uhlhorn says, in his work on "The Homilies and Recognitions of Clemens Romanus," (Göttingen, 1854,) "The atmosphere in which this work lives, the cement which keeps the different elements together, is the Stoic philosophy." After following up the Stoic element in all the heresies of the early Christian Church, Dr. Wadstein next undertakes to show that even the Apologists of the first centuries, in their polemic works against pagans, Jews, and heretics, show unmistakable marks of being influenced by Stoic views. He examines in succession the works and systems of Justin, Athenagoras, Melito, Clement of Alexandria, and especially of Tertullian, whom he calls "the most noteworthy in the whole series of the celebrated Fathers of the ancient Church."

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ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

A NEW work on India, by Emil Schlagintweit, which is now in the course of publication, (*Indien in Wort und Bild*, Leipsig,) contains very full information on the history of Christianity in that country. Three brothers of the author, Hermann, Adolf, and Robert, are well known for their extensive and successful geographical explorations in the Himalaya Mountains. Emil Schlagintweit is the author of several works on the history of India, and his frequent contributions to German papers on the present affairs of India are highly valued. A few extracts from his new work, relating to Christianity in India, will be of interest to all readers of the Quarterly.

No other province in India is so closely connected with the history of Christianity as Madras and the Malabar coast. Very near to the Christians, Jews were living from the remotest times. According to a native tradition, Saint Thomas, one of the apostles, landed in India, in the year 52. A German missionary, Germann, has written a volume of 800 pages on the Church of the Christians of Saint Thomas, in which he undertakes to prove that the apostle entered India near the mouth of the Indus, and labored at first in what is now the Punjab, among Dshats, before he set out to search in the south a more promising field. He sailed from Cranganor, on the Malabar coast, to Cochin. Here on the coast the apostle founded the first Christian congregations. Until recently a stone column was shown, near Quilon, which the apostle was said to have set up. Now it has been swallowed up by the sea. By the most frequented commercial road of those times he traveled into the interior of the country, established a congregation at Nellakul, which lies at the foot of the highest peak of the mountain, crossed the mountain, and advanced as far as the eastern coast. In Mailapoor, now called Little Mount, and situated within the territory of the city of Madras, the apostle settled. He labored here for about ten years, and is said to have finally been killed by the arrow of a hunter while he was absorbed in prayer. In the third century his bones were carried over to Edessa, the modern Arfa on the Euphrates. The traditions on the origin of the Indian Church vary; but in view of the fact that Roman writers were well acquainted with the coast and the political affairs of Coromandel, and that the existence of an active trade between Rome and South India is proved by the numerous coins belonging to the period of the first emperors which were found here, it is by no means impossible that South India was visited in the first century by a Christian apostle. The strong attachment to Little Mount Saint Thomas, which has been exhibited by the Indian Christians at all times, also indicated that there events of great importance for Christianity must have taken place.

The first foreigner who preached in India after Saint Thomas was Pan-

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taenus, the learned head of the celebrated school of Alexandria. He landed, about 200, near the modern Bombay, and preached in the Gujerate as well as on the Indus. The Manicheans also tried to come into contact with the Indian Christians. The name Manigrama, which is found in the oldest document of a land grant to Christians, and which is interpreted as "village of Manes," is adduced as an argument that even Manes himself visited India. In 338 the Emperor Constantine sent the Indian Theophilus, a native of the island of Diu, which now belongs to Portugal, to Diu to gain the Indian Christians for Arianism. His efforts were neutralized by the Bishop of Edessa, but they prove that the Indian congregations at that time must have been both numerous and important, and that the bishop who signed his name in the minutes of the Council of Nice as "John, Bishop of Persia and Great India," must have actually exercised episcopal jurisdiction in India.

The first bishop who resided in India was Italoho, or Ahatalla. About 345, a merchant of Jerusalem, Thomas, led, by order of Bishop Eustathius of Edessa, a colony of Syrians to India, and settled with them near Cranganor. Mar Thomas, as he is called in the annals of Malabar, became a man of great influence, who gave to the Indian Church a permanent constitution. A peculiar feature in this constitution was that the high ecclesiastical dignity next to the bishop, who was a foreigner, was that of an archdeacon, which was hereditary in the family Palakommatta, which is designated by tradition as the first family converted by the Apostle Thomas. The Syrian language was introduced as the language of divine service, and has remained so up to the present day. These innovations led to a split between the old and the new Christians. After the death of Mar Thomas, this split even threatened the very existence of the Indian Church; but its ruin was averted by the arrival of the Nestorians. The early presence of the Nestorians in Southern India is proved by peculiar inscriptions on crosses and tablets, which are written in Pehlevi characters. When Roman Catholic missionaries, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, established a mission in India, they found the Indian Christians highly esteemed and in possession of lands and of the right of levying tolls. The rights of the Christians had been engraved, in 825, in the Old Tameel language, which was first deciphered by the German missionary, Grundert. The Portuguese were astonished to find in South India large congregations of Christians, especially on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. The number of Indian Christians at that time was estimated at 200,000; the number of parishes at 1,500. For some time religious peace prevailed between the new-comers and the old Christians, but this came to an end when the Jesuits arrived, and, in 1541, established in Goa the seminary of the Holy Faith, which was subsequently called a university, and was visited by large numbers of natives. The Jesuits, aided by the power of Portugal and the Inquisition, made great efforts to subject the native Christian population to the rule of the Pope; but they resisted until 1599, when

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the Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes, of Goa, at the Synod of Diamper, or Udiamper, prevailed upon about three fourths of the Nestorians to join the Church of Rome and adopt the Latin rite. The adherents of the old faith were cruelly persecuted, their priests were deprived of an opportunity to receive an education; they became very ignorant, and the laity became indifferent. In 1664 the Roman Catholic Church numbered eighty-four congregations, while thirty-two Old Syrian congregations kept aloof from a union with Rome. In 1653 the archdeacon of the family of Pulokommata placed himself at the head of an agitation for repealing the act of union, and he applied to the Patriarch of Antioch, who resided in the Convent of Saphran, near Mardin, for sending him a bishop. In 1665 the Syrian bishop, Mar Gregory, landed in Malabar; but as the Patriarch of Antioch was a Jacobite, not a Nestorian, the Indian Christians became likewise Jacobites. The peace which in 1662 was concluded between Holland and Portugal put an end to the power of the Portuguese in India and to the influence of the Jesuits. Among the native Jacobites the archdeacon received the position of bishop. According to the census of 1872 the total number of Christians on the Malabar coast exceeded 600,000; among these are 64,000 United Syrians and 400,000 Independent Jacobites; the Protestant missionaries claim 20,800 converts; the Roman Catholics about 200,000. In the two native States of Cochin (601,114 inhabitants) and Travancore (2,311,379 inhabitants) every fifth inhabitant is a Christian. This shows a larger percentage of Christian population than the Roman Empire had at the time of the conversion of the Emperor Constantine, when their number was estimated at one tenth of the total population. The social position of the Christians is also very high. They equal in rank the Brahmans, and the contempt with which they treat some lower classes of the people as slaves has frequently been rebuked by the missionaries. They are chiefly employed in agriculture and commerce; as merchants they are highly esteemed for their honesty. Like the Christians of Kurdistan, they called themselves Nazareni. The Hindus add contemptuously Mophla, (Mapilla,) the name of a Mohammedan sect on the coast of Malabar, and in the census of Madras they have been returned as Mohammedan Christians. The priests are called Kassanar, from the Syrian word Quasis, Presbyter, and the Malabar word Nair, which signifies a prominent man; the deacons are called Shamshana; the native bishop, Mar Athanasius, who holds this position since 1844, is still a member of the old family of Palakommatta. Formerly all the priests were unmarried, but since their income, which was formerly altogether insufficient, has been greatly improved owing to the efforts of the English authorities, a large percentage of the village priests are married, and many scandals which used to arise from the immoralities of the celibate priest have now ceased. Education is making progress; in 1878 the village schools had 27,000 scholars and an ecclesiastical seminary provides for the education of priests. In their prayers, they begin more and more to substitute for the Old Syrian language, which is not understood by the laity, the lan-

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guage of the country, Malayalim,* but the bishop, Mar Athanasius, is opposed to the desire of the English missionaries to use the native language for the whole of the divine service.

As the Jacobites in Asiatic Turkey are very poor, the Patriarchs of Antioch always endeavored to obtain as large amounts of money as possible from the Churches of Malabar. If the amount sent did not come up to their expectation, it was regarded by them as a proof of unfaithfulness on the part of the Indian Metropolitan. He was frequently deposed from office, and a successor sent. In 1848 there were at the same time five Metropolitans. None of them was recognized by the government. In 1857 the Directory of the East India Company ordered one out of the country, and declared that the Indian Christians had a right to acknowledge whom they pleased. In 1866 the native bishop, Mar Athanasius, chose a coadjutor likewise from the family of Palakommatta. These indications of defection alarmed the Patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius. He went, in 1874, to England to vindicate his claim. In 1875 he went to India, where his arrival, which had no precedent in the history of the Indian Church, produced great confusion.

About the same time the Patriarch of the United Syrian or Chaldean Church, which is connected with Rome, made an attempt to extend his jurisdiction over the native Indian Christians of Malabar, who thus far had been subject to the Latin Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly. It appears that many of these Christians had expressed a wish to have native bishops like Mar Athanasius, and that, in 1856, an embassy had been sent to Bagdad, the residence of the Chaldean Patriarch. The latter sent, in 1875, a bishop of his rite, Mellus, to India, but the Papal delegate at once pronounced against this bishop the sentence of excommunication. The government of the two countries in which these native Christians live, Cochin and Travancore, have issued proclamations, in which they refer the rival bishops to the courts. The final decision of the latter had not yet been given when Mr. Schlagintweit wrote this part of his work. These conflicts of jurisdiction gave rise to a new sect, called the "Six Years' People," which was founded in 1875, and predicted the second arrival of Christ for the year 1881. The sect has been joined by the Anglican clergyman, Justus Joseph, and several Brahmans who had been converted by him.

To the above abstracts from the work of Professor Schlagintweit we add a few facts from other sources. Enumerations, to ascertain the religious creed of the inhabitants of India, were taken in the various provinces during the years 1868 to 1876: in Berar and the Punjab 1868, in Oude 1869, in Ajmere and Coorg 1871, and in the remaining provinces from 1872 to 1876. A verification of all these returns, with the results of the general census of India, furnished the following classification of the leading creeds in the provinces under British administration:—

* In this language, the Hungarian Jesuit, Hanxleden, who died in Malabar on March 20, 1732, composed several excellent poems. His history of Saint Genevieve in verse is still a popular book among the native Christians.

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Creeds.	Numbers.	Creeds.	Numbers.
Hindus	139,248,568	Christians	897,216
Mohammedans	40,882,537	Other Creeds	5,102,823
Buddhists	2,832,851	"Religion Not Known"	1,977,400
Sikhs	1,174,436	Total	191,065,445

The following table shows the number of Christians in each of the provinces of India under British administration:—

Provinces.	Christians.	Provinces.	Christians.
Bengal	90,763	Berar	903
Assam	1,947	Mysore	25,676
North-west Provinces	22,196	Coorg	2,410
Ajmere	807	British Burmah	52,299
Oude	7,761	Madras	533,760
Punjab	22,154	Bombay	126,063
Central Provinces	10,477	Total	897,216

It must be remembered that all the above figures refer to the provinces under direct British administration, and do not include the feudatory or native States. The latter have an aggregate population of 48,298,895. Two of the States of this class have already been referred to, as containing a Christian population of about 600,000. This, alone, would raise the Christian population of British India at 1,500,000. It must further be remarked that, as a general rule, the census appears to enumerate as Christians only those who have formally been received into one of the Christian denominations, not those who had declared their intention to become, Christians or who regularly attended Christian service. The total force of the Protestant Missionary Societies in India was represented, in 1879, by 1,833 ordained and assistant missionaries, and 88,149 communicants. The number of persons actually connected with Protestant communities in India, Ceylon, and Burmah was reckoned, in 1879, at 460,000. The nominally (Protestant) Christian population was estimated in the same year at 2,500,000, (*Baptist Missionary Magazine*, July, 1879.)

The organization of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in India* begins with the establishment of the Portuguese bishopric of Goa in 1532. In 1557 Goa was made an archbishopric, and in the same year two other episcopal sees, Cochin and Malacca, were established. When a part of the Christians of Saint Thomas united with Rome, in 1599, their archbishopric Angamala was placed, in 1600, as suffragan see under the archbishop of Goa. In 1605 it was again made an archbishopric, but the see was transferred to Cranganor. In 1606 a new bishopric was established on the eastern coast at Meliapoor. Other suffragan sees of Goa were established, in 1576 at Macao, on the coast of China, in 1588 at Funay, in Japan, in 1690 at Peking and Nankin. Then the ecclesiastical province embraced India, China, Japan, the Indian Islands, and Eastern Africa, exceeding, in point of territory, every other ecclesiastical province of the Roman Catholic Church. The King of Portugal had a right of nominating the bishops of these sees, but as this right was not exercised and the suffragan sees remained generally vacant, the Pope appointed, with-

* The following information on the Roman Catholic Church is chiefly taken from an article in the *Katholische Missionen*, 1880, January and May.

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out the consent of Portugal, vicars apostolic to exercise the episcopal functions. The first vicar apostolic was appointed for Malabar in 1659, and many others followed, until Pope Gregory XVI., in 1838, confined the archdiocese of Goa to the Portuguese possessions Gujerate and a few Portuguese congregations in British India, dissolved the bishoprics of Cranganor, Cochin, Meliapoor, and Malacca, and divided the whole of the British possessions among the vicariates apostolic. For nearly two hundred years the Portuguese government, aided by most of the Portuguese bishops and priests in India, made a violent opposition to the measures adopted by the Pope, but they have finally recognized their resistance as useless. In 1879 the Church had in British India, inclusive of the Portuguese and French possessions, twenty-two dioceses, nearly all called vicariates apostolic. The aggregate population is given as about 1,450,000.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

AMONG the theological text-books used at the German universities Hagenbach's Encyclopedia and Methodology has long occupied a prominent place. Through the author's lifetime it has passed through nine editions, and now, after his death, the tenth edition has been published by Prof. E. Kautzsch, (*Encyclopadie und Methodologie der theologischen Wissenschaften.* Leipz. 1880.) The book is especially complete in its literary department, and it is almost indispensable to those who wish to inform themselves on the entire literature on any particular subject.

No less than three histories of Christian missions are now in the course of publication in Germany: 1. Dr. Burckhardt's *Kleine Missionsbibliothek*, the second edition of which is published by Dr. Grundemann, the well-known author of the Missionsatlas; 2. *Missionsbilder*, published at Calw; and, 3, the "History of Christian Missions among Pagans," by Dr. Kalkar, one of the foremost theologians of Denmark, who publishes simultaneously with the Danish original a German translation. Dr. Burckhardt's *Missionsbibliothek* is especially noted for its valuable geographical and ethnological introductions. The *Missionsbilder* are edited by Dr. Gundert, one of the best informed German writers on Christian missions. Dr. Kalkar's history is the only one which embraces within its scope the Roman Catholic missions, the two other confining themselves to the history of Protestant missions.

Tiele's "Outline of the History of Religion," which was originally published in 1876 in the Dutch language, at Amsterdam, and in 1877 appeared in an English translation, has now been translated into German by Dr. Weber, (*Compendium der Religionsgeschichte.* Berlin. 1880.) The work is generally regarded as the best on the subject which has thus far appeared. The German translation is indebted to the author for several

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new contributions, and the section which relates to the later history of Brahmanism has been entirely rewritten. The author of the work is Professor of the General History of Religion at the Dutch University of Leyden. All the Dutch universities have a special chair for the general history of religion, and after this model a special professorship for the same study has been established at the College de France, at Paris, and at the Catholic University of the same city.

FRANCE.

A work of great learning on the primitive history of the human race has been published by Prof. Franc Lenormant, a scholar already very favorably known by a number of other works on ancient history, (*Les origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des peuples orientaux.* Paris, 1880.) As the title indicates, the book compares the accounts of the Bible on the origin of man with the traditions of other Oriental nations. The first volume contains the time from the creation of man to the deluge; other volumes are to follow. The matter given in this first volume is divided into the following groups: The creation of man, the fall, the cherubim and the flaming sword, the fratricide and the foundation of the first city, the Sethites and the Cainites, the ten antediluvian patriarchs, the children of God and the daughters of men, the deluge. Numerous appendices contain translations and partly explanations of the most important documents from which the parallel accounts have been taken, as the cuneiform texts, Berosus, Sanchoniathon, Damascius, etc. A very explicit index facilitates the use of the book. At the head of his preface the author places the words of Montaigne: C'est ici, lecteurs, un livre de bonne foy; and he wishes to indicate by them that his investigations do not conflict with the belief in the Christian revelation and in the Catholic Church, to which the author belongs.

A new periodical has been begun in France, which is to be exclusively devoted to the history of religions. Its full title is: *Revue de l'histoire des religions publiée sous la direction de M. Maurice Vernet avec le concours de MM. A. Barth, A. Bouché-Leclerq, P. Decharme, etc.* Every year six numbers will be published. Its character will be exclusively historical and polemical, and dogmatic articles will be excluded. As the history of the Christian Church has already special organs, this periodical will chiefly treat of the ancient and modern religions of the East and the ancient religions of the West. It will, however, make an exception in regard to the introduction of Christianity in the middle and in the north of Europe. Every number of the Review will have seven sections: 1. Essays; 2. Critical reviews of recent literature by several contributors, as, on Ancient Egypt, by Maspero; on Old-Aryan Mythology and the Indian Religions, by A. Barth; on Assyria, by St. Gayard; on Greece, by Decharme; on Italy, by Bouché-Leclerq; on the Mythology of Gaul, by Gardoz; on Judaism and Christianity, by the editor-in-chief; 3. Notices and Documents; 4. Comptes Rendus; 5. Contents of other Periodicals; 6. Chronicles; 7. Bibliography.

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ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Pre-adamites; or, A Demonstration of the Existence of Men before Adam; together with a Study of their Condition, Antiquity, Racial Affinities, and Progressive Dispersion over the Earth. With Charts and other Illustrations. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D. 8vo., pp. 500. Chicago: S. G. Grigg & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

Of Dr. Winchell's successive publications none appears to have made so powerful an impression upon the public mind as the present magnificent volume. With the single exception of the uncandid and indiscriminate depreciation against the book, or rather against its author, in the "Independent," every notice which we have seen in the various periodicals, secular, religious, literary, or scientific, has been courteous and appreciative. These various notices clearly indicate that, however popular fancy may be excited by the disturbing utterances of science, a real and deep interest is felt in behalf of a real adjustment between science and Scripture. The great mastery of the vast subject manifested in the work, and the boldness, frankness, and sincerity of the spirit, will command the attention of even those who are not ready to adopt the conclusions of the volume in its attempt at furnishing at least one method of reconciliation. Without claiming to measure swords with an expert on his own grounds, we venture to state wherein his solutions, which are really addressed *ad populum*, do not convey a clear conviction to our own mind as one of the people.

The book does honor to the enterprising Chicago house that issues it by its entire style of material and execution, and its copious illustrations, among which especially is a fine theoretical map of the origin and migrations of the race, after the example of Haeckel, but with modifications by Dr. W. that make it truly his own. We may best illustrate Dr. Winchell's scheme under guidance of this map. Assuming then that our race takes origin at the now submerged land of Lemuria, of which Madagascar is an unburied remnant, our author traces the various routes of migration over the earth. From this primordial spot, first, there departs a line eastward to Australia, and thence over the Pacific isles to South America; and this marks the track of the earliest and lowest of the human race, the *Australians*. Next, westward curves a line into the southern half of Africa, cutting various graceful flourishes, and ending with an arrow's head at various points, and this is the next earliest and lowest race, the *Negroes*. The third line,

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of a brown color, shoots up northward, and sweeps over all northern Europe and North America, symbolizing the great brown Mongoloid race. Finally a briefer line, ascends to western Asia, called the Dravidian; but as it begins to turn its course from north to west, it changes its color from dark brown to bright red, indicating that the Dravidian had become Caucasian, and is now curving his beautiful lines over the lands of modern Christendom. Our Adamic race is, therefore, traceable back to Lemuria through the Dravidian, and the change from dark to red, marks when and where by an upward development the Adamic race begins. Now in Genesis the word Adam in the Hebrew has really two meanings. It is a race name, designating a people, and a personal, designating an individual. As a race name, Adam begins with the reddening of the Dravidians into Adamites: as a personal name, Adam designates the earliest ancestor known to the Jews.

The process by which the transition is made from Dravidian to Adamite is a purely natural one, and is suggested to be by an *albinosis*. We are told, (p. 349:) "Dr. John Davy, after describing a fine Albino girl of Ceylon, adds: 'It is easy to conceive that an accidental variety of this kind might propagate, and that the white race of mankind is sprung from such an accidental variety. The East Indians are of this opinion; and there is a tradition or story among them in which this origin is assigned to us.'" But if a white race thus suddenly springs up by an *albinosis*, why not a black race by a *melanosis*?

Let us now suppose that a Dr. Rawlinson, assuming the literal biblical Genesis narrative with the Septuagint chronology, and a degeneracy of the race from its origin, should construct a counter ideal racial map. Assuming, not with Dr. W., that "man is a tropical animal," but that he is a semi-tropical *being*, created at the center, most suited to his highest nature, he finds that as the race diverges from that center it deteriorates under various depressing conditions, physical and moral, external and internal. He shows, from Peschel perhaps, how rapidly immigrations can take place in early ages when men are hardy and adventurous, and yet how large a share of the earth is found unoccupied even in late prehistoric times. He shows how much more plastic the race was in filling out its programme of possible divergences in the rapidly incurred conditions, and how permanent the traits acquired by the divergent varieties of race often become. He may find no great difficulty in showing how, after the flood, the three

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sons of Noah may, within the thousand or two years from the flood permitted by the Septuagint, have sent the Mongol, the Negro, and the Australian, with all their present characteristics, to about their present abodes. Guided by that wonderful chart of ethnology, the tenth chapter of Genesis down to its date, he justly presumes that it must be supplemented by later history. The projecting lines of that chart are pointers, and Dr. R. finds it easy by simply developing them in their indicated directions to bring his pencil to every point of present human habitation.

Two points, especially, will Dr. W. make against this rival map. *First*, evolution, whether by genetic derivation, or by divine fiat, is always ascending, so that we must find the earliest race in the lowest; and, *second*, the rate of change in races is immensely slow, so that ages on ages are necessary for the production of the present divergences of races. On both these points, with our present light, we are disposed to concur with Rawlinson.

On the *first* of these two points Dr. W. has written an able chapter, which, after our repeated reading, seems to us to miss the real point. *Species*, we admit, do as a general law, both by the Mosaic and Darwinian evolution, *ascend;* but certainly *varieties* of species do abundantly *degenerate*. Now Rawlinson may affirm that man is a species, and all his degenerations are varieties, and varieties, even in the animal world, are largely degenerate. Says Professor Cabell, of the University of Virginia, ("Unity of Mankind," Carters, 1859,) "Swine in some countries have degenerated into races, which in singularity far exceed any thing that has been found strange in bodily variety in the human race." That seems a pregnant sentence. Here is a vast animal species whose Adam comes first, whose varieties degenerate down an inclined plane to the lowest extreme. Professor Winchell's law seems to be reversed. The highest is first, the lowest is last. Adam we find at the summit, degenerating through the Mongoloid and the Negro to the Australian.

Our *second point* is a query whether the formation of a new variety requires a long period of time. And here, first, we can easily conceive a superior plasticity to variation in a young species. Endowed within itself with a certain range of possible variations, the human species quickly, by emigration ranging through the various conditions of the earth, may early fill out its programme of possible variations, and then the varieties may by continuance acquire almost the fixedness of species. A new

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variety may start in a single individual. Seth Wright's celebrated new breed of sheep, whose legs were too short to leap fences, commenced with a single birth. And the following late and well-authenticated fact raises a grave suspicion that in the human species a variation of the extremest kind may commence with a single individual. We adduce it from the "Philadelphia Press" of May 2, 1880.

In the year 1879 there was born to Mary Salter, the Irish-descended wife of John Salter, an Englishman by descent, residing in number 1307 Lemon-street, Philadelphia, a beautiful boy with ruddy face and profuse silky-brown hair, who was baptized two weeks later. In a few days his face began to darken, his hair grew stiff and crisp and his eyes black. "At last he became as black as a full-blooded negro," and was attacked with spasms. Dr. Reynolds, of Eighteenth and Poplar streets, was called, and pronounced it a case of entire *melanosis*. On being visited by a "Press" reporter, Dr. Reynolds "said the case was a difficult one to explain, as there is so little medical literature on the subject. It was, he said, a case of what he would call melanosis, or over-production of pigment. Melanin, as the pigment giving color to the hair and eyes, and which gives the boy's skin its dark color, is called, is thought to be produced in the brain, the nerve center of the body. In this case there is a great over-production. The opposite state of affairs is where a negro turns white, or where portions of a white person turn even whiter. This is caused by a lack of production of pigment, and is termed *leucoderma*. It is produced by nerve affection. Colored persons with white spots upon them are not rare, neither are cases of white people having parts of their body whiter than the rest. The doctor said that the case under consideration was the first known where the whole body had become black." "I first saw the boy," said he, "when he was thirteen months' old. He was then as black as any negro, but he is now growing lighter, and when he relapsed in general health he grew darker again; but, on the whole, he has gradually lost his dark color, and will eventually be white." Future research may show that such sudden change from one extreme of race to another, at first perhaps as a disease, is no impossibility. Dr. Winchell suggests that the Caucasian came from the Dravidian by an albinosis. We prefer to suspect that the negro may have degenerated from the Caucasian, in accordance with the law of variety, by a melanosis. Dr. W. believes it incredible that the negro type could have arisen within

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five hundred and nine years from Noah. We can easily be made to believe that the surplus pigmentation may have taken place in the family of Noah and in the person of Ham, the black.

Dr. W. distinguishes race inferiority into *structural* and *cultural;* and he pronounces the negro inferiority to be structural. But does not the cultural often, and we may say always, become structural? To show how suddenly such degeneration could take place, we quoted an instance from Brace of its occurrence in fifty years. This Dr. W. subjected to a criticism too extended for our-brief room for reply, and we take another instance. In 1611 a body of Ulster Irish were driven by war into a mountainous region, and exposed to the worst effects of hunger and ignorance, the two great brutalizers of the human race. "The descendants of these exiles are now distinguished physically by great degradation. They are remarkable for open, projecting mouths, with prominent teeth and exposed gums; and their advancing cheek bones and depressed noses bear barbarism on their very front. In Sligo and Northern Mayo the consequences of the two centuries of degradation and hardship exhibit themselves in the whole physical condition of the people, affecting not only the features but the frame. Five feet two inches, on an average—pot-bellied, bow-legged, abortively featured, their clothing a wisp of rags—these specters of a people that were once well-grown, able-bodied, and comely, stalk abroad into the daylight of civilization, the annual apparition of Irish ugliness and Irish want." Here observe how *cultural* deterioration became *structural*, how truly negroid some of these traits were, and in how brief a time it was accomplished on one of the most florid types of the Caucasian race.

Dr. W., however, admits deteriorations, but affirms that they are always only local. But how do we know that? We see continent-wide inferiorities to the highest type. How do we know that those inferiorities are not deteriorations? We have carefully read and re-read his able chapter in which this affirmation occurs and find an entire omission of answer. Looking over the surface of mankind, we find constant elevations and deteriorations; and when we ask for the proof that the deteriorations precede the elevations we get no response. Why may not Rawlinson be right in taking loftiest position with Adam, and looking down the vast inclined plane of the race, varied by hills and vales, to the lowest Australian level, conceive that the highest is first, the last lowest?

Dr. Winchell gives us an admirable analysis of the dispersion of the sons of Noah, as furnished by the Hebrew record, and does

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his best to build a solid fence between the Hamite, Cushites, or Ethiopians, and the negroes. Yet he is obliged to confess "that it is difficult to tell where the Hamite ends and the Negro begins." What a fair basis for the conclusion that the Negro is but a more deeply African Cushite! That the Cushite was pretty much a Negro is clear from the query, "Can an Ethiopian [Cushite] change his skin?" And there seems just excuse for assuming that the Negro of the slave-trade is the extreme result of the local miasms of Africa, mostly south of Sahara, working upon susceptible Cushite constitutions, rendered greatly permanent by long continuance. Brace says: "All travèlers agree that the color of the Africans, to a certain degree, changes according to the heat and dampness, the same tribe (as the Batoka, for instance) being black or lighter colored as they are exposed in a greater or less degree to these two influences. The lines of language, as, for instance, those of the Kaffir family, cut across the distinctions of color, and one undoubted race may embrace persons of jet black and others with unmixed blood of a light copper color. . . . What is called the 'negro type'—that is, the low type of the coast of Guinea—is comparatively the exception." He quotes an eminent *savant*, Abbadie, a resident for eleven years in Eastern Africa, as saying, "It would be impossible to say where the negro begins and the red man ends." And Peschel puts it still more pointedly: "In some tribes the nose is pointed, straight, or hooked; even 'Grecian profiles' are spoken of, and *travelers say with surprise that they cannot perceive any thing of the so-called negro type among the negroes.*" May we not also wonder that Dr. W. lays so much stress on the "structural" inferiority of the negro, inferred from the slaver's "natural selection" of the most depressed of the race? The first Negro, then, if he did not come immediately from the family of Noah, was the first Cushite upon whose internal predispositions, the malarial and other necessary conditions were so superinduced as to complete the melanosis. Cabell tells us that the Nubians of the White Nile were once negroes, transported by the Emperor Diocletian from a western oasis to their present locality, where they have by reversion become virtual Egyptians in a few centuries. The Magyars, or Hungarians of Europe, the countrymen of Kossuth, were originally a tribe of low Mongoloids, and it has taken but one thousand years for them, boasting of their pure blood, to become about the finest race of Europe. They have required but that brief period to bridge the chasm between the Mongoloid and the virtual Cauca-

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sian, yet not without some interesting traces in their persons of their origin. Cabell remarks that some believe that they see signs of negro advance in America; but he doubts it, as there has not been sufficient time. If we give the Magyar one thousand years, give the negro from five to fifteen hundred.

There nevertheless remains the linguistic separation between the Hamite and the negro as a difficulty in the identification of the two as one race. But this is a very imperfectly explored field. At present it seems that different sections of the same great Negro race may be as totally separate in language from each other as they are from the Hamites. African plasticity may here be a law to itself.

In his depreciation of the negro, induced not by prejudice or inhumane feeling, but by the demands of his theory, Dr. W. is, we think, extreme. "Mental sluggishness" is surely a trait which few of us would attribute to the negro. Activity, even to volatility, we should sooner ascribe. The Negro is the only race which even in slavery was ever complimented as requiring laws forbidding his education to prevent his attaining ascendency. As to his character since his emancipation, Dr. Ruffner, for ten years Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Virginia, reports: "He wants to do right, and is the most amiable of races. The negro craves education, and I believe his desire has increased; it certainly has not diminished. He makes fully as great sacrifices to send his children to school as the laboring classes of the whites. The civilization of the race is progressing, and *even faster than his thoughtful friends anticipated.* The negroes are a highly improvable race. A surprising proportion of enlightened, right-thinking men have already risen from their ranks; men who have taken a respectable position; some in learned professions, some in editing and printing newspapers, and some in management of business."

Our strong objection to Dr. W.'s method of reconciliation is that it seems not so much to reconcile Scripture with science as to abolish the former and substitute the latter. The divine primordial instauration of Adam and Eden shrinks to a myth and a nothing. A gigantic roller is propelled over all the narrative, leveling it to flat naturalism. The same roller passing over the incarnation would leave us with the gospel of Renan. Such is not the result in Dr. Winchell's mind, but such is the tendency upon the general mind. Not atheism, but pure naturalism, is the outcome of Darwinism.

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Dr. Winchell deserves the public thanks for his manly repudiation of the geologic man of Europe. Under the blows delivered upon said man by the hands of Southall, Dawson, and our author, his state of disintegration is pretty complete. As to the miocene man predicted by Dr. W., he is but an antithetic phantasm to the Lemurian man. Neither have any place in science, natural or biblical. So that there is at present but slight necessity for any biblical adjustment to pre-adamiteism. And as for Darwinism, it seems at the present hour to lie in a state of disproof. Says Virchow: "I should be neither surprised nor astonished if the proof were produced that man had ancestors among other vertebrate animals. But I am bound to declare that every positive advance which we have made in the province of prehistoric anthropology has actually removed us farther from the proof of such a connection." If that proof comes, "the abrupt transformism" of Naudin, with the aid of Mivart, Wallace, and our author, may supply all due adjustments both to the Mosaic evolution of the first chapter of Genesis and the supernatural Edenic instauration of the second. A written document, as a will in a court of justice, is often interpreted by the surrounding external circumstances of its first writing. If the adjacent facts are thus, the meaning is thus; if otherwise, otherwise. And so the Hebrew records may await their true interpretation by scientific facts. At present we prefer provisionally to stand with Rawlinson upon the Septuagint chronology and a created personal Adam.

The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years, as seen in its Literature. With Special Reference to Certain Recondite, Neglected, or Disputed Passages. In Twelve Lectures, delivered on the Southworth Foundation in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., 1876–79. With a Bibliographical Appendix. By Henry Martyn Dexter. 8vo., pp. 326. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Born almost within sight of Plymouth Rock, with the richest of Puritan blood in his veins, Dr. Dexter felt an innate "mission" for being the historiographer of Congregationalism. "The maggot in the brain" bit sharply, and he has performed his arduous task with what appears great ability and success, of furnishing to the world a clearer and fuller view of the facts of the genesis and evolutions of Independency, than it has heretofore possessed. The newness of his performance arises largely from the greater accessibility of the past literatures of the periods under review. Not only in America, but in England, Holland, and France, new sources of historic information have opened be-

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fore his active researches. Even bishops and archbishops have revealed hitherto concealed stores of documents. And he was specially aided by the remarkable fact that in the days of intolerance the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York had preserved collections of Puritan books and pamphlets for the writing of which they had "harried and hanged" the authors. It would thence seem that these prelates were not ashamed of their own doings, as not unwilling that the books they denounced should speak to future ages for themselves.

The magnitudinous volume is not only a book, but we might well call it a series of books. First we have an Introduction, an interesting book of sixteen octavo pages. Next we have an Analysis of twenty pages, very exact and convenient, not only for reference by the student to individual topics, but for the reviewer, who can get an insight and oversight of the whole subject without minutely reading the whole volume. Then we have the central book itself, the History. Finally, we have an Appendix, a book of three hundred and twenty-six pages.

Dr. Dexter's style is strongly individualistic and incisive, leading us often through long and interrupted periods with a clearly announced sense at the end. And strongly in love with his subject and his heroes as he is, straining apology sometimes to the utmost tension, he is conscientiously alive to the sacred obligations of historic truth. His work has a special interest for Congregationalists; yet it has a great value for all Christian scholars, and even sheds some new light over the history of England during its period which the secular historian must recognize. If Dr. Dexter would separate the catalogue of publications from the main volume, reduce the latter to a duodecimo form, and diminish thereby its price, he might send the history proper broadcast among the people, and so largely increase its sale and its general usefulness.

Congregationalism and Prelacy are opposite extremes of ecclesiasticism. And as Prelacy, sustained by centuries of historic supremacy, was reigning in its full despotic power, it was to be expected that when the time of discussion came the opposite extreme should develop itself with mighty force. Great were the services rendered mankind by the insurgent movement in defining and asserting, at whatever cost, the right of a free conscience; a right triumphant in America and struggling toward its triumph among all the nations of the earth. Profoundly honest, though profoundly wrong, was the prelatic side. For ages it had

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understood that Prelacy and Christianity were identical, and this breaking up its organism seemed chaos back again. Recusance, therefore, was crime to be punished, and the assertion of general freedom for recusance was simply the maintenance of anarchy. It became a bloody contest, and for a brief while Independency became supreme. Dr. Dexter, with profound historic honesty, doubts whether its speedy downfall did not save it from contradicting, in the day of its power, the free principles it had asserted in its years of weakness. Be that as it may, it is certain that against that supremacy the recoil of the people of England was terrible; terrible in more senses than one. Independency was a better rebel than ruler.

When Episcopacy is completely abolished and a Church crystallizes into Congregationalism, the defects of the latter disclose themselves. A commonwealth is formed in which *rights* are well secured; but there are a general disconnection and inefficiency. But the free Episcopacy without prelacy of primitive times being restored, there is less jealousy of rights and more earnestness for enterprise and achievement. Congregationalism is a *commonwealth*, but such an Episcopacy, is an *army*, where a definite object is to be accomplished, a victory to be won is kept in view. The victory comes as the recompense of the resignation of "rights." It is thus that sacrifice often attains a higher reflex good than the most conservative selfishness.

Letters on the Eucharist. Addressed to a Member of the Church of Rome, formerly a Preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. By E. O. PHINNEY, A.M., M.D. 12mo., pp. 393. Baltimore: Published for the Author, by D. H. Carroll, Methodist Book Depository. 1880.

Dr. Phinney is an *alumnus* of Middletown of long years standing, graduated under the auspices of President Fisk. As his doctorate is medical rather than theological it could hardly be anticipated that he would make so bold an incursion into the polemical field. Into this trenchant raid he was led by peculiar circumstances. A friend of his, a Methodist preacher, not only seceded to Rome, but sent back his argumentations to his old acquaintance, requiring them to follow his example, questioning their salvation if they refused. Dr. Phinney investigated the subject thoroughly and fundamentally, as became a thinker, a scholar, and a profoundly honest man. The result of his examination appears in the admirable volume before us.

The title does not perhaps sufficiently disclose to the reader the

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fact that the book is truly a treatise upon the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Our author selected this point of discussion as being the hinge upon which conversions often turn. To this question, therefore, he applies himself, ranging through Scripture, and the early fathers, and through the domains of logic and metaphysics, where the battle is hotly contested. He first devotes three full chapters to a discussion, exegetical and patristical, of a passage celebrated in this controversy, the sixth chapter of the Gospel of John, making large use, with full credit, of Professor Turner's essay on the chapter, and in the end he shows that both a true analysis of the text and the authority of the primitive Church disprove the physical sense of that discourse. He next examines our Saviour's words at the instituting of the supper and clearly disproves the physical interpretation. He discusses in succession the dicta of both the anti-Nicene and post-Nicene fathers and finds no transubstantiation. The topics of figurative language and symbol, the evidences of the senses, the half-communion, the sacrifice of the mass, the worship of the sacrament, and, finally, the late historical rise of the dogma of transubstantiation, pass under successive and sharply critical review. An Appendix is added, presenting in the original Greek or Latin all the quotations from the fathers made in the text in English, enabling the learned reader to verify the accuracy of his translation. The style is concise, clear, animated, and exact. We know no monograph on the subject that presents the argument in so conclusive and concise a form.

The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit; or, The Philosophy of the Divine Operation in the Redemption of Man. By JAMES B. WALKER, D.D., Author of "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," etc. 12mo., pp. 225. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Dr. Walker's first eminent work, "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," gave a new synthesis of thought to the Christian world, and established his character as an original and suggestive thinker. His successive volumes manifest, though not in an equal degree, the same power of suggestive thought, and are well worthy the attention of thoughtful Christians. The present volume deals with a subject of primal importance, both theoretical and practical, with great clearness and definiteness of thought, and may be well studied as a regulator of thought on the subject by preacher and people.

Mind, being generic, whether divine or human, there is possible

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a spiritual communion between God and man. Our author's object is, therefore, to trace through reason and Scripture the real mode of such communion in the actual divine administration, and thence its realization in the human experience. In successive chapters he discusses the impartation of the Spirit in the various modes, to Christ, to the apostles, to believers, and to the impenitent.

Dr. Walker is strongly individualistic; he speaks with a disrespect in these days of "creeds," and (*horresco referens*) of commentators. We doubt whether his views of the Trinity are extremely Athanasian; we dissent from his impeachment of the apostolicity of Matthias; we query as to his illustration of the incarnation by the creation of a new species; and we think our own exposition of the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew better than his. But in his guardianship against fanaticism in regard to the Spirit, his narratives of the practical reality of the indwelling Spirit in the experiences of Christians at the present day, and in the general tenor of his argument, we recognize a very refreshing statement of the doctrine of the Spirit. The extended extract from Jeremy Taylor on this most interesting topic, is, to use a trite expression, worth the price of the book.

The First Epistle of John. A Contribution to Biblical Theology. By Erich Haupt. Translated, with an Introduction, by W. B. Pope, D.D., Didsbury College, Manchester. 8vo., pp. 385. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879. [Specially imported edition by Scribner & Welford, Price, $3.]

This volume claims to be "a contribution" rather than a commentary subject to the laws of that class of publication. Its aim is to so submit the words of St. John to an ultimate "microscopic" analysis as to obtain a clear insight into its deepest meanings. Especially does the author bring to bear his discriminative powers to bear upon the apostle's unique and most characteristic terms such as *eternal life*, *light*, *anointing*, *truth*, *love*, *anomia*, and thence deduce a view of his system of sacred thought. All this he does with a wealth of learning and a keenness of acumen, as, in the opinion of eminent critics, to furnish fresh views and rich suggestions to the scholar, the Christian thinker, and the pulpit.

Of the writer himself our translator informs us that he knows nothing except his authorship of the present, his only production. It was when first published accepted by German critics "as among the best contributions to a literature already very rich, devoted to the exposition of St. John's writings." It is noted as a specialty that he quotes no previous commentators. He does not,

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like Meyer and others, incumber his pages with the varying and conflicting opinions of his predecessors, but quietly writes as if no one had ever written before him. We agree with Dr. Pope that this seems hardly "fair." To go quietly ahead appropriating every-body and thanking nobody is rather cool. Perhaps the modest author would care little if his successors should appropriate his originalities as if their own, and perhaps he would think an acknowledgment of his labors a desirable recompense for their performance.

The Daily Round. Meditation, Prayer, and Praise Adapted to the Course of the Christian Year. With an Introduction and other Additions; by the Right Rev. ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D.D., LL.D. 16mo., pp. 412. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1880.

Says Bishop Coxe most truly, "He ministers to a fundamental want of these active and worldly times of ours, who calls the soul, every day, away from the world to the spiritual words of Scripture." A few daily, individual secret moments, filled with God and eternity, are a great regulator for the soul. Dr. Dwight, the eminent President of Yale, for years practiced the habit of daily spending a few moments in endeavoring to realize the moment of death. This recall of the soul to the solemnities of its own being, it is the purpose of this beautiful volume to aid. Its style is simple, pure, devout, avoiding all prettinesses of phrase and giving expression to the sincerest devotion. Its retention of the ecclesiastical terms for the days of the Christian year used by the elder Churches of Christendom might render it less acceptable to many Christians, as it would not have done to John Wesley.

The Life and Writings of St. John. By JAMES M. MACDONALD, D.D. Edited with an Introduction by the Very Reverend J. S. HOWSON, D.D. 8vo., pp. 436. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

This admirable effort at a full-sized portraiture of St. John we have noticed on a former occasion. The work aids us in taking the apostolic person from out the sacred haze of our biblical contemplations and making him a real and a historic character. It is modeled after Conybeare and Howson's Life of Paul, and is a suitable companion to that great work. We differ from the author as to the order and date of John's successive writings, and we seem to see that an inferior picture of the apostle's life-progress results from his scheme; but the Scripture student and preacher will find the work a prize in his course of study.

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Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by the Rev. JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., and JAMES STRONG, S.T.D. Vol. IX. Rh–St. 8vo., pp. 1083. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The learned editor remarks in his preface, "The progress has been more rapid as the task approaches completion. The tenth volume may be expected during the ensuing year." A fresh and beautiful map of the Sinaitic peninsula accompanies the volume. After completion of the regular volumes a Supplement will follow, bringing the topics down to the latest dates. And we imagine that an annual supplement might be necessary hereafter, suggesting a biblical periodical. The editor may be congratulated upon the approaching completion of his great work.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The True Story of the Exodus of Israel: Together with a Brief View of The History of Monumental Egypt. Compiled from the Work of Dr. Henry Brugsch-Bey. Edited with an Introduction and Notes. By FRANCIS H. UNDERWOOD. Small 12mo., pp. 260. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1880.

It seems to be the aim, not wholly unsuccessful, of Mr. Underwood to furnish a popular review of Egyptology, in cheap form and accessible to the million. He writes in a fresh, clear style, has a fine enthusiasm for his subject, and presents a decidedly readable view of a fragmentary history, hitherto held uninteresting to average minds. He has, or claims to have, a heroic belief in the high antiquity of Egypt, the wonderful genius of its people, and the primitive excellence of its religion. He delights to trace the coincidences of Egyptian history with the Hebrew records. He gives a full copy of the thirty dynasties of the Tablet of Abydos, and his placing before his readers Dr. Brugsch's monograph on the Exodus, which has awakened a lively discussion, is timely.

But there are two or three points upon which we wish Mr. Underwood's work were better than it is. With decided inconsistency he first narrates the legends of Menes and his successors, as if they were valid chronology and history; and then when he comes to Senofer he confesses that king to be "the first of whom much is really known;" "his predecessors are shadows." Why then has he given such factitious reality to these "shadows" in his earlier pages? And in the fifth chapter he confesses that "for the most part a veil of impenetrable darkness rests upon the long

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period down to the end of the eleventh dynasty. The twelfth dynasty stands out in a light that has *almost* the clearness of authentic history." It is this equivocation, produced by a straining after a false effect, which brings just contempt upon the so-called science of Egyptology. The first eleven dynasties are the product largely of the invention of the Egyptian priests in flattery of the Pharaohs of a long after-daté, unsustained by inscribed monuments or records contemporary with the supposed personages or facts. They have no chronological validity whatever. All Brugsch himself can say is that the Egyptian public in the time of King Seti I. did believe the geneaological papyrus of that Pharaoh. But Egypt had no public mind that dared doubt what the dicta of the priests and the mandate of the despot decreed to be fact. The authoritative lie was unquestionable truth. The second point of objection to Mr. Underwood's book is his interposing in its pages opinions honestly believed doubtless by himself, but entirely offensive to many who would like to be his readers. We do not love to be told that a pantheistic invocation to the Sun was as excellent a prayer as was ever offered. Nor do we wish to read the assurance that the Egyptian moral code was as excellent as ever was published, knowing as we do that the Mosaic decalogue in its first two commands swept the whole menagerie of Egyptianism as with a besom. In our late book notice of Renouf we showed how awful an apostasy and persistent degeneracy the religion of Egypt was. We might further illustrate how the blasphemous assumptions of the Pharaohs, insulted the true Jehovah, and their crushing despotism reduced the people to a brutalized servitude. "For this same purpose have I raised thee up," said Elohim to the mad vessel fitted by his own sins for destruction. And taking as we do Jehovah's own view of Pharaoh, his religion, and his people, we cannot readily away with Mr. Underwood's.

We think there is room, without interfering with Mr. Underwood's market, for a small popular work on Egyptology. It should be written with Mr. Underwood's fresh and pictorial style, and should be rich with engraved illustrations. It should give the legends of the first eleven dynasties, as on a level with Livy's first seven Roman kings. It should furnish that coloring of the Egyptian character not only which appears from the remains, but which is shed upon it by the sacred records. The rationalistic equalizing the chronology and religion of Egypt with that of the divine revelation should be conspicuously omitted.

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History, Biography, and Topography.

The Science of Life; or, Animal and Vegetable Biology. By Rev. J. H. WYTHE, A.M., M.D., Author of "Agreement of Science and Revelation," "The Microscopist," etc. 12mo., pp. 295. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

Dr. Wythe and our publishers have here given us a beautiful book on the great system of earthly life. And the first point we note is that the work is not, after the fashion growing among scientists since the days of Comte, a godless performance. Time was when, even in such works as the "Principia," a Newton thought his work incomplete without inscribing thereon a reverent acknowledgment of God. But now almost every sciolist in a book of science seems to imagine a lofty dignity in ignoring the Ruler of the Universe. But it is not science, but the scientist, that is atheistic; and we render due approbation and our thanks to the scientists who, like our author, make a most beautiful work on the works of God, a tribute of honor and worship to their divine author.

Not formally but really the work divides itself into Three Parts. Part First discusses the general principles of Life. And here our author deals with the fundamental metaphysics of Life, its nature, origin, process of parentage, primal tissue-formation, and types of construction. Here is no little room for differences of opinion and earnest discussion. To every deep thinker such chapters are full of interest. While we might differ here on some points from the author, we gladly recognize the skill with which, often in a very quiet statement, he neutralizes the sophisms of a Huxley, a Spencer, or a Darwin, and shows truth in its clear and natural light. Part Second, embracing chapters vi–x, traces the ascending genera of vegetable life. Here, by the deft engraver's art, we pass through a land of flowers. There are in this floral world so many beautiful and even cunning and funny things that we know that the divine mind has not undesignedly given to humanity a sense of the quaint and humorous. Part Third, chapters xi–xvi, begins back at the bottom, and traces the ascending terraces of the animal kingdom from the humblest Protozoa to the crowning Anthropos. Here our author well asserts, from Quatrefage, that in estimating Man, the *mind* should as truly be brought into consideration by science as the instincts and mental habits of the bees, ants, and beavers. And so estimating, Man instantaneously stands a kingdom by himself, and an apparent division of a kingdom above all

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the animal kingdoms of this world, his very mental qualities being an index of his belonging to a higher state of being. And we here see with what cunning and devilish design it is that materialistic anthropologists depreciate psychology and aim at reducing all anthropology to anatomy that they may, by leaving mind out of account, brutalize humanity and extinguish the hope of immortality in the human heart. Yet we agree with our author in refusing to share in the extreme depreciation of the lower animals practiced by some more Christian writers. Concede to the animal being all that God has conferred upon him. We would not, perhaps, quite agree with him in saying that "the differences" between human and brute mind, are "of degree rather than in kind." The difference of "degree" amounts to a difference in "kind." For instance, when we recognize a moral quality in animals, as the dog, it is of a different kind from the moral quality inspired by conscience in man and regulated by the Law of eternal Right. So far, indeed, as both are manifestations of *mind* they are the same in *kind;* but so far as the *species* of mentality is concerned they are vastly different in species or *kind*, with a difference that takes hold of eternity. Hence we cannot quite, with Dr. Wythe, find the only proof of man's immortality in revelation alone. We see it in man's psychological structure. And then we also see it in man's anatomical structure, which is formed to be the adjusted organ of man's highest as well as lowest nature. His brain is the organ of immortal consciousness; his hand is the organ to perform the behests of those consciousnesses; his whole body is adjusted in accordance with those same higher consciousnesses; not, indeed, with them alone, but with an alternative capacity for executing the higher or lower behest, indicative of a responsible being.

We heartily commend Dr. Wythe's book; not only as a class-book for academic instructors, but to all our readers, who either at first study or review, would wish to be led over fields of science by an eloquent guide, through a rich pictorial pathway.

Gilbert Haven: A Monograph. By Rev. E. Wentworth, D.D. Delivered before the Troy Conference, April, 1880, and published at its request. 12mo., pp. 42. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

In Dr. Wentworth Gilbert Haven has a eulogist of kindred genius, quite able to do justice to the subject in the subject's own style. The "Monograph" is perhaps the best of the many tributes that have been paid to the memory of our deceased Bishop. No departed personage of our Church ever received so unani-

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mous and loud a volume of eulogy and elegy at his decease. The defects of his character and career are forgotten amid the memories of his brilliancies, and, while we have had little impartial portraiture or biography we have had abundance of panegyric. The reason of this is that, now the career of the Bishop has closed, and closed most beautifully, there is felt the deep impression that, as a whole, his character was unique and heroic. His personal friends, of whom it was our happiness to have been eminently one, remember that genial smile and frankness of manner with which he could say the most tender child-like things, and eke the roughest and most cutting, without a change of expression, as if the cutting things were as kind as the most tender, with a profound interest. We have often wished that our brethren of the Church, South, could have come within the influence of his personality, and felt how truly well-wishing were his severities. We did not feel, as he very well knew, our own views, or the views of the Church, to be truly represented by his positions; but there were occasions when his voice of terrible rebuke upon iniquities in the South sounded like the voice of the prophet. Unlike Dr. Wentworth, we hold his deliverance upon the Chisholm murders as his grandest effort, pronouncing absolute sentences in a position and a power to which there could be no reply. Replied, indeed, it might be by Southern Christians and editors that themselves had no share in those execrable crimes. But they can scarce be acquitted of a submissive silence and quiet sufferance. The true way for the Southern Christian press was to second with all their might the truth and force of Bishop Haven's arraignments of those atrocities. But to the best of our recollection and belief they treated him and his utterances as hostilities, thereby virtually identifying themselves rather with the side of the criminals. That they did share in or approve those crimes we do not believe. There has been reckless and bloody Bourbonism in the South with which we believe them to have no participation or real sympathy. But they are passive and silent and the Bourbonism always has its way. The Southern Christian press ought to have taken sides with Bishop Haven in his severest denunciations against crimes that were dishonoring the South. But, instead of protests against the crimes, we have rather apologies, and condemnation against their arraigner, as if *they* were implicated by his arraignment. Of course the crime thereby becomes indorsed and respectable. We are wicked enough in the North; but the Christian forces of the North are not apologizing

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for, but truly arrayed against, that wickedness. We defend nothing because it is north; we attack nothing because it is south. It will be a happy time for the South when her Christian forces shall take a bold stand and compel iniquity to cower before its rebukes. What is truly needed is the union of good men of all sections against the vices of all sections.

But it is sometimes asked by Southern Christian brethren why need we of the North trouble ourselves so much about sins in the South. And a Southern Methodist paper once drew up in eloquent language a catalogue of the rascalities of the North by way of retort. There are ample materials in the North for such catalogues. We confess those northern rascalities, condemn them, and fight against them, with all our might. But there is one vital point which in this mutual play of sectional retort our Southern brother forgets. The sins we complain of are national offenses; offenses against *our rights;* while the sins he retorts are sporadic and individual. Chisholm was murdered because he was a Republican; and so, justly, every Republican (embracing the large body of Northern Protestant Christians) feels himself to be vicariously murdered in Chisholm's person. Chisholm was murdered because he was what we are. We would have been murdered had we been in his place. And the congressmen and Presidents fraudulently or forcibly, and therefore falsely, if such there be, elected, are so elected to rule *over us.* They are criminal usurpers and tramplers upon *our rights.* That is the reason the North troubles herself about these Southern sins.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Political and Legal Remedies for War. By SHELDON AMOS. Harper & Brothers 1880.

This work is not one of the philanthropic effusions which appear from time to time, and which always identify war with butchery and vulgar murder. At the same time the author, with all thinking people, recognizes war as a great evil, whose scanty good results might be attained in a better way. He thinks the progress of opinion and of civilization has been steadily toward the peaceful settlement of international difficulties. That it has not gone very far in this direction, however, is pretty clearly shown in the armed condition of Europe. After arguing that the abolition of war is not impossible, the author proceeds to state some of the causes of modern wars, which he finds in the political inequality

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of States, in "systems of policy," in "peculiar mutual sensibilities of States," etc. He then treats of political and legal remedies for war, such as intervention, mediation, and arbitration, international congresses, the neutralization of States, etc. Works like the present are useful in giving form to any general sentiment which may exist in favor of settling national difficulties by peaceful means, and to a slight extent they may form public sentiment; but little more is to be expected from them. A great many remedies for war can be suggested; but the difficulty remains to get them adopted. Arbitration by some international congress would put a stop to war, if the parties would submit to it. It needs no insight to see that political economy is in general against all war; but when nations get angry economic reasons do not suffice to keep the peace. The root of unrighteous wars lies deeper than any political causes. "Wars and fightings" still come from "lusts which war in the members." Righteous wars, on the other hand, are the incarnation of justice. If universal peace can be secured by universal justice, it cannot come too soon or be too warmly welcomed. But a universal peace, founded on economic reasons only, and which consists with submission to injustice, is by no means to be desired. Incessant war would be better than such a peace. The chief value of the present work is the large insight which it gives into the history and condition of international law upon the subject.

Judge and Jury. By BENJAMIN VAUGHAN ABBOTT. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

This book is best described in the author's own words as a popular explanation of leading topics in the law of the land. It does not aim to instruct lawyers, nor to enable every man to be his own lawyer, but to give a correct and readable account of the leading aspects and general principles of modern jurisprudence. With this aim the author gives an outline of the government and the courts. He then explains what the law is upon various national subjects, such as citizenship and civil rights, the Indians, the Chinese, banking and commerce, etc. The State laws upon various important topics, such as marriage, divorce, lotteries, cruelty to animals, etc., are then discussed. Finally, laws which bear on every-day life are mentioned. Under this head are given the law of driving and walking, of finding and stealing, of tumble-downs, of gas explosions, of damages resulting from the use of fire-arms and fire-works. Railroad, express, and telegraph

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companies are noticed, and the corresponding laws are explained. We have not looked up the author's abundant references to the law books and court decisions; but we know of no reason for distrusting the information given. The work is exceedingly entertaining and instructive. It is not likely to encourage people to go to law, or to become their own lawyers, or to make their own wills. It is seldom that one finds so much information imparted in so pleasant a way.

Periodicals.

The National Repository for September, 1880. Editorial, "Whedon on Curry."

The editor of the Michigan Advocate, quoting the passage of the Discipline enjoining the Agents to publish books "approved by the Book Editors," seems to read it as enjoining the editor to *approve* nothing which does not precisely, in his individual judgment, coincide with the doctrines of our Church. In his view, therefore, Dr. Curry's volume, not being held by the editor as so coinciding, should have been officially excluded from publication, and thereby be suppressed. The editor is, thereby, sole judge of the doctrines of the Church; he is a living "Rule of Faith," and an absolute *Index Expurgatorius*. Now the imposing such an injunction on the editor is precisely what the General Conference has, very wisely, never done. Its wisdom has left his rule of action to his own discretion. What the present editor's rule of action is has been repeatedly stated in our Quarterly. Very uniformly a publication containing, in the editor's opinion, any variance from our established doctrines, especially from a writer of unestablished character in the Church, has been excluded. Sometimes a caveat has been inserted in the book itself. But suppose the writer be a man high in the estimation of the Church as an expositor of her doctrines, repeatedly *indorsed as such by the vote of the General Conference* even after his supposed heretical publication, and chosen as representative man to edit her highest periodicals. Suppose what he offers has already been published, either by himself or others, in our organs; and the said writer has still been reindorsed by the General Conference, and even been made a book editor to judge the orthodoxy of others. Suppose that such is the position of the said writer, and that he maintains that his said publication is truly Methodistic; shall his writings be summarily suppressed by the editor? We do not

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believe, evidently the General Conference does not believe, in any such monistic censorial power. We have, therefore, repeatedly and avowedly in such cases allowed the Church to hear and judge for herself, at the same time explicitly taking exceptions in the Quarterly on those points we thought heterodox. We have, then, heretofore added that if the Church, with the whole power of her press at command, cannot right all error, it is absurd to suppose that one sole arbitrator can keep her straight. How little availing such an arbitrator would be is illustrated by the fact that had we done Dr. Curry the indignity of rejecting his book, he could himself have authorized and published it at our Western house.

Is the book editor alone blamable for allowing heresy to go unarrested? Can an Annual Conference pass a heretical member as sound, and then turn round and require the book editor to refuse to pass his work? Can a General Conference elect and re-elect a heretic, and then reprimand the book editor for not rejecting? Or can she pass a heretic Bishop, and then require the editor not to allow his heresy to be read? When all the proper authorities of the Church set their heel on heresy, then may the editor be required to toe the mark.

And these statements may serve to correct the assumptions of the Independent and the Methodist that we have opened a controversy with Dr. Curry, and that we have pronounced him, personally, "a Calvinist." We have done neither. We have, in the routine performance of our official duty, instead of excluding Dr. Curry's book from the press, simply declared our view of the anti-Arminian character of some passages of its contents. What Dr. Curry is, theologically and personally, we have not once pretended to say. What theologically *those certain passages are* we not only say, but, in our own estimation, prove. So far as our notice can be considered as controversy, it was simply a reply; a reply, namely, to a spontaneous attack by Dr. Curry twenty years ago, revived in the present volume. When the Independent, therefore, sees in this properly official notice a controversy opened against the doctor, and advises it to proceed no further, we cheerfully recognize its advice as costing nothing, and think it worth precisely first cost.

To our criticism on the passages in his book Dr. Curry makes reply in the September Repository. 1. He says that he early went through the range of the Methodist and the Arminian literature; that he accorded with the former, but was not quite so Calvinistic

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as to accord with some things in the latter. To which we reply that Dr. Curry may be challenged to produce in all that range of literature any passages equivalent in fatalism to those we quoted from his book, but that such passages can be found in high Calvinistic authors alone; being, as they are, the affirmation of the very basis on which Calvinism defends itself. 2. Dr. Curry repeats, what he has formerly declared, that our volume on the Will was to him unsatisfactory. So we should of course expect. Affirming as he does the fundamental maxim of Edwards in defense of Necessity, a polemic against Edwards would scarce more suit his mind than the mind of Edwards himself. 3. Both Dr. Curry and the Methodist affirm that we have introduced our own philosophy into theology, and that the question now at issue is really not a theological but philosophical one. Both these brethren are profoundly mistaken. Free-will in Wesleyan-Arminian theology is, like theism in Christianity, both philosophy and theology identical. From the very first, and through our Church's whole theological and religious history, free-will as opposed to necessity, has been our basis, against Calvinism. That a bound will cannot be responsible, that a man cannot be damned for what he cannot help, free-agency, has been with all our fathers a Methodist fundamental. It is dismaying to see two Methodist Doctors in Divinity displaying their ignorance of so elemental a fact. 4. Dr. Curry declines to explain or defend those passages, and lets judgment go by default. He has for twenty-five years denied being a Calvinist, and complained of being so called; and when some of the passages are produced from which such opinions of his theology have arisen, he *declines to answer.* 5. He appeals to sympathy on the ground that calling a Methodist preacher "Calvinist" (which we have not called him) tends to render him "odious." To which we answer that it would be mounting a pretty high horse for a man to claim that when he prints Calvinism or Pelagianism in our Methodist literature, his prints must not be criticised because it makes one odious to be called a Calvinist or Pelagian. Every writer who professes to teach the Church must, in a manly way, without sympathetic appeals, meet the responsibility of his teachings. 6. Dr. Curry, however, though he does not defend, does retort. Our venerated brother finds in our own writings variations from the Wesleyan-Arminian standards. He simply so *declares;* but furnishes no passages. We furnish proofs without pronouncing upon the man; he pronounces upon the man, but furnishes no proofs. We may reply that we have not been under a chronic

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necessity for a quarter of a century to affirm or deny what our theological personality is. We have issued twenty-four volumes of Quarterly, and five volumes of Commentary, and have had no necessity for such personal clearances. We see no such necessity in the present case.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Das Trostschreiben des Apostel's Paulus an die Hebraer, kritisch wiederhergestellt, und sprachlich archaologisch, and biblisch-theologisch elaütert von Joh. H. R. BIESENTHAL, Dr. Philos. et Theol. (The Hortation of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, critically translated, and philologically, archæologically, and biblico-theologically explained.) 12mo., pp. 363. Leipzig: Verlag von Fernau. 1878.

Dr. Biesenthal is, like Neander, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, yet a devout Christian, and an earnest worker in the cause of religion. As to the volume named above, we are told by a Leipsic correspondent that "no work has issued from the press of Germany for many a day which has been so freely criticised and favorably accepted by eminent theologians of Europe." It has some unique and striking points, which we will note.

First, Dr. B. esteems it a primal error to style Hebrews "an epistle," it being properly, as he entitles it, a hortation. Next, he holds firmly and maintains bravely Paul's authorship of the book. But he believes our present copy to be a translation from Paul's work in a Hebrew original. We hope that his volume may have on this point a powerful influence in abolishing the present puerile fashion, indulged in by even evangelical commentators, of not only selling the Pauline authorship out to the rationalists, but of even making that cowardice a test of scholarship. But the most unique point is that the learned doctor translates the Greek back into the Hebrew, and so furnishes an approximation to what Paul may have written. This would have been presumption were not the Hebrew about as vernacular to the doctor as to the apostle.

Our author maintains firmly and with a large volume of proofs that Paul and no other is the author of Hebrews. The mystery that surrounds the book is simply the result of Paul's necessary attempt at concealment. To evince this he traces in successive chapters the oppressive dealings of the imperial government with all expressions of free thought, the extreme hatred of Judaism and paganism against Christianity, and finally, the special malignity of all against Paul. Hence Paul did not write a letter, with

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his own name, to a particular Church, but published an anonymous manifesto, really suitable for converted Gentiles as well as Jews, to console them for the loss of their old temples and rituals, by showing them that they had a far better substitute.

There are two points in behalf of Paul's authorship of Hebrews brought out by Dr. Biesenthal with great beauty. The first is the remarkable fact that Clement of Rome, in the first century, in his Epistle largely quoted the words of Hebrews as highest authority, yet never mentions the author's name. At Rome, then, where this Epistle was long unknown and unacknowledged, there was one man, the personal friend of Paul, who knew it, venerated it, and spread abroad large paragraphs from its pages! Why did he omit the author's name? Dr. B. furnishes the only plausible reply: Clement could not reveal the secret of his friend Paul; the sacred secret of his authorship of Hebrews. And we carry this argument a little further than our learned author. The facts indicate that the Epistle was written by Paul at or near Rome, with the knowledge of a confidential few, whose salutation is given to the confidential receivers of the Epistle in xii, 24, so that Hebrews is not merely a general hortation, but also a *letter*.

The second point is Paul's remarkable use of the apologetic *some*, τινές, in his various epistles. The peculiarity is that where an imputation really lies heavy upon *many*, or a *majority*, or even the *whole* of a body of men, Paul's tenderness understates the fault with an extenuating *some*. The great body of Israel disbelieved; but Paul designates the unbelievers as merely a *some*. Rom. iii, 2. So Rom. iii, 8, the broken of branches were only *some*. And Rom. iii, 8, his blasphemers are merely a *some*. So 1 Cor. vi, 11, the once pagan believers are only *some*. Compare 1 Cor. viii, 7; x, 7, 8, 9, 10; xv, 12; 2 Cor. iii, 1; Gal. i, 7. Now this very peculiarly reappears in Hebrews, at iii, 16; x, 25. And this argument too tends to prove our Hebrews to be Paul's own Greek, and not a translator's.

We do not clearly see that any thing is gained by denying Hebrews to be a *letter* addressed to the mother Church of Judaism. The closing chapter is unmistakably epistolatory. We still think that we have rightly characterized the book in our notes; it begins as an oration, continues as an essay, and ends as a letter. Dr. Biesenthal's notes are very rich with oriental erudition, and we trust our scholars will closely study them with an eye to the question how far they prove the work of a translator of Paul's original Hebrew.

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Theologische Ethik. Von Professor Dr. J. CHR. VON HOFMANN. Nördlingen: C. H. Beck. 1878.

Dr. Hofmann is widely known as a very original and devout scholar, and as the propounder of a very striking view of the atonement. His most extensive work is his "Commentary on the New Testament." The work before us is printed from notes on his lectures on ethics. Though quite brief—350 pages—it contains the very cream of his whole theological system. It is not "moral science" in our sense of the term; but it is a profound Biblico-speculative presentation of the question, What is the nature of the Christian relation of man to God? It is accordingly a thorough discussion, from a single stand-point, of the whole range of primary questions in theology—God, creation, man, sin, heathenism, incarnation, atonement, regeneration, Church, the sacraments, and the Christian state. We subjoin a few disconnected thoughts from Hofmann. Thus: The Protestant theologians of last century blundered when they divorced ethics from dogmatics. The separation was complete in Baumgarten, (1738.) Thenceforth, for a century, ethics was based not upon Christian truth, but upon each successive philosophy of the day. Thus, Baumgarten was dependent upon Wolf; Stäudlin, upon Kant; Marheineke, upon Hegel. The emancipation of ethics from this dependence began in Schwarz, in 1821, by the recognition of the fact that man *as regenerated* is the true subject of ethics. From this point onward dates the new ethics. The great champions of the new science are Schleiermacher, Harless, Rothe, Vilmar, Böhmer, Culmann, Palmer, Wuttke, Martensen, Oettingen, and, on the Catholic side, Hirscher, Werner, Kaulich. Again: The primitive state of man was not that of a mere moral blank, and of a purely formal freedom of will. On the contrary, man found himself at the very opening of self-consciousness under the influence of a positive bent of will. Hence if he had avoided doing violence to himself, he would have persisted in the normal life-drift in which he first found himself. This was not as yet a state of positive, essential freedom; but still it was more than mere formal freedom. It was the germ, the incipiency, of essential freedom. The bent of will in which man found himself at creation included also *love* to the Creator. But it was love at the *stage of instinct.* In regard to *sin*: Satanic sin and human sin are radically different. Satanic sin arose, unsolicited, in the bosom of Satan himself; man's sin had only its secondary origin in man himself. It was not an intended breaking up of his normal relation to God. It was not a conscious and direct casting off of God. It was only indirectly so. And

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as man did not absolutely cast off God *by* his sin, so God did not absolutely cast off man *for* his sin. But what *is* sin? It is any action or feeling of a created spirit which is not a virtualization of communion with God. Satan and man feel evil in very different manners. Satan feels it merely as a barrier to his hatred to God. Man, so long as redeemable, feels it *as evil*, as the fruits of sin; and he *can* wish to eschew it and turn from it. In regard to *conscience:* Satanic beings have no conscience: it has become *extinct* in them. In man conscience is a vital bond between the soul and God. Conscience is not an instructor: it is a judge. It does not teach us *what* we ought to do: it simply judges and sentences us in *regard to* what we *do*. A so-called erring conscience is simply man's mistaking inferences in regard to his duties. The true idea of the ethical life is that it is a virtualization of the relation of man to God, as established by Christ. All of the heresies sprang from perverting this relation. Ebionism destroyed the freedom of this relation, and re-introduced the bondage of legalism. Montanism invented hyper-Christian precepts and made them equivalent to a new revelation, thus imposing on Christian freedom impracticable demands. Gnosticism debased man's relation to God from a spiritual to a merely psychic or physical character. Manichaeism reduced it still lower—to a gross material one. Pelagianism reduced the ethical life to a purely self-generated one, thus making Christ superfluous. Predestinationism shut out the subject from all participation in his own ethical life, thus robbing the ethical requirements of the Bible of all rational significance. All these heresies the healthy instinct of orthodoxy has at once recognized as such. What is the relative position which *prayer* holds in the ethical life? and what is its true place in the organism of an ethical system? Daub places it last. Hirscher (the Catholic) places it first. Either is better than when Von Oettingen can find no proper place for it at all, but only gives it casual mention. And it is almost as bad when Rothe makes of it simply a *means* of virtue. But also Harless treats it in the same manner as Rothe. This is not the place which belongs to prayer. Wuttke describes prayer as embracing our entire ethical action toward God, so that it underlies our whole Christian ethical life; and with this view we (Hofmann) fully coincide. Among the eccentricities of Hofmann we cite simply this one: The relations of the persons of the holy Trinity to the Christian are such that we may and do pray either to the whole trinity as one God, or to the Father specifically, as also to Christ, but not to the Holy Ghost. To the latter we pray only as embraced in the collective Trinity.

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Erinnerungen an Amalie von LASAULX, SCHWESTER AUGUSTINE, Oberin der Barmherzigen Schwestern am St. Johannis Hospital zu Bonn, Gotha: Perthes, 1878.

One of the most curious works sprung of the Old Catholic agitation. The scene lies just after the Vatican Council. It is the story of a noble *woman*, who, after a life of devoted service to the Romish Church, would *not* bow to the new decree of infallibility. And the woman was noble in all senses of the word. The favorite daughter of an aristocratic and gifted family of Southern Germany, the sight of the sufferings of the lower ranks of society led her to devote all her energies to the work of consolation and alleviation. While caring for the sick and dying in the hospital at Coblenz, she felt the need of being able to administer to them also spiritual consolation. This led to her own spiritual regeneration as a preparation thereto. Her life fills the space from 1815 to 1872. From her entrance into the cloister, in 1840, to the end, the story of her life is that of uninterrupted love to the bodies and souls of men. And for many years she was "mother superior," and thus she was enabled to infuse her own spirit into the labors of a numerous body of subordinates. Her high social position brought her into close relations to eminent artists, poets, and statesmen; while her deep piety and devotion to the Church made her the intimate friend of a whole generation of bishops, archbishops and other high prelates. Her life would then have been far from an ordinary one even had she lived on quietly in submission to her spiritual superiors, and departed in the odor of sanctity. But it receives an additional and almost tragic interest from the heroism with which she persistently refused to belie herself by submission to the new dogma of Papal infallibility. Rarely have we read more thrilling pages than the long closing chapter in which are reported the many, the persistent, the incessant endeavors of gifted priests and bishops to persuade her to at least passive acquiescence in the new decree. She would not, and did not, yield. And for this she was stripped, in her old age, of the garb of her order; and on her dying bed was refused the consolation of the sacraments; and, when dead, was denied a resting place in consecrated ground. The book of 372 large pages is deserving of a wide reading.

Erklärung der Glaubensartikel und Hauptlehren der Methodistenkirche. Von Dr. A. SULZBERGER. Bremen: C. H. Doering.

Dr. Sulzberger is not a new name to either German or American Methodism. His "Systematic Theology" has already taken its place of honor in our literature, and is now in the course of

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study for our German preachers on both sides of the Atlantic. The present work is a very successful attempt to state and prove our articles of faith. It is not a catechism, but a brief treatment of our doctrinal basis. He unfurls the Methodist flag to the German critics without any hesitation. So he begins his work by giving a summary of the history of Methodism, and then proceeds to the treatment of our articles of faith. After a general statement of the doctrines, which our Church accepts in common with all evangelical Churches, he proceeds to prove the absurdity of purgatory and other discarded tenets, and closes with a strong defense of those doctrines which distinguish our Church from some other Protestant confessions, namely, the universal atonement, the new birth, the certainty of our acceptance with God, the witness of the Spirit, and Christain perfection. We rejoice at the appearance of this little work of two hundred pages. It will do vast good to our German and Swiss Church. Dr. Sulzberger excels in his power of definition and statement, and nowhere has he given better evidence of this rare quality than here.

Miscellaneous.

My College Days. By ROBERT TOMES. 16mo., pp. 211. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Mr. Tomes is a gentleman of sharp eye and nimble tongue. He draws portraits of folks which the same folks would not like to see. We do not say that he is a satirist; but he selects points in his victims' characters, the clear merry telling of which is very keen satire. He was pupil in Columbia Grammar School, and what an exhibit have we of Professor Anthon! He goes to Washington College, (now Trinity,) Hartford, and what a set of unanimous shams, college professors, real and titular, were not the whole lot! He goes to the Philadelphia Medical College, and finds that Professor Hare plays pyrotechnics, but imparts little chemistry to his class, and Gibson, the anatomist, is delighted to be "up to his elbows in blood." He goes to Edinburgh, and the real greatness of the men there is too real to allow any satire in truth-telling. On the whole, the book is more readable than commendable.

Biography of Rev. Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D., late one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. F. G. HIBBARD, D.D. 12mo., pp. 447. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1880.

We expect a full Review article on this work.

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Greek Mythology Systematized. By S. A. SCULL. 12mo., pp. 397. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

This volume was prepared by the lady author as a book for pupils under her care, and is admirably adapted for its purposes. It is not a mere reproduction of old school manuals, but is written with independent thought and consultation of latest authorities.

Last Words and Old-Time Memories. Original and Compiled from the Most Authentic Records. By Rev. MAXWELL PIERSON GADDIS, Sen. With an Introduction by Bishop Randolph S. Foster, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 430. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1880.

A series of brief biographies in alphabetic order of Methodist ministers, with especially their dying words. It is a dictionary of final triumphant testimonies from the hands of a venerated father.

The Student's Shakspeare. Thirty-seven Plays, Analyzed and Topically Arranged for the use of Clergymen, Lawyers, Students, etc. By HENRY J. FOX, D.D. 8vo., pp. 625. Boston: B. A. Fowler & Co. 1880.

Dr. Fox is a reveler in the best literature of our English language, and here brings us a choice specimen of his labors in that surpassingly rich field. It is a labor of love, and we doubt not thousands will accept his work with rich appreciation. It comes recommended by such master critics as Hudson and Parton, the latter of whom declares that "as a book of extracts, its equal cannot be found in any language."

The Expositor, August, 1880. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. Edited by Rev. SAMUEL COX. 1. The Outer and the Inner Glory, (Psalm xix;) by Rev. George Matheson, D.D. 2. New Testament Words Denoting "Care;" by Professor John Massie, M.A. 3. The Value of the Patristic Writings for the Criticism and Exegesis of the Bible; by Rev. W. Sanday, D.D. 4. The Book of Job.—VIII. The Theophany. First Divine Remonstrance; by the Editor.

September. 1. Wresting the Scriptures; by Rev. Canon Farrar, D.D., F.R.S. 2. The Book of Job.—VIII. The Theophany. Second Divine Remonstrance; by the Editor. 3. The Value of the Patristic Writings for the Criticism and Exegesis of the Bible; by Rev. W. Sanday, D.D. 4. Biblical Note on St. John iii, 8; by Rev. Charles Ingham Black, B.A.

History of the Administration of John De Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland. By JAMES GEDDES. Vol. I, 1623–54. 8vo., pp. 398. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Library Key: An Index of General Reading, Arranged by F. A. ARCHIBALD, A.M., with an Introduction by Rev. W. W. CASE. Small 8vo., pp. 202. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1880.

George Bailey. A Tale of New York Mercantile Life. By OLIVER OLDBOY. 16mo., pp. 288. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Elements of Permanency in our National Institutions. An Address delivered before the Alumni of Hamilton College, at the Stone Church in Clinton, New York, on Wednesday Evening, June 23, 1880; by Theodore W. Dwight, Professor of Law in Columbia College Law School, New York. Published by Request of the Alumni. New York: Trow's Printing and Bookbinding Co. 1880.

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